THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.,

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LIEUT.-COLONEL, INDIAN ARMY.

VOL. XXXII. — 1903.

BOMBAY:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co.

LONDON: LUZAC & Co.
BOMBAY: BOMBAY EDUCN. SOCY.'S PRESS.
NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co.
CHICAGO: S. D. PEET, Esq., PH.D.
LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.
PARIS: E. LEROUX.
BERLIN: A. ASHER & Co.
VIENNA: A. HOLDER & Co.

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P. 13, line 11 from the bottom; *for* Ephesosque, *read* Ephesoque.

P. 57, line 26, *for* Avanya-, *read* Âvanya-.

P. 216, line 31, *before the word* opens, *insert* published by me in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 240.

,, note 8, *read* See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 229.

P. 218, note 24, *read* see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 227.

P. 221, note 42, *read* See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 227.

,, note 43, *read* See *ibid.* p. 223, note 5.

P. 227, line 8 f. — In connection with the expression *ahita-râya-sellaṁ,* Professor Kielhorn has drawn my attention to the analogous expression *râya-sira-sellaṁ,* "a javelin to (*pierce*) the heads of (*hostile*) kings," in an inscription at Amṛitâpura in the Kaḍûr district, Mysore, *Ep. Carn.* Vol VI., Tk. 45, p. 226, line 8. — J. F. F.

P. 461, plate i., under No. 6, *for* Sumatinâtha, *read* Padmaprabha; *see note 5 on p. 461.*

P. 483 *a*, line 30, *for* D.C.L., *read* LL.D.

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THE CONNECTION OF ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE WITH INDIA.

BY W. R. PHILIPPS.

THE purpose of this note is to bring together the information contained in ancient writings concerning **the connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India, and his alleged visit to the court of Gondophares.**

I. — The Acts of St. Thomas.

According to Christian tradition, St. Thomas the Apostle preached the gospel in India and ended his life there. And it may be mentioned here that from the end of the thirteenth century, if not before, tradition has placed "Calamina," or the scene of St. Thomas' martyrdom, at Mylapore (or Mayilâppûr) near Madras. This question will be dealt with further on.

For a brief statement of the tradition, we may take the Roman Martyrology, which, under the date 21st Dec., says: — "Calaminae natalis beati Thomae Apostoli, qui Parthis, Medis, Persis et "Hyrcanis Evangelium praedicavit, ac demum in Indiam perveniens, cum eos populos in Christiana "religione instituisset, Regis jussu lanceis transfixus occubuit: cujus reliquiae primo ad urbem "Edessam, deinde Orthonam translatae sunt."

For fuller details of the traditional story of St. Thomas, we have **the Acts of St. Thomas,** writings of a respectable antiquity, which exist in Syriac, Greek, Latin and Ethiopic. Their main point of interest to us is that, so far as is at present known, they are absolutely the only ancient books which make mention of an Indian king Gûdnaphar (Syriac) or Γουνδάφορος (Greek) or Gundaforus (Latin), while coins bearing a similar name have been discovered in the Pañjâb. This coincidence was first pointed out in 1848 by M. Reinaud, who wrote: — "Au nombre des rois "Indo-Scythes qui régnèrent peu de temps après Kanerkès dans la vallée de l'Indus, les médailles "nouvellement découvertes offrent le nom d 'un prince appelé Gondophares. Des médailles de la "même catégorie se trouvent à Paris à la Bibliothèque Nationale . . . . Or les actes de la vie "de Saint Thomas, qui nous sont parvenus à la fois en grec et en latin citent un roi de l'interieur "de la presque-île, qui se nommait Gondaphorus . . . . Mais le nom de Gondaphorus ne se "rencontra, que sur une certaine classe de médailles, et les actes de Saint Thomas sont le seul "document écrit qui en présent la reproduction. N'est-on pas autorisé à croire qu'il s'agit réellement "ici de l'apôtre Saint Thomas et d'un prince Indo-Scythe, son contemporain?" (*Mémoire Géographique, Historique et Scientifique sur l'Inde*, Paris, 1848, p. 94 *seq.*)

As regards **the Greek and Latin versions of these Acts**, it may be convenient here first to quote what Mr. Alexander Walker said about them in the introduction to his English translation of *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations*, published at Edinburgh in 1870. Writing first of the Greek Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in general, he said : —

"These stories came at length to form a sort of apostolic cycle . . . . They exist also in "a Latin form in the ten books of the Acts of the Apostles, compiled probably in the sixth century, "and falsely attributed to Abdias, the first bishop of Babylon, by whom it was, of course, written in "Hebrew."

Afterwards coming to the Acts of St. Thomas, he wrote :—

"The substance of this book is of great antiquity, and in its original form it was held in great "estimation by the heretics of the first and second centuries. The main heresy which it contained "was that the Apostle Thomas baptized, not with water, but with oil only. It is mentioned "by Epiphanius, Turribius, and Nicephorus, condemned in the decree of Gelasius, and in the "Synopsis of Scripture ascribed to Athanasius, in which it is placed, along with the Acts of Peter, "Acts of John, and other books, among the *Antilegomena*. St. Augustine in three passages "refers to the book in such a way as to show that he had it in something very like its present form. "Two centuries later, Pseudo-Abdias made a recension of the book, rejecting the more heretical "portions, and adapting it generally to orthodox use. Photius attributes the authorship of this "document, as of many other apocryphal Acts, to Leucius Charinus.

"The Greek text was first edited, with copious notes and prolegomena, by Thilo in 1823. The "text from which the present translation is made is a recension of five MSS., the oldest of the "tenth century."

Then as regards The Consummation of Thomas, he wrote : —

"This is properly a portion of the preceding book. Pseudo-Abdias follows it very closely, but "the Greek of some chapters of his translation or compilation has not yet been discovered.

"The text, edited by Tischendorf for the first time, is from a MS. of the eleventh century."

These extracts, though now rather out of date, even as regards the Greek text, will give an idea of the age and authority of the Acts. Mr. Walker wrote before the publication of the Syriac version, and does not seem to have been aware of its existence.

The Syriac version was published for the first time by Dr. W. Wright in 1871, in *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, 2 Vols., London, 1871. Till then, only the Greek and Latin had been available, and Dr. Wright wrote in his preface (Vol. I., p. XII.), "we have here for the first time the Acts "[of St. Thomas] in a nearly complete form."

The Syriac text edited by Dr. Wright was from a MS. in the British Museum (Add. 14645), written 936. From internal evidence he dated the composition not later than the 4th. century. Mr. F. C. Burkitt, on additional evidence, says — "I do not think we shall be far wrong if we put "the date of our *Acts* before the middle of the 3rd century." (*Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1899, p. 76.)

Since Dr. Wright published his text, two additional Syriac texts have come to light. These are the MS. in the Sachau collection at Berlin, and the MS. in the Cambridge University Library.

Mr. Burkitt says of the Sachau MS. that it is later than the British Museum one, and has an abridged text; perhaps it would be better to say a less interpolated text, though he expresses no such view. He states also that the Cambridge MS. is a transcript of the Sachau one. (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. IX., London, 1900, Appendix VII.)

We have also some recently discovered fragments which have been edited and translated by Mr. Burkitt in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. IX., Apps. VI. and VII., London, 1900. As far as they go,

they generally confirm the British Museum text; the differences in no way affect the story. The interest of these fragments for us consists in the fact that they are at least 400 years older than any other known text. Mr. Burkitt thinks they cannot be later than the beginning of the 6th century, and may be fifty years earlier.

Since the discovery and publication of the Syriac version, it has, I think, been satisfactorily established that the Acts were originally composed in that language, — that the Greek versions, though less complete, are substantially translations from the Syriac, — and that the Latin are taken from the Greek. (See paper by Mr. F. C. Burkitt, *The Original Language of the Acts of Judas Thomas,*[1] in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. I. No. 2, Jan. 1900.)

The Syriac may therefore be regarded as the original, and it is also the fullest version. We had better, therefore, take the story of St. Thomas from it, using the Greek and Latin only where they differ in the details with which we are concerned.

I have not yet been able to refer to the Ethiopic version; but that probably does not matter. Mr. Burkitt says, it "is mixed up with the alternative Acts of St. Thomas at Kentera," and "This "alternative book of Acts, lately discovered and edited by Dr. M. R. James, is a late work, but "certainly of Greek origin." *(Journal of Theological Studies,* Jan. 1900.) Reference may, however, be made to two works, which contain Ethiopic versions: they are — S. C. Malan, *The Conflicts of the Apostles*, London, 1871; and E. A. W. Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles*, 2 Vols., London, 1901.

For the Syriac, we will follow Dr. Wright's translation which fills 153 octavo pages. For the Greek and Latin, we may go to Max Bonnet's *Acta Thomae*, published at Leipzig in 1883. This is an elaborate work with collations of all known Greek and Latin MSS. and older printed editions. Mr. Burkitt says it is the best edition. (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1900.)

As Dr. Wright's translation of the Syriac occupies 153 pages, it will be seen that these Acts in their complete form are of a considerable length. Nevertheless, all the particulars we want to take from them can be put down in a small space.

We are not here concerned with the ethical and doctrinal matter with which these Acts, especially the Syriac, as they have come down to us, are filled. What we want for our purposes, is mainly **the record of St. Thomas' movements.** We must pay attention to the geographical and proper names mentioned, and to such local details and colouring as may serve as indications of place and time. Keeping these ideas in view, I set down only such particulars of the story told in the Acts as are likely to be of use to us. The passages in inverted commas are actual quotations from Dr. Wright's translation.

1. — The Acts are divided into nine parts, of which eight are called "*Acts,*" and the last "*The Consummation of Judas Thomas.*"

2. — The **first Act** is headed: — "*The (first) Act of Judas Thomas the Apostle, when He* (*i. e.,* apparently our Lord) *sold him to the Merchant Ḥabbān, that he might go down and convert India.*"

3. — This Act begins by telling us that the twelve apostles divided the countries of the world among themselves by lot, and that India fell to St. Thomas, who did not wish to go there.

[1] In the Syriac the book is called *The Acts of Judas Thomas, i. e.,* "Judas the Twin." *Thoma* means "a twin." (Compare John xi. 16, xxi. 2.) The real name of the apostle St. Thomas was Judas, and the appellation *Thomas* or "the Twin" was added to distinguish him from others bearing the name Judas. (See W. Cureton's *Ancient Syriac documents*, London, 1864, p. 141.)

In the story itself, the Apostle is commonly called Judas, not Thomas, both in the Syriac and in the best Greek MSS., as in the old Syriac Gospels and other very ancient Syriac documents. This use of the name Judas is one of the several minor proofs of the Syriac origin and antiquity of the Acts.

4. — At that time "a certain merchant, an Indian, happened to come into the South country "from . . . ." (The Syriac MS. in the British Museum is injured here, and the name is unfortunately illegible. It is of course of the first importance. I do not know if it is found in the Sachau MS. at Berlin or in the Cambridge MS. The Greek says only ἀπὸ τῆς Ινδίας. The Latin gives no name.)

The name of the merchant is given as Ḥabbān, and he had been sent by King Gūdnaphar to bring him a skilful carpenter.

5. — Our Lord appears to this merchant, and sells St. Thomas to him for "twenty (pieces) of "silver." In the bill of sale, which is quoted, Ḥabbān is described as "Ḥabbān the merchant of King "Gūdnaphar."

6. — St. Thomas and Ḥabbān start by ship next day. On the ship, in answer to Ḥabbān's questions, St. Thomas told him he was skilled in "carpentering and architecture — the business of the "carpenter;" also: — "In wood I have learned to make ploughs and yokes and ox-goads, and oars "for ferry boats (*pontones*) and masts for ships; and in stone, tombstones and monuments, and "palaces for Kings." Ḥabbān replies: — "And I was seeking just such an artificer."

7. — "And they began to sail, because the breeze was steady, and they were sailing along gently, "until they put in at the town of Sandarūk."

8. — They disembarked, and were going into the city, when they were told of the marriage feast of the King's only daughter, and that everyone was obliged to be present. So they thought they had better go.

9. — In the long account of what happened at Sandarūk, there is little to help us. But the following points may be noted: — (*a*) A Hebrew woman or girl (a flute-player) is mentioned as performing at the feast. (*b*) The bride and bridegroom were converted and ultimately followed St. Thomas to India. (*c*) St. Thomas and Ḥabbān left for India immediately after the feast. (*d*) The King was converted after the apostle's departure.

10. — The **second Act** is headed: — "*The second Act, when Thomas the Apostle entered into India, and built a Palace for the King in Heaven.*"

11. — It begins with the words: — "And when Judas had entered into the realm of India "with the merchant Ḥabbān, Ḥabbān went to salute Gūdnaphar, the King of India."

12. — There is not much to be said about this Act. St. Thomas agrees to build a palace for the King, beginning in the month Teshrī (Oct.-Nov.) and finishing in Nīsān (April). But he spends the money given to him for the purpose on the poor; and the meaning of building a palace in heaven is that, by using the royal funds in almsgiving, he was preparing for the King a heavenly habitation. The only additional proper name given is Gad, the name of the King's brother. St. Thomas preaches in the villages and cities. The King and his brother and many others are converted.

13. — The headings of **the next four Acts, Nos. 3 to 6,** are: — "*The third Act of Judas, regarding the Black Snake.*" — "*The fourth Act, of the Ass that spake.*" — "*The fifth Act, of the Demon that dwelt in the Woman.*" — "*The sixth Act, of the Young Man who killed the Girl.*" These Acts can be passed over. They relate certain miraculous events and conversions in and about the city of King Gūdnaphar. They do not contain any proper names or any particulars, geographical or otherwise, to help us.

14. — The **seventh Act** is more important. It is headed: — "*The seventh Act, how Judas Thomas was called by the General of King Mazdai to heal his Wife and Daughter.*" It begins with the words — "And while Judas was preaching throughout all India;" but it does not say where he was at the time, though the words quoted might imply an interval of years between the sixth and seventh Acts. However the general Ṣīfūr, who speaks of himself as "a great man throughout all "India," came for him. St. Thomas left his converts under the care of his deacon Xanthippus (or

Xenophon) and set out with Ṣīfūr. They went with a "driver" in a "chariot" drawn by "cattle." There is nothing to indicate a long journey. So they reach the city of King Mazdai; and the Apostle heals the general's wife and daughter.

15. — The **eighth Act.** Then follows "*The Eighth Act, of Mygdonia and Karīsh.*" The events in this Act take place soon after what has been described in the seventh Act. The additional persons mentioned by name in this Act are :—

(*a*) Mygdonia, a noble lady.

(*b*) Karīsh, her husband, and kinsman of King Mazdai.

(*c*) Narkia, "nurse" of Mygdonia.

(*d*) Tertia, wife of King Mazdai.

(*e*) Vīzān, son of King Mazdai.

(*f*) Manashar, wife of Vīzān.

It is the conversion of Mygdonia and Tertia that brings about the martyrdom of St. Thomas, as detailed in the final section of the book. Beyond these six names, there is little in the eighth Act to help us.

16. — While in prison, St. Thomas sings, and the first song put in his mouth is headed : — "The hymn of Judas Thomas the Apostle in the country of the Indians." But the "hymn" which follows this title is the famous Hymn of the Soul which went down to Egypt for the One Pearl, which modern scholars have ascribed to the Gnostic Bardaisan.

17. — There follows "The song of praise of Thomas the Apostle." And of this Mr. F. C. Burkitt says it is undoubtedly a genuine portion of the Acts. (*Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire,* p. 68.)

18. — The **final section of the work** is headed "*The Consummation of Judas Thomas.*" The apostle is condemned to death by King Mazdai, and his martyrdom is described. It takes place "outside the city" and "on the mountain." St. Thomas is speared to death by four soldiers.

19. — The story continues : — "And the brethren were weeping all together. And they brought "goodly garments and many linen cloths, and buried Judas in the sepulchre in which the "ancient kings were buried."

20. — Finally we are told that the bones of the apostle were taken away secretly by one of the brethren to the "West," and that this happened during the lifetime of King Mazdai and Ṣīfūr.

Such is, briefly, the story of St. Thomas' connection with India as told in these Acts, which are generally supposed to be a work written for the purpose of spreading Gnostic teaching. Certain it is that their interest is chiefly doctrinal, and very little historical. It is possible, however, that, in the form of a religious romance, they embody some genuine details of the history of St. Thomas. It seems certain that they originated in a region (the Euphrates valley) which, as we shall see further on, was by early tradition associated with St. Thomas. The Acts would, therefore, seem more likely to contain some fragments of genuine history than would the case be if their origin had been Greek or Latin.

It is usual, I believe, to regard the Greek and Latin versions as, roughly speaking, abridgments and expurgated editions of the Syriac. There is, however, the possibility that the Syriac, as we now have it, has been very largely interpolated, and that the Greek and Latin, as a whole, give us a better idea of the Syriac work as it originally stood, than the more bulky Syriac version now extant.

But the doctrinal aspects of the Acts do not affect the use we have to make of them, and if we treat them as a historical record, the following appear to be the only suggestive points we are able to extract : —

1. — Movements of St. Thomas.

(*a*) Note first the heading of the first Act : — "That he might *go down* and convert India."

(*b*) St. Thomas went by sea to the city of Sandarūk. The Syriac implies that he started from "the South Country." The Greek and one of the two Latin versions printed by Max Bonnet imply

that he started from Jerusalem. That would involve a preliminary journey by land. The other Latin version says Ḥabbān came to Caesarea by ship, and met the apostle there, and together they went by sea all the way.

Instead of Sandarūk, the Greek has Andrapolis. The first Latin version does not name the city, but says the journey was done within three months (instead of the usual three years), and that they arrived "in Indiam citeriorem" and "ingressi sunt primam Indiae civitatem." The other version names "Andranopolis," and says the apostle got there from Caesarea in seven days "plenis velis et prosperis ventis." The heading of the second Act seems to imply that Sandarūk was not in what was considered India proper at the time of the writer.

(*c*) St. Thomas next "entered into the realm of India and went to the court of Gūdnaphar the King of India." The Greek says "when he came into the cities of India" he went to the King in question. The first Latin version has "ad ulteriores Indiae partes processerat," and that the apostle "in ulteriorem Indiam commorari." The other names King Gūdnaphar's city as Elioforum, Hienoforum, or Hyroforum, and speaks of a mountain Gazus.

(*d*) St. Thomas preached "throughout all India." This might imply a number of years. The Greek has the same; the first Latin version has nothing to the point; the other says "profectus est . . . . ad Indiam superiorem."

(*e*) St. Thomas goes to the city of King Mazdai, where he is put to death, outside the city, on a mountain. The name of the city is not given in the Syriac, Greek or Latin Acts. Calamina is the name in some ecclesiastical writings ; we shall come to them afterwards.

(*f*) To the above indications of place we may add that the body of St. Thomas was afterwards carried away to the "West." The Greek says to Mesopotamia ; the Latin, to Edissa or Edessa.

These particulars do not help us to any definite ideas of place.

I do not know if any one has attempted to locate the seaport city Sandarūk or Andrapolis. If we take the Latin to guide us, we should, I suppose, locate it on the coast west of the Indus ; and that would be the meaning of "India citerior."

It is unfortunate that the name of the place from which Ḥabbān came, cannot be deciphered in the Syriac text. It would help us to locate King Gūdnaphar, a most important point.

The statement in the Syriac, that the relics of the apostles were carried away to the "West," is worth remark. As we shall see further on, the fact that the relics were taken from India to Edessa rests on sources of information better than these Acts.

2. — Proper Names.

A table of all the proper names that occur in the Acts is given on the opposite page. Mr. Burkitt points out that most of the names in the Syriac text are not Syriac, but old Persian. Kōrēsh (Cyrus), as in the Sachau MS. (misspelt Karīsh in the British Museum MS.), Mazdai, Vīzān, Manashar, are all, he says, good old Persian names. Mazdai was the name of the well-known satrap of Babylonia known to the Greeks as Μαζαῖος, who died 328 B. C. Sandarūk reminds him of a similar word at the beginning of "the essentially Syriac *Romance of Julian*," a work assigned by Wright to the 6th century. (See *Short History of Syriac Literature*, London, 1894, p. 101.)

Mygdonia (or Magdonia) is another name for Nisibis. Ḥabbān has a Semitic look. (*Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, pp. 68 and 72 ; *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1900.) The fact that Kōrēsh (Cyrus) has become in the Greek Χαρίσιος, instead of Κῦρος, is suggestive of a blundering translator, and seems to be one of the many minor indications that the original was Syriac.

The Persian names, so far as they prove anything, seem to exclude the idea that the scene of St. Thomas' death was in South India.

Proper names contained in the Syriac Acts of St. Thomas, and the corresponding names in Greek and Latin versions.

	Syriac.	Greek.	Latin.	
1	Ḥabbān.	Ἀββάνης.	Abban. Abbanes.	Arabic, Ḥabbān. See Dr. Wright's translation, p. 146, footnote. The merchant sent from India by King Gudnaphar to bring him an artificer.
2	Gūdnaphar. Gundaphar.	Γουνδαφόρος. Γουνδιαφόρος. Γουντάφορος.	Gundaforus. Gundoforus.	"The King of India" (Syriac): ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ινδῶν (Greek): "Rex Indiae," "Rex Indorum" (Latin).
3	Sandarūk. Sanadrūk.	Ἀνδράπολις.	Andranopolis. Andranobolys. Andronopolis. Adrianopolis.	City of an unnamed king: and a seaport.
4	Gad.	Γάδ.	Gad.	Brother of King Gūdnaphar. "Gad" seems to have been the name of a Babylonian deity in the time of Isaiah (say 8th century B. C.). See Is. lxv, 11, A. V., margin.
5	Mazdai.	Μισδαῖος. Μισδέος.	Misdeus. Mesdeus. Migdeus.	A king in India ("India superior," according to some Latin versions).
6	Ṣifūr.	Σίφωρ. Σιφώρ. Σίφορος. Σιφώρας. Σήμφορος.	Saphor. Saphyr. Sapor. Siforus. Sephor. Siforatus. Sinforus. Sinfurus. Symphoras.	The General of King Mazdai.
7	Xanthippus.	Ξενοφῶν.	......	Deacon of St. Thomas. Not named in the Latin.
8	Karīsh (Brit.Mus.) Kōrēsh (Sachau).	Χαρίσιος.	Charisius. Caritius. Kritius. Carisius. Carissius.	Kinsman of King Mazdai. Kōrēsh is the Syriac for Cyrus.
9	Mygdonia.	Μυγδονία.	Mygdonia. Migdonia.	Wife of Karīsh.
10	Narkia.	Μαρκία. Ναρκία.	Narchia. Marchia.	Nurse of Mygdonia.
11	Tertia.	Τερτία. Τερεντιανή. Τερτιανή.	Treptia. Tertia. Trepicia. Triplicia.	Wife of King Mazdai.
12	Vīzān.	Οὐαζάνης. Ἰουζάνης. Ἰουαζάνης. Ἀζάνης.	Zuzanes. Zuzani. Zuzanius. Luzanis. Oazanes.	Son of King Mazdai.
13	Manashar.	Μνησάρα. Αυισάρα. Σεμνησάρα. Σισάρα.	Manasara. Manazara.	Wife of Vīzān.

3. — Other particulars.

Of other particulars that may serve as indications of place and time, there are few, if any, in the Acts. In fact, if we leave out the proper names, these Acts might refer to any ancient countries where there were kings and cities. However, in the short outline of the story given above, a few particulars have been noted that may be of service. We might expect some references to the religions of the countries, and to their priests or ministers; but there are none. The references to plants and animals, ships, buildings, furniture, carriages, money, musical instruments, implements, clothes, etc., yield no information. We can hardly infer anything of the social condition or customs of the people from these references.

Plants. — The only plant named is the myrtle. A "cane" is mentioned as used for taking the measurements of the palace to be built for King Gūdnaphar.

Animals. — The animals named are a lion and dogs at Sandarūk, a black deadly poisonous snake and an ass's colt near the city of King Gūdnaphar, the "cattle" (Greek ὑποζύγια) which drew the "chariot" when St. Thomas journeyed with Ṣīfūr to the city of King Mazdai, and a troop of wild asses encountered on the way. Wild asses are found in the Indus Valley; but they are also found in Beluchistan, Persia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, etc. Marco Polo reported them on the road from Yezd to Kerman.

Buildings. — As to buildings, there is just the bare mention of palace, house or prison, and we learn also that King Gūdnaphar and his brother were baptized in a bath or bath-house, and that for seven days beforehand no one was allowed to bathe therein.

Carriages and Furniture. — There are the "chariot" (Greek ὄχημα) above mentioned, a palanquin (so Dr. Wright thinks he had better translate the Syriac word) in which Mygdonia was carried, and a seat with two legs, with which King Mazdai beat St. Thomas about the head. Also, Ṣīfūr says, "for three years no table has been laid in my house, and my wife and daughter have not sat at it."

Some sort of a *street fountain* is mentioned, for the wife of Ṣīfūr says, "I was going along the street, and had come to the pipe that throweth up water."

Clothing. — We are told how Karīsh took the *turban* off one of the servants, and put it round St. Thomas' neck in order to drag him along.

Linen cloths were used to prepare the body of the apostle for the tomb. Was linen ever known in India?

Money is mentioned; St. Thomas was sold to Ḥabbān for twenty pieces of silver; 20 zūzē and 360 zūzē are named as bribes to King Mazdai's jailors.

There is a *Hebrew flute-girl*, and there are *cup-bearers* at the marriage feast at Sandarūk.

Mygdonia has a *nurse*, with whom she slept to avoid the importunities of her husband. He is stated to have been afraid of Mygdonia, his wife, "for she was far superior to him in her wealth, and also in her understanding."

The wife of Ṣīfūr describes the devils who torment her as *black men.*

St. Thomas was buried "in *the sepulchre* in which the ancient kings were buried."

None of the above allusions seem to specially suggest India, ancient or modern. Some of them would seem to exclude Southern India as the scene of the apostle's martyrdom. But we cannot lay any particular stress upon them, in any direction.

II. — Writers of the first six centuries of the Christian era who make mention of the apostleship of St. Thomas.

The following writers of the first six centuries of the Christian era make mention of the apostleship of St. Thomas :—

1.—The author of the Syriac work, entitled "The Doctrine of the Apostles;" perhaps 2nd century.
2.—Heracleon ; probably 170 to 180.
3.—The writer of "The Clementine Recognitions;" perhaps as early as 200 to 220.
4.—Clement of Alexandria ; died about 220.
5.—Origen; died about 251 to 254.
6.—Eusebius; died about 340.
7.—St. Ephraem the Syrian; died about 378.
8.—St. Gregory Nazianzen ; died 389 or 390.
9.—St. Gregory of Nyssa ; died about 394.
10.—St. Ambrose; died about 397.
11.—St. Asterius ; died about 400.
12.—St. John Chrysostom; died 407.
13.—Rufinus ; died 410.
14.—St. Gaudentius ; died probably between 410 and 427.
15.—St. Jerome ; died 420.
16.—St. Paulinus of Nola ; died 431.
17.—Sozomen ; about 443.
18.—Socrates ; about 445.
19.—St. Gregory of Tours ; died 594.

There are probably other writers who might be quoted, especially among those who wrote in Syriac ; but I have not been able to trace them. For the purpose of this paper, it is not necessary to go beyond the sixth century.

The necessary quotations from the writers and writings above-named will now be given.

1. — The ancient Syriac work, entitled "The Doctrine of the Apostles." (Written perhaps in the 2nd century.) Extracts:—

" And after the death of the Apostles there were Guides and Rulers in the churches, and whatsoever the Apostles had communicated to them, and they had received from them, they taught to the multitudes all the time of their lives. They again at their deaths also committed and delivered to their disciples after them everything which they had received from the Apostles, also what James had written from Jerusalem, and Simon from the city of Rome, and John from Ephesus, and Mark from the great Alexandria, and Andrew from Phrygia, and Luke from Macedonia, and Judas Thomas from India ; that the epistles of an Apostle might be received and read in the churches, in every place, like those Triumphs of their Acts, which Luke wrote, are read, that by this the Apostles might be known . . . . . ."

" India, and all its countries, and those bordering on it, even to the farthest sea, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was Guide and Ruler in the church which he built there, and ministered there."

These translations are taken from W. Cureton : *Ancient Syriac Documents*: London, 1864, pp. 32, 33.

2. — Heracleon, a gnostic, who wrote in the 2nd century, probably about 170 to 180. Clement of Alexandria in his " Stromata" (Miscellanies), book 4, chapter 9, headed " Christ's sayings regarding martyrdom," after quoting Luke xii. 11, 12, writes as follows :—

" In explanation of this passage, Heracleon, the most distinguished of the school of Valentinus, says expressly, 'that there is a confession by faith and conduct, and one with the voice. The confession that is made by the voice, and before the authorities, is what the most reckon the holy confession. Not soundly : and hypocrites also can confess with this confession. But neither will this utterance be found to be spoken universally ; for all the saved have confessed with the confession made with the voice, and departed. Of whom are Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi and many others. And confession by the lips is not universal, but partial'. . . ."

This is not particularly intelligible. It is taken from *The writings of Clement of Alexandria translated by the Rev. William Wilson*, Edinburgh, 1869, Vol. 2, pp. 170 to 171. It seems, however, to agree with the Greek in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 8, Paris, 1857, cols. 1281-2.

R. A. Lipsius refers to it as meaning that St. Thomas, with the other apostles named, died a natural death; and he attaches importance to it as the early testimony of one of the gnostics, among whom originated, according to his view, the Acts of St. Thomas, which contain the details of the apostle's martyrdom. See his article "Acts of the Apostles (Apocryphal)" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography, etc.*, Vol. 1, London, 1877. Lipsius calls Heracleon a "perfectly "trustworthy witness," and adds:—"This witness deserves all the more attention, inasmuch as it comes "from a Gnostic source, *i.e.*, from one of those circles in which afterwards sprang up the legends of the "martyrdom of St. Matthew by fire, the crucifixion of St. Philip, and the impaling of St. Thomas." It is not necessary to adopt Lipsius' ideas. His theories were sometimes impossible.

The sense of the passage from Clement of Alexandria is perhaps better given, than by Wilson, in an article on Heracleon by G. Salmon, in the dictionary above quoted, Vol. 2, 1880, as follows:—

"Men mistake in thinking that the only confession is that made by the voice before the "magistrates; there is another confession made in the life and conversation, by faith and works "corresponding to the faith. The first confession may be made by a hypocrite, and it is one not "required of all; there are many who have never been called on to make it, as, for instance, Matthew, "Philip, Thomas, Levi [Lebbaeus]; the other confession must be made by all."

3. — The Clementine Recognitions. In book 9, chapter 29, we read:—

"Denique apud Parthos, sicut nobis Thomas, qui apud illos Evangelium prædicat, scripsit, non "multi jam erga plurima matrimonia diffunduntur, nec multi apud Medos canibus objiciunt mortuos "suos, neque Persae matrum conjugiis aut filiarum incestis matrimoniis delectantur, nec mulieres "Susides licita ducunt adulteria; nec potuit ad crimina genesis compellere, quos religionis doctrina "prohibebat."

See Migne: *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1857, col. 1415.

We only possess the Clementine Recognitions in the Latin translation made probably not long after 400 by Rufinus, who is supposed to have subjected them to some mild expurgation. We do not know the date of the original writing. F. J. A. Hort (*Notes Introductory to the Study of the Clementine Recognitions*: London, 1901) considered that it and the Clementine Homilies were both derived from a common original, which may probably be dated in the first or second decade of the 3rd century, and was probably written in Palestine, east of the Jordan, or in the region running northward thence between the mountains and the desert.

4. — Clement of Alexandria; died about 220. His testimony must, I think, be taken to be the same as that of Heracleon (above-mentioned No. 2), whom he quotes apparently with approval. In other words, he seems to allege that St. Thomas died a natural death.

5. — Origen; born 185 or 186, died about 251 to 254. He was a native of Alexandria, and most of his life was spent in Egypt and Palestine. We have his testimony, as will be seen in the next place, only through the medium of Eusebius, who quotes his Commentary on Genesis, an elaborate work, of which we only possess some fragments. According to Origen, Parthia was the region allotted to St. Thomas.

6. — Eusebius, surnamed Pamphilus; born in Palestine about 264, Bishop of Caesarea 315, died about 340. Extract from his Ecclesiastical History, book 3:—

"Chapter I. — The parts of the world where Christ was preached by the apostles. — Such, "then, was the state of the Jews at this time. But the holy apostles and disciples of our "Saviour, being scattered over the whole world, Thomas, according to tradition, received Parthia "as his allotted region; Andrew received Scythia, and John, Asia; where, after continuing for

"some time, he died at Ephesus . . . . This account is given by Origen, in the third book of "his exposition of Genesis."

This translation from the Greek is by C. F. Crusé: *Ecclesiastical History by Eusebius*: London, 1847, p. 101.

7. — **St. Ephraem the Syrian**; born about 300, died about 378. He spent most of his life at Edessa. The following Latin translation of a portion of one of St. Ephraem's Syriac hymns is taken from Dr. G. Bickell: *St. Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena*: Leipzig, 1866, pp. 163-4.

"XLI. Octavum carmen ejusdem modi [*i. e.*, Ad modum : cornu et tuba, as shewn by heading "of Carm. XXXV.: 'De Domino nostro et de morte et diabolo. Ad modum cornu et tuba.']

"Argumentum. Lamentatur diabolus de damnis, quibus per reliquias S. Thomae Edessae "asservatas afficitur.

"1. Ululavit diabolus: — Quem in locum nunc fugere possum justos? Mortem incitavi ad apos- "tolos interficiendos, ut per mortem eorum evadam verberibus eorum. Sed nunc multo durius "verberor. Apostolus quem interfeci in India, praevenit mihi Edessam. Hic et illic totus est; "illuc profectus sum, et erat illic; hic et illic inveni eum et contristatus sum. (Responsorium:— "Laudetur potentia, quae habitat in ossibus sanctis!)

"2. Ossa portaverat mercator ille, vel potius illa portaverunt eum. Ecce enim ab invicem "lucrati sunt. Mihi autem quid profuerunt, cum sibi invicem profuerint? Ambo mihi damnum "intulerunt. Quis monstrabit capsam Iscariotis ex qua fortitudinem accepi? Capsa autem "Thomae interfecit me, quia virtus occulta, habitans in ea, excruciat me.

"3. Moyses electus portaverat ossa in fide tamquam lucrum. Si ergo magnus hic propheta "credidit, auxilium inesse in ossibus, recte etiam credidit mercator et recte se nominavit mercatorem. "Hic mercator lucratus est et magnus factus est et regnavit. Aerarium ejus valde me depaupe- "ravit; Edessae enim apertum est, et ditavit magnam urbem auxilio suo.

"4. Obstupui de hoc aerario thesaurorum; antea enim exiguus erat thesaurus ejus, et, quam- "quam nemo aliquid abstulerat ab eo, tamen parcus erat fons divitiarum ejus. Postquam autem "multi circumdederunt et diripuerunt illud et rapuerunt utilitates ejus, quo magis diripitur, eo "abundantius multiplicantur divitiae ejus. Quando enim quaeritur fons occlusus, valde scinditur, "et tum demum late fluere et effundi potest."

Then follow six more strophes. Dr. Bickell's notes on the four strophes quoted are useful: they are:—

"Confirmatus hoc carmine (1) S. Thomam apostolum Indis evangelium praedicasse, quod "testatus etiam Ambrosius (in ps. 45), Paulinus Nolanus (carm. 26), Hieronymus (ep. 148 ad "Marcellam), Gregorius Nazianzenus (orat. 21); (2) eum ibidem martyrio coronatum esse, qua de "re apud scriptores vetustiores nullum invenitur testimonium, immo negatur ab Heracleone haeretico "apud Clementem Alexandrinum (strom. lib. 4, p. 502); testes autem sunt Gregorius Turonensis, "Gaudentius Brixiensis, S. Nilus, S. Asterius, fortasse etiam Theodoretus (qui gr. aff. cur. lib. 8, "p. 607, Thomam aliquem inter celeberrimos martyres numerat); (3) reliquias ejus Edessae asservatas "esse, quod asserunt etiam Rufinus (hist. eccl. 2, 5), Socrates (4, 18), Sozomenus (6, 18), auctor vitæ "syriacae S. Ephraemi (B. O. I. p. 49) et chronici Edesseni ad ann. 705 et 753 aerae graecae. "Apparet tamen ex hac et quarta stropha, non totum S. Thomae corpus Edessam translatum esse, "sed partem tantum, alia parte Indis relicta, quae adhuc Goae asservatur. Confirmatur ergo hoc "carmine opinio Baronii, qui recte jam observavit, et Edessae et in India partem harum reliquiarum "asservatam esse, refelluntur autem Pagius, Tillemont, Assemanus, qui Indicas S. Thomae reliquias "pro commento Nestorianorum habent.

"2. Docet nos S. Ephraem, haec ossa per mercatorem ex India Edessam asportata esse. De "hac translatione cf. etiam Gregorium Turonensem (de gloria martyrum c. 32) et Martyrologia ad

"3 Julii aut ad 21 Decembris. De tempore, quo Edessa tantum thesaurum accepit, nihil apud "antiquos legitur; Baronius autem ad a. 236 ait, incertam esse famam, hoc anno translationem "accidisse. Fontem suum non indicat, nec eum hucusque invenire potui."

8.—St. Gregory Nazianzen; born in Cappadocia about 329, bishop 372, died 389 or 390. Homily 33 against the Arians: extract from chap. 11 :—

"What! Were not the apostles strangers to the many nations and countries among which they "were divided that the gospel might be spread everywhere? . . . . . . Granting that Judaea "was the country of Peter, what had Paul in common with the gentiles, Luke with Achaia, Andrew "with Epirus, John with Ephesus, Thomas with India, Mark with Italy?"

The Greek text is in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 36, Paris, 1858, col. 227.

9.—St. Gregory of Nyssa; born about 331, bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia about 372; died soon after 394. In Epist. 13 he writes :—

"Mesopotamiae incolae, tametsi inter ipsos ditissimi Satrapiarum rectores essent, nihilominus "Thomam cunctis digniorem esse censuerunt, quem sibi ipsis praeficerent. Ita et Titum Cretenses, "et Hierosolymae cives Jacobum in episcopum elegerunt, nosque Cappadoces, centurionem illum, qui "passiones tempore divinitatem Domini fassus est."

This Latin translation of the Greek text is from R. Ceillier: *Histoire Générale des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclésiastiques*, Vol. 6, Paris, 1860, p. 254.

10.—St. Ambrose; born 340, bishop of Milan 374, died 397. "In Psalmum XLV. enarratio:" extract from chap. 21 (vers. 10):—

"Auferes bella usque ad fines terrae: arcum conteret et confringet arma: et scuta comburet "igni. Et vere antequam Romanum diffunderetur imperium, non solum singularum urbium reges "adversum se praeliabantur; sed etiam ipsi Romani bellis frequenter civilibus atterebantur . . . . "Unde factum est ut taedio bellorum civilium Julio Augusto Romanum deferretur imperium: et ita "praelia intestina sedata sunt. Hoc autem eo profecit, ut recte per totum orbem apostoli mitte- "rentur, dicente Domino Jesu: Euntes docete omnes gentes. (Matth. xxviii. 19.) Illis quidem "etiam interclusa barbaricis montibus regna patuerunt, ut Thomae India, Mattheo Persia . . . ."

Migne's *Patrologia*, Vol. 14, Paris, 1845, cols. 1142-3.

11.—St. Asterius, archbishop of Amasea in Pontus; died about 499. This Greek writer bears testimony to the fact of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, but does not specify any locality. In Homily 10, Eulogy of the holy martyrs, he says :—

"And see how many you dishonour in the one insult; John the Baptist, James who was called the brother of the Lord, Peter, Paul, Thomas; I name these as chiefs of the martyrs."

The original is in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 40, Paris, 1863, cols. 325-6.

12. — St. John Chrysostom; born 347, archbishop of Constantinople 397, died 407. Translation of a passage from Homily 26 on the Epistle to the Hebrews :—

"But tell me: do not the bones of Moses himself lie in a foreign land? And as to those of "Aaron, of David, of Jeremiah, and of many apostles, we do not even know where they are. The "graves of Peter and Paul and John and Thomas are indeed known (δῆλοι οἱ τάφοι); but of the "others, though they are so many, nothing is known."

The original text is in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 63, Paris, 1862, col. 179.

13. — **Rufinus Tyrannus**; born about 345, died 410. He wrote in Italy. Extracts from his "Historia ecclesiastica:"—

Lib. I. Cap. IX., "De captivitate Frumentii et Edesii, et de conversione Indorum per ipsos gesta.

"In ea divisione orbis terrae, quae ad praedicandum verbum Dei sorte per Apostolos "celebrata est, cum aliae aliis provinciae obvenissent, Thomae Parthia, et Matthaeo Æthiopia, "adhaerens citerior India Bartholomaeo dicitur sorte decreta . . . . . ."

Lib. II., Cap. V., "De persecutione quae fuit apud Edessam.

"Edessa namque Mesopotamiae urbs fidelium populorum est, Thomae Apostoli Reliquiis "decorata . . . . . ."

From Migne's *Patrologia*, Vol. 21, Paris, 1849, cols. 478 and 513.

14. — **St. Gaudentius**, bishop of Brescia in 402; date of death uncertain, probably between 410 and 427. Extract from Sermo XVII. [After speaking of St. John the Baptist, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, and St. Luke, he says]:—

"Horum quatuor beatas habemus in praesenti reliquias, qui regnum Dei, et justitiam "praedicantes, ab incredulis, et iniquis occisi, Deo semper vivere operationum suarum "virtutibus demonstrantur. Joannes in Sebastena urbe provinciae Palaestinae, Thomas apud "Indos, Andreas et Lucas apud Patras Achaiae civitatem, consummati referuntur."

Migne: *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 20, Paris, 1845, cols. 962-3. This Sermon was delivered on the occasion of the dedication of the church "basilica Concilii Sanctorum" at Brescia, for which church, as St. Gaudentius states in his discourse, he had obtained relics of St. Thomas, and other martyrs, whom he names. The church no longer exists, at least not under its original name.

15. — **St. Jerome**; born about 340, priest 379, died 420. Extract from "Epistola LIX. ad Marcellam." This letter is sometimes quoted as CXLVIII. It was written in 395 or 396.

"Erat igitur uno eodemque tempore et cum apostolis quadraginta diebus, et cum angelis, et in Patre, et in extremis maris finibus erat; in omnibus locis versabatur; cum Thoma in India, cum Petro Romae, cum Paulo in Illyrico, cum Tito in Creta, cum Andrea in Achaia, cum singulis apostolis et apostolicis viris, in singulis cunctisque regionibus."

Migne: *Patrologia*, Vol. 22, Paris, 1845, col. 589.

16. — **St. Paulinus of Nola**: born at or near Bordeaux about 353, bishop of Nola 409, died 431. Extract from Poema XIX., carmen XI. in S. Felicem:—

"Sic Deus et reliquis tribuens pia munera terris
"Sparsit ubique loci magnas sua membra per urbes
"Sic dedit Andream Patris, Ephesosque, Joannem
"Ut simul Europam, atque Asiam curaret in illis,
"Discuteretque graves per lumina tanta tenebras.
"Parthia Matthaeum complectitur, India Thomam,
"Lebbaeum Libyes, Phriges accepere Philippum."

Migne: *Patrologia*, Vol. 61, Paris, 1847, cols. 513-4.

17. — **Sozomen**, ecclesiastical historian; he wrote his history in Greek at Constantinople about 443. In book 6, ch. 18, speaking of the emperor Valens, who reigned from 364 to 378, he writes:—

"Having heard that there was a magnificent church at Edessa named after the apostle "Thomas, he went to see it."

This is from a translation published by Samuel Bagster & Sons, London, 1846 : the name of the translator is not given. I have not seen the original Greek. But, if the word μαρτύριον is used for church, it would probably imply that the relics of St. Thomas or some part of them were enshrined there.

18. — Socrates, surnamed Scholasticus, of Constantinople; born 306 ; the date of his death is not stated, but it must have been after 445, as his history of the church, written in Greek, extends to that year.

In book 1, ch 19, he writes:— "When the apostles went forth by lot among the nations, "Thomas received the apostleship of the Parthians."

In book 4, ch. 18, he writes :— "But I must here mention a circumstance that occurred at "Edessa in Mesopotamia. There is in that city a magnificent church (μαρτύριον) dedicated to "St. Thomas the apostle, wherein on account of the sanctity of the place, religious assemblies "are incessantly held."

Socrates here uses the word μαρτύριον, which was generally applied to a church or basilica where the relics of some martyr were deposited. He must, I think, be taken to mean that the relics of St. Thomas, or some part of them, were enshrined in this church. The incident which he relates took place while the emperor Valens, who reigned 364 to 378, was at Edessa. The above passages are taken from a translation published by Samuel Bagster & Sons, London, 1844. The name of the translator is not given.

19. — St. Gregory of Tours; born probably in 538, bishop in 573, died 594. Extract from "Libri miraculorum : liber primus: de gloria beatorum martyrum : caput XXXII. : de Thoma apostolo :"—

"Thomas apostolus (Post an 66, 21 Dec.) secundum passionis ejus historiam, in India "passus esse declaratur. Cujus beatum corpus post multum tempus assumptum in civitate quam "Syri Edissam vocant, translatum est, ibique sepultum. Ergo in loco regionis Indiae, quo "prius quievit, monasterium habetur, et templum mirae magnitudinis, diligenterque exornatum "atque compositum. In hac igitur aede magnum miraculum Deus ostendit. Lychnus etenim "inibi positus, atque illuminatus, ante locum sepulturae ipsius perpetualiter die noctuque divino "nutu resplendet, a nullo fomentum olei scirpique accipiens : neque vento extinguitur, neque casu "dilabitur, neque ardendo minuitur; habetque incrementum, per apostoli virtutem, quod nescitur "ab homine, cognitum tamen habetur divinae potentiae. Hoc Theodorus qui ad ipsum locum "accessit nobis exposuit. In supradicta igitur urbe, in qua beatos artus diximus tumulatos, "adveniente festivitate, magnus aggregatur populorum coetus, ac de diversis regionibus cum votis "negotiisque venientibus, vendendi comparandique per triginta dies sine ulla telonei exactione "licentia datur. In his vero diebus qui in mensi habentur quinto, magna et inusitata populis "praebentur beneficia. Non scandalum surgit in plebe, non musca insidet mortificatae carni, "non latex deest sitienti. Nam cum ibi reliquis diebus plusquam centenum pedum altitudine "aqua hauriatur a puteis, tunc paululum si fodias, affatim lymphas exuberantes invenies, quod "non ambigitur haec virtute beati apostoli impertiri. Decursis igitur festivitatis diebus, telon- "eum publicum redditur, musca quae defuit adest, propinquitas aquae dehiscit. Dehinc emissa "divinitus pluvia ita omne atrium templi a sordibus et diversis squaloribus qui per ipsa solem- "nia facti sunt mundat, ut putes locum nec fuisse calcatum."

Migne : *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 71, Paris, 1849, cols. 733-4.

The information contained in the above passages may be summed up as follows, with the remark that the years given in the list are generally the years of the death of the writers named :—

1	2nd cent.?	Syriac "Doctrine of the Apostles."	St. Thomas wrote letters from "India." He evangelised "India" and countries bordering on it.
2	c. 170	Heracleon	St. Thomas died a natural death.
3	c. 210 ?	Clementine Recognitions .	St. Thomas evangelised the Parthians.
4	220	Clement of Alexandria ..	St. Thomas died a natural death.
5	251	Origen	St. Thomas evangelised the Parthians.
6	340	Eusebius	Do. do. do.
7	378	St. Ephraem	St. Thomas was martyred in "India." His relics were part at Edessa, part in India.
8	389	St. Gregory Nazianzen ..	St. Thomas evangelised India.
9	394	St. Gregory of Nyssa ...	St. Thomas evangelised Mesopotamia.
10	397	St. Ambrose	St. Thomas was martyred.
11	400	St. Asterius	St. Thomas was martyred.
12	407	St. John Chrysostom ..	The locality of the grave of St. Thomas was known to him.
13	410	Rufinus	St. Thomas evangelised Parthia. His relics were at Edessa.
14	410	St. Gaudentius	St. Thomas was martyred in India. Some of his relics were at Brescia.
15	420	St. Jerome	St. Thomas was in India.
16	431	St. Paulinus of Nola ..	St. Thomas was allotted India.
17	443	Sozomen	He mentions the famous church of St. Thomas at Edessa, and perhaps implies that his relics were there.
18	c. 445	Socrates	Do. do. do.
19	594	St. Gregory of Tours ...	St. Thomas was martyred in India; his relics were translated to Edessa, and there was then existing a famous church in India, at the place where the body of the apostle was first buried.

The early evidence is, then, that St. Thomas evangelised Parthia; and, apart from the Syriac "Doctrine of the Apostles," there does not seem to be any mention of "India" in connection with St. Thomas till we get to St. Ephraem (378) and St. Gregory Nazianzen (389), the two living in adjacent countries. The "Doctrine of the Apostles" would be more important if we could fix its date; from expressions used in it, it is thought to be of the 2nd century; but Lipsius says "towards the end of the 4th cent.," which would bring it to the time of St. Ephraem. See article in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography, etc.*, Vol. I, London, 1877.

It will be noticed that in none of these ancient writings is there any mention whatever of the name of the place at which St. Thomas was martyred, — Calamina, as it appears in later and perhaps undateable writings. Of some of these, it is necessary now to give some account.

(To be continued.)

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WESTERN HINDÎ, INCLUDING HINDÔSTÂNÎ.

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THE following bibliography deals with what I call Western Hindî, a language which includes the Bundêlî, Kanaujî, Braj Bhâkhâ, and Hindôstânî[1] dialects. The last appears under two phases, — viz. (1) the vernacular language of the Upper Dôâb, and (2) the well-known *Lingua Franca*, which has received literary cultivation. As a literary language Hindôstânî appears under several forms. Rêkhta, or Hindôstânî poetry following the Persian rules of metre, may be taken as commencing with Walī of Aurangabad (16th century). Hindôstânî prose did not take birth till the end of the 18th century, among the learned natives at the College of Fort William, and under the fostering care of Dr. Gilchrist. We may note three varieties of it, — (1) ordinary Hindôstânî, capable of being written either in the Persian or Dêva-nâgarî character, and intelligible to both Musalmâns and Hindûs, of which the *Baitâl Pachîsî* may be taken as a good example; (2) Urdû, the variety employed by literary Musalmâns, more or less loaded with a Persian (including Arabic) vocabulary, and capable of being written only in a modified form of the Persian alphabet, of which the *Bâgh o bahâr* is a familiar example; and (3) Hindî, the variety employed by literary Hindûs, more or less loaded with a Sanskrit vocabulary, and capable of being written only in the Dêva-nâgarî alphabet. The *Prêm-sâgar* is an example. Hindî has rarely been used for anything but prose. Attempts at employing it for poetry have only resulted in derision. The Hindû poetry in the Western Hindî language is almost all in Braj Bhâkhâ. When Urdû or ordinary Hindôstânî is employed for poetry, it becomes Rêkhta.

I do not include under the name of Western Hindî the language of Oudh and the neighbourhood, or the dialects of Rajputana and Central India. The language of Oudh, which is that employed by Tulasî Dâs for his Râmâyaṇ, is a form of Eastern Hindî, an altogether different language.[2] I group the Rajputana dialects under one language-name, Râjasthânî. This language is more closely allied to Gujarâtî than to Western Hindî.

Of the dialects of Western Hindî, Braj Bhâkhâ and Hindôstânî are the ones which have received most literary culture. Kanaujî is so like Braj Bhâkhâ, that it hardly deserves separate mention. I only refer to it as its existence is popularly recognised. Some few works have been written in Bundêlî, but none of them have been critically edited. Indeed, this important dialect has been almost entirely ignored by students. Even Dr. Kellogg does not describe it in his *Grammar*. Kanaujî and Bundêlî are therefore hardly mentioned in this bibliography. Nearly all the entries refer either to Braj Bhâkhâ or to one or other of the various forms of Hindôstânî.

The Bibliography is divided into four sections: —

I. — *General.* — This deals with works giving a general account of the language or of one or more of its dialects, including works dealing with the subject from the point of view of comparative philology.

II. — *Grammars, Dictionaries, and other helps to the student.* — I have endeavoured to make this as complete as possible up to the date of the Mutiny. After that I have selected, perhaps in a somewhat arbitrary fashion.

III. — *Selections, Collections of scattered pieces, and Collections of Proverbs.* — This includes some Readers put together mainly for students.

IV. — *Texts.* — Here, with a few exceptions, I have confined myself to works which have been more or less critically edited by European scholars. It would have been impossible to enumerate the huge mass of texts which have issued without any attempt at editing from the native presses of

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[1] This is the correct spelling of the word, not 'Hindûstânî.' In Urdû poetry, 'Hindôstân' rhymes with 'Bôstân.' See C. J. Lyall, *Sketch of the Hindustani Language*, Edinburgh, 1880, p. 1, Note 1.

[2] *Vide ante*, Vol. XXVII. pp. 262 and ff.

India. For them, the reader can consult Mr. Blumhardt's *Catalogues* of Hindustani and Hindi works in the British Museum Library, and of the same in the India Office Library. These are all published separately, and can be obtained at a moderate price. To this section I have added an appendix giving a list of early translations of the Scriptures into the various dialects of Western Hindî.

In each of the first three sections, all the works of one writer are grouped together, and each writer is arranged in order of the date of the first work mentioned under his name. In the fourth section writers are arranged alphabetically.

I shall be grateful for any additions to, or corrections in regard to, the lists.

The earliest date which Yule gives of the use of the word 'Hindôstânî' is 1616, when Terry speaks of Tom Coryate being proficient in 'the Indostan, or more vulgar language.'[3] We may also note that Terry, in his *A Voyage to East India* (1655), gives a brief description of the vulgar tongue of the country of Indostan, which will be found quoted below under J. Ogilby. So Fryer (1673) (quoted by Yule) says: 'The Language at Court is *Persian*, that commonly spoken is *Indostan* (for which they have no proper character, the written Language being called *Banyan*).' It is evident, therefore, that early in the 17th century it was known in England that the *Lingua Franca* of India was this form of speech. On the other hand, another set of authorities stated that the *Lingua Franca* of India was Malay. So Ogilby in the passages quoted below. Again, David Wilkins. in the preface to Chamberlayne's collection of versions of the Lord's Prayer (published 1715), explains that he could not get a version in the Bengali language, as that form of speech was dying out, and was being superseded by Malay. He therefore, for Bengali, gave a Malay version, written in the Bengali character.

It is possible that Ogilby had less excuse than appears for his mistake, for Mr. Quaritch, in his Oriental Catalogue published in 1887, mentions a MS. Dictionary then in his possession (No. 34, 724 in the Catalogue)[4] which he doubtfully dates as 'Surat, about 1630.' This is a Dictionary of Persian, Hindôstânî, English, and Portuguese, and he describes it as 'a great curiosity as being the first work of its kind. It was probably compiled for the use of the English factory at Surat. The Persian is given in Native and in Roman letters, the Hindôstânî in Gujarâtî and Roman letters.' It is a small folio manuscript on Oriental tinted paper.

The celebrated traveller Pietro Della Valle arrived at Surat early in 1623, and remained in India till November 1624, his head-quarters being Surat and Goa. His Indian Travels were published in 1663,[5] and he has the honour of being the first to mention the Nâgarî, or, as he calls it, Naghèr, alphabet in Europe. He also mentioned a language which was current all over India, like Latin in Europe, and which was written in that character.[6] This is, however, probably Sanskrit, not Hindôstânî.

A Jesuit's College was founded at Âgrâ in the year 1620, and to it, in 1653, came Father Heinrich Roth.[7] Here he studied Sanskrit, and wrote a grammar of that language. He visited Rome in 1664, and afterwards returned to Âgrâ, where he died in 1668. While in Rome he met Kircher, who was then in that city getting the imprimatur for his *China Illustrata*, and gave him information regarding the Nâgarî alphabet which he incorporated in that work. It was published at Amsterdam in 1667, and its full title was *Athanasii Kircheri e Soc. Jesu* CHINA *Monumentis qua sacris qua profanis, nec non variis Naturae et Artis Spectaculis, aliarumque Rerum memorabilium Argumentis* ILLUSTRATA. Roth's contributions (besides verbal information) consisted of a set of

[3] See, for this and other quotations, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. vv. *Hindostanee* and *Moors*. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that in the 18th century Hindôstâni was commonly called 'Moors.'

[4] It has since been sold, and I have failed to trace it.

[5] So *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*) gives 1650-53. [Edited for the Hakluyt Society by Edward Grey, B.C.S., 1892, 2 Vols. — ED.]

[6] See Professor Zachariae, in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, XVI. pp. 205 and ff.

[7] See Professor Zachariae, *V. O. J.*, XV. pp. 313 and ff.

illustrations of the ten Avatâras of Vishṇu (nine of which have titles in both Roman and Nâgarî characters), and five plates, four of which describe the Nâgarî alphabet (*Elementa Linguae Hanscret*),[8] while the fifth gives the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* in Latin, but written (incorrectly enough) in the Nâgarî character. The Pater Noster begins as follows,—यातिर् (*sic*) नोस्तिर की एस् इन् सेलिस्. [8]

In 1673 John Ogilby, Cosmographer, published in London — *Asia, the first Part. Being an Accurate Description of Persia, and the Several Provinces thereof. The Vust Empire of the Great Mogol, and other Parts of India; and their several Kingdoms and Regions: With the Denominations and Descriptions of the Cities, Towns, and Places of Remark therein contained. The various Customs, Habits, Religion, and Languages of the Inhabitants. Their Political Governments, and way of Commerce. Also the Plants and Animals peculiar to each Country. Collected and translated from the most authentick Authors, and augmented with later Observations, illustrated with notes and adorned with peculiar Maps, and proper Sculptures.* On pp. 59, 60, he deals with the Persian language and its three dialects, Xirazy, Rostazy, and Harmazy. On p. 129 he takes up the subject of the Malay language. He says, 'as to what concerns the Language of the Indians, it onely differs in general from the Moors and the Mahumetans, but they have also several different Dialects amongst themselves. Amongst all their Languages, there is none which spreads it self more than the Malayan.' He then proceeds to give a vocabulary of Malayan. He next rather wavers on this point, for (p. 134) he first quotes Pietro Della Valle to show that the same speech is used everywhere, but the written characters differ. Next, he explains on Kircher's (not Pietro Della Valle's)[9] authority that the word 'Nagher' is used as the name both of a language and of a character. He then goes on, 'According to Mr. Edward Terry [see above] the Vulgar Tongue of Indostan hath great Affinity with the Persian and Arabic Tongues: but is pleasanter and easier to pronounce. It is a very fluent Language, expressing many things in few Words. They write and read like Us, viz., from the Left to the Right Hand.' (This last remark shows that some alphabet akin to Nâgarî, and not the Persian one, is referred to.) The language of the Nobility and Courts, and of all public businesses and writings is Persian, but 'Vulgar Mahumetans speak Turkish, but not so eloquently as the natural born Turks. Learned Persons, and Mahumetan Priests, speak the Arabic. But no Language extends further, and is of greater Use than the Malayan . . . . . The Netherlands East India Company have lately printed a Dictionary of the Common Discourse in that Tongue, as also the New Testament and other Books in the same Language. Moreover, the Holland Ministers in their several Factories in India, teach the Malayan Tongue, not only in their Churches, but Schools also.'[10]

In the same year we have Fryer's much more accurate statement about Indian languages already quoted.

In 1678 there appeared at Amsterdam the first volume of Henricus van Rheede tot Drakestein's[11] *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus adornatus per H. v. R. t. D.* The introduction contains eleven lines of Sanskrit, dated, in the Nâgarî character. The date corresponds to 1675 A. D.

In Berlin in the year 1680, Andreas Müller, under the pseudonym of Thomas Ludeken, produced a collection of versions of the Lord's Prayer under the title of *Oratio Orationum. S. s. Orationis*

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[8] All this is taken from Professor Zachariae's article above referred to. The representation of *coelis* by सेलिस् (*sēlis*) is interesting. The Italian pronunciation of the word is represented by चेलिस (*chêlis*) in Beligatti's work mentioned below.

[9] So O. Dapper's *Asia* (published in Dutch in 1672; German Translation, Nürnberg, 1681) in a passage which Ogilby has evidently translated in the above quotation. Professor Zachariae, however, states (*V. O. J.*, XVI.) that so far as he has been able to discover, Kircher does not mention Nagher at all. I have not seen Dapper's work, but Ogilby certainly borrowed largely from it.

[10] I am sorry that I can give no clue as to the Dutch works mentioned. Perhaps some of my readers can. Ogilby appears to have confused India Proper with the Dutch Settlements in Further India, where, of course, Malay *was* the *Lingua Franca.*

[11] See Professor Macdonell, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 350. The work appeared from 1678 to 1703 in twelve volumes.

dominicæ Versiones praeter authenticam fere centum, eaque longe emendatius quam antehac, et e probatissimis Autoribus potius quam prioribus Collectionibus, jamque singulâ genuinis Linguâ sua Characteribus, adeoque magnam Partem ex Aere ad Editionem a Barnimo Hagio traditae editaeque a Thoma Ludekenio, Solq. March. Berolini, ex Officina Rungiana, Anno 1680.[12] The Barnimus Hagius mentioned herein as the engraver is also a pseudonym for Müller himself. In this collection Roth's *Pater Noster* was reprinted as being actually Sanskrit, and not a mere transliteration of the Latin original.

In 1694 there appeared a work on Chess by Thomas Hyde, entitled *Historia Shahiludii.*[13] On pp. 132-137 he gives twelve different Sanskrit words for 'elephant' engraved in Nâgarî characters.

So far we have dealt only with general notices or with the accounts of the characters in which Hindôstânî is written. With the commencement of the 18th century we find the first attempts at giving serious accounts of the language itself. According to Amaduzzi in his preface to Beligatti's *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* (see below), a Capuchin monk named Franciscus M. Turonensis completed at Surat, in the year 1704, a manuscript *Lexicon Linguae Indostanicae*, in two parts, of between four and five hundred double-columned pages each. In Ámaduzzi's time it was still preserved in the library of the Propaganda in Rome, but when I searched for it there some twelve years ago it could not be found.

We now come to the first Hindôstânî grammar. John Joshua Ketelaer (also written Kötelär, Kessler, or Kettler) was a Lutheran by religion, born at Elbingen in Prussia. He was accredited to Shâh 'Âlum Bahâdur Shâh (1708-1712) and Jahândâr Shâh (1712) as Dutch envoy. In 1711 he was the Dutch East India Company's Director of Trade at Surat. He passed through Âgrâ both going to and coming from Lahore (*viâ* Delhi), but there does not seem to be any evidence available that he ever lived there, though the Dutch Company had a Factory in that city subordinate to Surat. The mission arrived near Lahore on the 10th December 1711, returned to Delhi with Jahândâr Shâh, and finally started from that place on the 14th October 1712, reaching Âgrâ on the 20th October. From Âgrâ they returned to Surat. In 1716 Ketelaer had been three years Director for the Dutch Company at Surat. He was then appointed their envoy to Persia, and left Batavia in July 1716, having been thirty years in the Dutch Service or in the East Indies. He died of fever at Gambroon on the Persian Gulf on his return from Isfahân, after having been two days under arrest, because he would not order a Dutch ship to act under the Persian Governor's orders against some Arab invaders.[14] He wrote a grammar and a vocabulary of the 'Lingua hindostanica,' which were published by David Mill, in 1743, in his *Miscellanea Orientalia* (see below). We may assume that they were composed about the year 1715.

In the same year there appeared another collection of versions of the Lord's Prayer. Its author was John Chamberlayne. It was published at Amsterdam, and had a preface by David Wilkins, who also contributed many of the specimens. Its full title was *Oratio dominica in diversas omnium fere Gentium Linguas versa et propriis cujusque Linguae Characteribus expressa, una cum Dissertationibus nonnullis de Linguarum Origine, variisque ipsarum Permutationibus. Editore Joa. Chamberlanio Anglo-Britanno, Regiae Societatis Londinensis Socio. Amstelodami, typis Guil. et David. Goerei, 1715.* For our present purpose, it is sufficient to remark, with reference to this celebrated work, that it reproduces Roth's *Pater Noster*, but without making Müller's error of imagining it to be Sanskrit.

Maturin Veyssière LaCroze was born at Nantes in 1661. In 1667 he became librarian to the Elector at Berlin and died in that city in 1739. As librarian he kept up a voluminous correspondence on linguistic subjects with the learned men of his time, including David Wilkins, John Chamberlayne, Ziegenbalg, and T. S. Bayer. This was published after his death under the title of *Thesavri*

[12] Adelung, *Mithridates*, Vol. I. pp. 654 and ff.

[13] See Professor Macdonell, *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 136, Note 2. Another similar work by the same author appeared in the same year, entitled *Historia Nerdiludii*. See Prof. Zachariae in *V. O. J.*, XV., quoted above.

[14] See G. A. Grierson, *Proceedings*, A. S. B., May, 1895. *Cf.* Adelung, *Mithridates*, Vol. I. p. 192.

Epistolici LaCroziani. Ex Bibliotheca Iordaniana edidit Io. Lvdovicvs Vhlivs. Lipsiae, 1742. In this we find him helping Wilkins and Chamberlayne in the compilation of the *Oratio Dominica* just mentioned. For our present purpose, the most important letters are those to and from Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, one of the brilliant band of scholars who founded the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg. In one of Bayer's letters (dated June 1, 1726) we find what are I believe the first words of what is intended for Hindôstânî ever published in Europe. These are the first four numerals as used by the 'Mogulenses Indi' (1 = *hicku*; 2 = *guu*; 3 = *tray*; 4 = *tzahr*), which are contained in a comparative statement of the numerals in eight languages. These numerals are, however, not really Hindôstânî. *Guu* is an evident misprint. The others are Sindhî (1 = *hiku*; 3 = *trê*; 4 = *châri*). Bayer does not say where he got these words from. Two years subsequently, in the third and fourth volumes of the Transactions of the Imperial Academy (for the years 1728 and 1729, published in 1732 and 1735 respectively) we find him busily deciphering the Nâgarî alphabet, first through means of a trilingual syllabary printed in China, which gave the Tibetan form of Nâgarî (Lântshâ), current Tibetan, and Manchu alphabets, and afterwards with the help of the missionary Schultze to be shortly mentioned.[15] Finally, in November 1731 LaCroze writes to Bayer that the character used for writing by the Marâṭhâs is called 'Balabande,' which, however, he adds, hardly differs from that used by the 'Bramans' which is called 'Nagara' or 'Dewanagara.' He then proceeds to show how, in his opinion, the 'Balabande' alphabet is derived from Hebrew, basing his contention on the forms of the letters in Roth's *Pater Noster* as reproduced in Chamberlayne's work.

Our next stage is Mill's *Dissertationes Selectae.* Its full title is *Davidis Millii Theologiae D. ejusdemque, nec non Antiquitatum sacrarum, & Linguarum orientalium in Academia Trajectina, Professoris ordinarii, Dissertationes selectae, varia s. Litterarum et Antiquitatis orientalis Capita exponentes et illustrantes. Curis secundis, novisque Dissertationibus, Orationibus, et Miscellaneis Orientalibus auctae. Lugduni Batavorum, 1743.* To us its principal interest consists in the fact that, in the *Miscellanea Orientalia*, he prints Ketelaer's Hindôstânî Grammar and Vocabulary, which, as we have seen, was written about the year 1715. He also gives some plates illustrating Indian alphabets. Two illustrate the Nâgarî character, and I am not certain from where he got them. The third is taken from Bayer's essay in the Transactions of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, and shows the Lântshâ, ordinary Tibetan, and Manchu characters. The fourth illustrates the Bengali alphabet. The *Miscellanea Orientalia* are on pp. 455-622 of the work. Caput, I., *De Lingua Hindustanica* (pp. 455-488). *Latin, Hindôstânî, and Persian Vocabulary* (pp. 504-509). *Etymologicum Orientale harmonicum* (a comparative vocabulary of Latin, Hindôstânî, Persian, and Arabic) (pp. 510-598). Except for the plates of characters, all the Hindôstânî is in the Roman character, the body of the work being written in Latin. The spelling of the Hindôstânî words is based on the Dutch system of pronunciation. Thus, *me kiri*, feci; *me kartsjoekœ* (*maĩ kar chukâ*), feci; *misjœ* (*mujhê*), mihi. The use of the Perso-Arabic alphabet for writing Hindôstânî is explained. In the two test points of the accuracy of all these old grammars (the distinguishing of the singular and of the plural of the personal pronouns, and the use of *nê* in the Agent case), Ketelaer is right in the first and wrong in the second. He recognises *maĩ* (which he spells *me*) and *tû* (*toe*) as singulars, and *ham* (*ham*) and *tum* (*tom*) as plurals. He has no idea of the use of *nê*. On the other hand, he teaches the Gujarâtî use of *âp* to mean 'we.'

Ketelaer's Grammar includes not only the Hindôstânî declensions and conjugations, but also versions of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer in that language. His translation of the last may be given as a specimen of the earliest known translation of any European language into Hindôstânî. It runs as follows:—

Hammare baab—Ke who asmaanmehe—Paak hoeĩ teere naom—Auwe hamko moluk teera—Hoé resja teera—Sjon asmaan ton sjimienme—Rootie hammare nethi hamkon aasde—Oor maafkaar taxier

[15] Regarding LaCroze and Bayer, see further particulars in Grierson, G. A., *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXII. (1893), Pt I., pp. 42 and ff.

apne hamko—Sjon mafkarte apre karresdaar onkon—Nedaal hamko is was wasjeme—Belk hamko ghaskar is boerayse. Teeræ he patsjayi, soorrauri alemgiere heametme. Ammen.

In the year following the publication of Ketelaer's Grammar appeared that of the celebrated missionary Schultze, whose name has been already mentioned more than once. The full title is *Viri plur. Reverendi Benjamin Schultzii Missionarii Evangelici Grammatica Hindostanica collectis in diuturna inter Hindostanos Commoratione in justum Ordinem redactis ac larga Exemporum* (sic) *Luce perfusis Regulis constans et Missionariorum Usui consecrata. Edidit et de suscipienda barbararum Linguarum Cultura prefatus est D. Jo. Henr. Callenberg. Halae Saxonum, 1744* (some copies are dated 1745). Schultze was aware of the existence of Ketelaer's Grammar, and mentioned it in his preface. Schultze's Grammar is in Latin. Hindôstânî words are given in the Perso-Arabic character with transliteration. The Nâgarî character (*Dewa-nágaricæ*) is also explained. He ignores the sound of the cerebral letters and (in his transliteration) of all aspirated ones. He is aware of the singular and plural forms of the personal pronouns, but is ignorant of the use of *nê* with the past tenses of transitive verbs.

Four years afterwards Johann Friedrich Fritz published the *Sprachmeister* with a preface by Schultze. Its title runs *Orientalisch-und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister, welcher nicht allein hundert Alphabete nebst ihrer Aussprache, So bey denen meisten Europäisch-Asiatisch-Africanisch-und Americanischen Völckern und Nationen gebräuchlich sind, Auch einigen Tabulis polyglottis verschiedener Sprachen und Zahlen vor Augen leget, Sondern auch das Gebet des Herrn, in 200 Sprachen und Mund-Arten mit dererselben Characteren und Lesung, nach einer Geographischen Ordnung mittheilet. Aus glaubwürdigen Auctoribus zusammen getragen, und mit darzu nöthigen Kupfern versehen. Leipzig, Zu finden bey Christian Friedrich Gessnern. 1748.* Fritz's book is a long way ahead of its predecessor Chamberlayne's. Part I. (pp. 1-219) gives tables of the alphabets of over a hundred different languages, with accounts of the mode of use of each. On pp. 120-122 we have described the use of the Perso-Arabic alphabet as applied to Hindôstânî. It may be noticed that all mention of the cerebral letters is omitted. On p. 123 we have the 'Devanagram,' on p. 124 the 'Balabandu,' and on pp. 125-131 the 'Akar Nagari,' which are all rightly classed together as various forms of the same alphabet, but the transliteration is often curiously incorrect. For instance, under 'Akar Nagari,' ड is transliterated *dhgja*, and it is explained that an *n* is always sounded before it and that the *j* is clearly pronounced as in the Arabic ج. It will be seen that here the existence of cerebral letters is indicated. Except in the case of 'Akar Nagari,' no attempt is made to distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated letters. On p. 204 are given the Hindôstânî numerals from 1-9, and 10, 20, 30, etc., up to 90. They commence, *Jek, do, tin, schahar, patsch, sche, sat, att, nau, das.* Part II. (pp. 1-128) contains the versions of the Lord's Prayer. On pp. 81 and 82 is given Schultze's 'Hindostanica seu Mourica seu Mogulsch' version in the Perso-Arabic character with transliteration. The latter begins, *Asman-po rahata-so hamara Bap, tumara naun pak karna hone deo, tumari Padaschahi ane deo,* etc. The versions in the Nâgarî character are Roth's transliterated version, Sanskrit in 'Dewa-nagaram s. Hanscret,' and Bhôjpurî in 'Akar-Nagarika' (the last two by Schultze). Finally there are comparative statements of the words for 'father,' 'heaven,' 'earth,' and 'bread' in all the languages quoted, and some other appendixes. The Hindôstânî forms of these four words are given as *Bab', Asmán, Hunnia,* and *Rosi,* respectively.

Our next authority is *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to diverse Parts of Asia.* By John Bell. Glasgow, 1763. (New Edition, Edinburgh, 1806.) In Chapter 12 of this work are given the Numerals of Indostan.

Of much more importance is the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum seu Indostanum Universitatis Kasí. Romae,* 1761. *Typis Sac. Congregationis de Propag. Fide.* It is by a Capuchin Missionary named Cassiano Beligatti, and is furnished with a preface by Johannes Christophorus Amadutius (Amaduzzi). In this preface there is a very complete account of the then existing knowledge regarding Indian languages. It describes Sanskrit (समस्क्रीत) correctly as the language of the

learned, and next refers to the 'बखा बोली' or 'Beka Boli' or common tongue which is found in the University of 'Kasi or Benarès.' It then goes on to enumerate the other principal alphabets of India which (except 'Nagrì, Nagrì Soratensis, or Balabandù') do not immediately concern us. Of more particular interest is his mention of a *Lexicon Linguae Indostanicae* which was composed by a Capuchin Missionary of Surat named Franciscus M. Turonensis, in the year 1704, the manuscript of which was then in the Propaganda Library in Rome, and which Amaduzzi describes at considerable length. He also mentions a manuscript dialogue (? in Hindôstânî) between a Christian and a Native of India regarding the truth of religion, which was dedicated to the Râjâ of Betiâ, in the present district of Champâran, by Josephus M. Gargnanensis and Beligatti, the author of the work we are now describing. The *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* is of importance as being the first book (so far as I am aware) in which the vernacular words are printed in their own character in moveable types. But not only are the Dêva-nâgarî letters represented by types, but even the Kaithî ones receive the same honour. Beligatti calls the Dêva-nâgarî character the 'Alphabetum expressum in litteris Universitatis Kasi,' and after covering over a hundred pages with a minute description of its use (including the compound consonants), he goes on, on page 110, to deal with the 'Alphabetum populare Indostanum vulgo *Nagri*.' This is, he says, used by all the natives for familiar letters and ordinary books, and for all subjects, whether religious or profane, which can be written in the 'भाखा बोली *bhakà boli* or vulgar tongue.'[16] He then gives a good description of the Kaithî alphabet, using moveable types also here. The book concludes with an account of the numerals and with reading exercises. These last are transliterations of the Latin *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* into Dêva-nâgarî, followed by translations of the Invocation of the Trinity, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Apostles' Creed into Hindôstânî, in the same character. Taking it altogether, the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* is, for its time, a wonderfully good piece of work.

With the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* the first stage of Hindôstânî Bibliography may be considered to be completed. Hadley's Grammar appeared in 1772, and was quickly followed by a number of other and better ones, such as the Portuguese *Gramatica Indostana* (1778 : far in advance of Hadley), Gilchrist's numerous works (commencing 1787), and Lebedeff's Grammar (1801). These will all be found below, each described in its proper place. Lebedeff's work deserves more than a mere entry on account of the extraordinary adventures of its author. This remarkable man gives an account of his life in the preface of his book, from which we gather that he began his Indian career (apparently as a bandmaster) in the year 1785 at Madras. After a stay there of two years he migrated to Calcutta, where he met with a Pandit who taught him Sanskrit, Bengali, and Hindôstânî (or, as he called it, the Indian mixed dialect). His next attempt was to translate two English plays into Bengali, and one of these was performed publicly with great applause (according to its author) in 1795 and again in the following year. According to Adelung,[17] he then became theatrical manager to the Great Mogul, and finally returned to England after a stay of more than twenty years in the East. In London he published his grammar, and made the acquaintance of Woronzow, the Russian Ambassador, who sent him to Russia. He was employed in the Russian Foreign Office and was given a large subvention towards founding a Sanskrit press. I have no knowledge of any other works from his pen. It is to be hoped, for the sake of his patrons, that his knowledge of Sanskrit and Bengali was greater than that of Hindôstânî which he displays in his grammar. Not only is its system of transliteration (*kon hay hooa* = who is there) detestably incorrect, but so is the whole account of the grammatical structure of the language. The concluding words of his preface show that he was not conscious of its imperfections, and at the same time throw a curious light on the morality of Europeans in India at his time. 'The Indian

[16] Beligatti's representation of this expression is more accurate than Amaduzzi's, but even his transliteration here breaks down.

[17] *Mithridates*, I. 185. According to the same authority he was by birth an Ukraine peasant, and, on account of his musical talents, was taken up by Prince Rasumosky, who carried him to Italy, where he became proficient on the violoncello. He then wandered to Paris and London, where he took service under a Lord who went to India as Governor.

words in this work are . . . . so well ascertained as to leave no doubt, but the European learner, with a little assistance of a Pandit or Moonshie, nay, even of a *Bebee-saheb*, cannot fail in a short time to obtain a knowledge of their [the natives'] idioms, and to master the Indian dialects with incredible facility.'

Finally we may briefly refer to a few belated works of the early period of inquiries into Indian languages, which appeared after Hindôstânî had begun to be seriously studied in Calcutta. In 1782 Iwarus Abel published in Copenhagen *Symphona Symphona, sive undecim Linguarum Orientalium Discors exhibita Concordia Tamulicae videlicet, Granthamicae, Telugicae, Sanscrutamicae, Marathicae, Balabandicae, Canaricae, Hindostanicae, Cuncanicae, Gutzaratticae et Peguanicae non characteristicae, quibus, ut explicativo-Harmonica adjecta est Latine.* It is a comparative vocabulary of fifty-three words in these eleven languages. The words include parts of the body, heaven, sun, etc., certain animals, house, water, sea, tree, the personal pronouns and numerals.

In 1791 there was published in Rome an anonymous work, with a preface by Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, entitled *Alphabeta Indica, id est Granthamicum seu Sanscrdamico-Malabaricum, Indostanum sive Vanarense, Nagaricum vulgare, et Talenganicum.* It is a collection of these four alphabets, all in moveable types.

Johann Christoph Adelung's *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in bey nahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten* may be taken as the link between the old philology and the new. A philologist so eminent as this great writer could not fail to adorn whatever linguistic subject he touched, and, for its time, this work is a marvel of erudition and masterly arrangement. As far as Indian languages go, it sums up all (little it must be confessed) that was known about them at the end of the 18th century. In it 'Mongolisch-Indostanisch oder Mohrisch' (*i.e.*, Urdû) (Vol. I. pp. 183 and ff.) and 'Rein oder Hoch-Indostanisch, Dewa Nagara' (pp. 190 and ff.) are jointly described as the 'Allgemeine Sprachen in Indostan.' By 'Rein oder Hoch-Indostanisch' is meant the various 'Hindî' dialects spoken between Mathurâ and Patna, but as an example is given the Lord's Prayer in badly spelt Sanskrit. It is contributed by Schultze, whose nationality apparently prevented him from distinguishing between *bh* and *p*. For instance, he spells *bhôjanam* 'podsanam.' Vol. IV. of the work consists of additions and corrections, and of a supplement by J. S. Vater. Further information regarding Hindôstânî will be found on pp. 58-63, 83 (relationship of Hindôstânî to Romani), and 486 of that volume.

SUMMARY OF IMPORTANT EARLY DATES.

A.D.

1600. EMPEROR AKBAR reigning.

English East India Company incorporated.

1602. Dutch East India Company founded.

1605. EMPEROR JAHÂNGÎR comes to the throne.

1615. Embassy of Sir T. Roe. English factory established at Surat.

1616. Earliest recorded mention of the Indostan language (spoken by Tom Coryate).

1620. Jesuits' College founded at Âgrâ. English establish an Agency there.

1623-24. Pietro Della Valle in India.

1628. EMPEROR SHÂH JAHÂN comes to the throne.

1630. ? Compilation of the Surat Dictionary of Persian, Hindôstânî, English, and Portuguese.

1640. English factory established at Huglî.

1653. Heinrich Roth joins Jesuit College at Âgrâ.

1655.	Terry's *Voyage to East India* published. Terry accompanied Sir T. Roe (1615).
1658.	EMPEROR AURANGZÊB comes to the throne.
1661.	Bombay transferred to the English crown.
1663.	Pietro Della Valle's Indian Travels published.
1664.	Heinrich Roth visits Rome and meets Kircher.
1667.	Kircher's *China Illustrata*. LaCroze appointed Librarian at Berlin.
1672.	J. Fryer's Travels in East India and Persia commenced and continued to 1681. Published 1698.
1672.	O. Dapper's *Asia* published in Dutch.
1673.	J. Ogilby's *Asia*.
1678.	Henricus van Rheede tot Drakestein's *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* commenced to issue.
1680.	Andreas Müller's *Oratio Orationum*.
1681.	O. Dapper's *Asia* (German Translation) published at Nürnberg.
1694.	Thomas Hyde's *Historia Shahiludii*.
1696.	Charnock founds Fort William in Calcutta.
1698.	J. Fryer's *Travels in East India and Persia* published. See 1672.
1704.	Franciscus M. Turonensis completes his *Lexicon Linguae Indostanicae*.
1708.	EMPEROR BAHÂDUR SHÂH comes to the throne.
1711.	Ketelaer's embassy.
1712.	EMPEROR JAHÂNDÂR SHÂH comes to the throne.
1713.	EMPEROR FARRUKH-SIYAR comes to the throne.
1715.	Ketelaer's Grammar. The *Oratio Dominica* of Chamberlayne and Wilkins.
1719.	EMPEROR MUḤAMMAD SHÂH comes to the throne.
1726-29.	Bayer's investigations.
1739.	Death of LaCroze. See 1667. Invasion of India by Nâdir Shâh.
1743.	Mill's *Dissertationes Selectae*. Publication of Ketelaer's Grammar. Manoel da Assumpçam publishes a Bengali Grammar and Vocabulary at Lisbon.
1744.	Schultze's *Grammatica Hindostanica*.
1745-58.	Schultze's Bible translations.
1748.	EMPEROR AḤMAD SHÂH comes to the throne. Fritz's *Sprachmeister* published.
1754.	EMPEROR 'ÂLAMGÎR II. comes to the throne.
1757.	Battle of Plassy.
1759.	EMPEROR SHÂH 'ÂLAM II. comes to the throne.
1761.	*Alphabetum Brammhanicum*. Third battle of Panipat. Defeat of the Marâṭhâs by Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî.
1772.	WARREN HASTINGS GOVERNOR OF BENGAL. Hadley's Grammar published.
1773.	Fergusson's Hindôstânî Dictionary published.
1778.	*Gramatica Indostana* published at Lisbon.
1782.	Iwarus Abel's *Symphona Symphona*.

1786. MARQUIS OF CORNWALLIS GOVERNOR GENERAL.

1787. Gilchrist begins publishing.

1788. *The Indian Vocabulary* published in London.

1790. Harris's *Dictionary of English and Hindostany.*

1791. *Alphabeta Indica* published at Rome.

1793. SIR JOHN SHORE GOVERNOR GENERAL. William Carey lands at Calcutta.

1798. LORD MORNINGTON (MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY) GOVERNOR GENERAL.

1800. Roberts' *Indian Glossary.*

1801. Lebedeff's Grammar. Carey's first Bengali New Testament printed.

1805. MARQUIS OF CORNWALLIS SECOND TIME GOVERNOR GENERAL. W. Hunter's translation of the New Testament into Hindôstânî. Done with the aid of Muḥammad Fiṭrat and other learned natives.

1806. Publication of first volume of Adelung's *Mithridates.* Henry Martyn arrives in India, and commences translation of New Testament.

1807. EARL OF MINTO GOVERNOR GENERAL.

1810. Henry Martyn's Urdû translation of New Testament, the basis of all subsequent versions, completed in manuscript with the aid of Muḥammad Fiṭrat.

1811. Carey publishes a Hindî New Testament.

1812. Fire in Serampore Press. Henry Martyn's version of the New Testament destroyed before issue.

1813. EARL OF MOIRA (MARQUIS OF HASTINGS) GOVERNOR GENERAL. Carey publishes the Pentateuch in Hindî.

1814. Henry Martyn's translation of the New Testament into Hindôstânî issued. Carey publishes New Testament in Hindî.

(To be continued.)

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIITH CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.

FOR some time past I have been engaged in editing for the Hakluyt Society an anonymous manuscript account of the Coast of the Bay of Bengal and the countries on the sea-board bearing date 1669-1679. The MS., which is incomplete and signed only by the initials T. B., has been used by Yule in his *Diary of Sir William Hedges,* by Murray in the Oxford *English Dictionary* and others, and is usually quoted as "T. B., Asia, etc.," and that designation is sufficient for the present purpose.

In the course of editing the MS. I have extracted all the Anglo-Indian terms the writer has used, as they are of considerable value to students. In several cases the author gives us the earliest known uses of words now familiar, in others he carries us back further than does Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* in historical references to words, and in yet other cases he helps us with intermediate forms, and his often careful explanations of the meanings of the geographical and other terms he uses are most valuable. He supplements Yule over and over again with terms not in *Hobson-Jobson.*

In choosing a generic form for the title of each word illustrated below, I have followed Yule's form whenever there was one, and in cases where words are not in Yule, I have used that form which is most familiar to myself and I presume to other contemporary students.

I have also quoted Wheeler's *Notes on and Extracts from the Government Records of Madras* for 1679-81, as *N. and E.* to illustrate the text. It is a pity that it is not a better book for students, and the same may be said of Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I., also occasionally quoted. Crawfurd's *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* has also been sometimes brought into requisition to illustrate passages. Finally, I have frequently referred to previous notes of my own in this *Journal*, illustrating some of the words used in the text of the MS.

ABASSIN.

Fol. 53. The **Abassin** of Persia 7 to one Pagod or 00*lb* 08*s* 00*d*.

Not in Yule.

[A Bill of Exchange accepted by Mr. Vincent (Chief at Hugly) for Rupees 15,000, payable in **Abassees**, at this place at 8$\frac{3}{4}$ Annas of a Rupee for an **Abassee**, ordered to be returned, Mr. Vincent's money from Persia proving to be **Mahmuddys** which are 16 per cent. worse than **Abassees.** Madras, 15th March 1680. *N. and E.* p. 12. Mr. Vincent subsequently agreed to accept the difference between the "Mahmuddys" and the Abassees, p. 31.]

ACHAR.

Fol. 82. [The Portugals make] Severall Sorts of **Achar,** as Mangoe, Bamboo, Lemon, &c. very good and Cheape.

See Yule, *s. v.* Achar: salt or acid relish, pickle.

ACHEEN.

Fol. 138. not for that they came in without leave but as She was an Enemy of theirs an **Achiner** . . . . Whereupon y^e Malay inhabitants . . . stood up for y^e Achiners.

Fol. 143. [Queda] but nothinge nigh to y^e Splendour State and riches of **Achin.**

Fol. 157. The Citty **Achin** is Vpon y^e North End of y^e great Island Sumatra . . . . the Citty **Achin** is y^e Metropolitan of y^e Whole . . . . famous as it is y^e place of residence of theire Virgin Queene.

Fol. 159. pay a much Slenderer homage to y^e Crowne of **Achin** then formerly they haue done. **Achin** is now and hath a Considerable time been Governed by a Queen, even Since y^e time that the discreet and Pious Kinge James of happy memorie Swayed y^e Scepter of great Brittaine ffrance and Ireland.

Fol. 169. Anno Dom: 1675: the Old Queen of **Achin** died . . . . . I was then in **Achin** when She died . . . . y^e mourninge of y^e female Sect was to cut the haire of theire heads.

See Yule, *s. v.* Acheen, whose European quotations, however, stop with the 16th century.

[Advice received from Metchlepatam of the arrival of the Interloping ship "Commerce" from **Achien.** 20th Dec. 1680. *N. and E.* p. 42.]

AGRA.

Fol. 62. **Agra,** the Metropolitan of y^e Empire.

Fol. 65. Much flyinge news arrived att **Agra** and Delly.

Fol. 67. all the tribute this great Cæsar cold get. Hence was a Short answer y^t y^e treasure was as safe in Dacca as in his owne Exchequer in **Agra** or Delly.

Not in Yule.

ALLIGATOR.

Fol. 87. where they serve for a Prey to ye ravenous **Alligator.**

Fol. 153-4. This Riuer of Queda . . . . not a little filled with ye deformed creatures commonly called **Alligators,** they resemble a Crocodile . . . I have Shot Severall **Alligators** of 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 : foot longe, and killed them, by Observinge to hitt them Exactly Vnder one of ye fore paws . . . . . . I have often Seen a brace of bullets rebound upon ye Sides of a large **Alligator** . . . here followeth the fforme of one of these Deformed Creatures [illustration of a Crocodile].

See Yule, *s. v.* Alligator.

ANDRAGHIRA.

Fol. 159. There are Severall Radjas Vpon Sumatra . . . . Especially those of . . . . **Androgeero.**

Not in Yule.

[This place is Indragiri, to the North-East of Sumatra. It is a place often mentioned in old books, usually under the form which heads this note. See article "Indragiri" in Crawfurd's *Dictionary of Indian Archipelago.*]

ARAKAN.

Fol. 38. The Kinge of Golcondah hath Severall Ships, yt trade yearely to **Arackan.**

Fol. 61. between Point Palmeris . . . . and ye **Arackan** Shore.

Fol. 64. he Sendeth to the Kinge of **Arackan** (a neighbouringe kingdome [to Bengala]) craveinge his Assistance and Entertainment there, wch was readily granted, & not more readily then accepted, the **Arackan** Kinge Sends a parcell of Gylyars viz: Gallys well fitted and manned wth **Arackaners** and ffrangues.

Fol. 65. But Since it was truely made appeare yt he was soe basely Murthered in **Arackan.**

Fol. 89. [The Brachmans] infinitely inhabit this Kingdome [Bengala], but most Especially on ye back Side thereof vizt towards **Arackan.**

Fol. 92. beinge timerous of the **Arackaners** wth theire Gylyars.

Fol. 97. noe wild Elephants in these Kingdoms, although ye Kingdome of **Arackan** is well stored with them, and is but a neighbouringe Countrey to yt of Bengala.

See Yule, *s. v.* Arakan.

ARBOL TRISTE.

Fol. 29. Vpon ye top of Mount Stt Thomas, groweth naturaly a Very remarkable tree larger then most mulberrie trees be, wch is called **Arbor triste,** vizt ye Sorrowfull tree, and not jmproperly soe called, it Seemeth not to flowrish all ye day longe, but from Sun Settinge to Sun risinge it is Exceedinge full of white blossoms, both fragrant and beautifull, but noe Sooner is but broad day light but all ye blossoms fall to ye ground and Suddenly wither, and ye Very leaves Shut themselves, and Seems to be in a very languishinge posture, and furthermore ye next Eveninge it apears as flourishinge as before, and thus not Once but every day and night throughout ye yeare.

See Yule, *s. v.* Arbol Triste, who has only one quotation for 1682.

ARECA.

Fol. 20. make merry with Betelee **Areca.**

Fol. 45. often chawinge Betelee **Areca** wch they call Paune.

Fol. 135. all the fruite this countrey [Janselone] affordeth is . . . . Betelee **Areca.**

Fol. 162. and there are Sett before him Store of Betelee **Areca** to eat.

Fol. 163. The Betelee **Areca**: is here [Achin] in great plenty . . . . they cutt y^e **Areca nut** into very thin Slices . . . . thus will they almost all day longe chew betelee **Areca.**

Fol. 164. **Areca** (viz^t: commonly called **betelee Nut**).

See Yule, *s. v.* Areca, the betel-nut. These quotations are valuable.

ARMAGON.

Fol. 18. in the Pagod of **Armagon,** Severall lines Engraven in y^e marble.

Fol. 31. **Armagon**: Some 20 miles Northward of Pullicat was Once y^e Residence of an English Governour and his Councell; but was many years agoe broke off, y^e English Company findinge that ffort S^t Georges cold well Supply them w^th y^e Commodities of this Coast.

Not in Yule. *Vide ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 347.

ARRACK.

Fol. 39. That Stronge East India Liquor called **Arack,** is made and Sold in great abundance by y^e Gentues here, but not by y^e: Mahometans.

Fol. 40. **Arack** is a liquor distilled Severall ways, as Some out of y^e graine called Rice. another Sort from y^e Jagaree . . . another Sort there is y^t [is] distilled from Neep toddy . . . . but y^e weakest of these is much Stronger then any Wine of y^e Grape.

See Yule, *s. v.* Arrack. [These quotations are useful. See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 391.]

[A hhdd. **Arrack** to the garrison. 30th Dec. 1680. *N. and E.* p. 43.]

ASSAM.

Fol. 66. now he [Emir Jemla] is noe Sooner Setled in this Kingdome, but begins a warre with y^e Radja of **Acham,** a Stronge and Potent Neighbouringe Prince . . . . they lost . . . . the Kingdome of **Acham.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Assam.

BAFTA.

Fol. 146. y^e English Merchant presenteth hin w^th a piscash not Valueinge lesse then 50 pound Sterlinge in gold **baftos.**

Fol. 157. The Chiefe Commodities brought hither from Suratt: are Some Sorts of Callicoes viz^t **Baftos** white and blew w^th gold heads and borders.

Fol. 162. Here y^e Orongkay must be presented with one piece of **Baftos** to y^e Value of 2 tailes.

Fol. 173. in y^e night did rippe open a baile of fine blew **baftoes,** and thereout he tooke 7 pieces.

See Yule, *s. v.* Bafta. [These quotations are valuable. See *ante*, Vol. XXIX. p. 337.]

BAHAR.

Fol. 132. Cupine: 8 of w^ch are one **baharre** weight (of Ianselone) or 420: English pound weight. In any considerable quantitie of goods Sold togeather wee agree for soe many **Baharre.**

Fol. 134. wee alsoe trucke for tinne, att y^e rate of 28 dollars p^r **baharre** ready moneys, and 40 upon trucke for our Goods.

See Yule, *s. v.* Bahar.

BALASORE.

Fol. 59. brought over land to them to their ffactories in **Ballasore** in yᵉ bay of Bengala.

Fol. 69. [Cattack] fiue days Journey from **Ballasore** . . . . I remember in yᵉ yeare 1674: when I liued in the towne of **Ballasore**, (yᵉ onely Sea Port in yᵉ Bay of Bengala).

Fol. 73. when they knew the Ships in yᵉ Roade of **Ballasore** stayed only to lade those goods.

Fol. 78. The Danish Nation were formerly well Setled in this Kingdome, theire Chiefe ffactory in **Ballasore.**

Fol. 79. This Commadore, as they called him, at his arrivall in yᵉ Roade of **Ballasore.**

Fol. 81. yᵉ [Danish] Commadore and 4 or 5 ffactors shold reside in **Ballasore,** untill a better Vnderstandinge was made betweene yᵉ Kinge of Denmarke & theire Nabob.

See Yule, *s. v.* Balasore.

BAMBOO.

Fol. 43. with a large **Bamboo** of about 15 or 16 foot longe, crooked in yᵉ middle for yᵉ conveniencie of sittinge Vpright.

Fol. 82. [The Portugals make] Severall Sorts of Achar, as Mangoe **Bamboo**, Lemon &c:

Fol. 133. in many places where yᵉ Woods and **Bamboos** grow very thicke.

Fol. 136. Vpon this Island [Janselone] (in many places) grow abundance of **Bamboos** . . . . there be 2 Sorts of them called yᵉ **hee bamboos and She bamboo**: yᵉ first hath little or noe hollownesse in him, is very Ponderous, & of an Exceedinge Strength. The **She bamboo** of which there are more plenty are very hollow and light.

Fol. 147. good Store of victuals, as plantrees, younge **bamboos** and yᵉ like.

Fol. 150. Theire buildings in this Generall are but of a very meane Sort built of **bamboos.**

Fol. 171. There be many of them [cripples] in this Citty [Achin] . . . . soe ingenuous that they can goe very well with Crutches, haveinge a joynt of a large **bamboo** fitted for each legge.

See Yule, *s. v.* Bamboo. [The quotation for male and female bamboos is valuable.]

BAMBOO (A MEASURE).

Fol. 152. Theire Weights and measures [in Queda] are yᵉ Same wᵗʰ them of Achin: Onely there they measure by yᵉ bamboo and here by yᵉ Gantange: One Gantange contᵗ Exactly **2 Achin Bamboos.**

Not in Yule. [The joint of a bamboo was one of the units of Malay and Javanese measures.]

BANDEL.

Fol. 82. they [the Portugals] have a very large towne, about one English mile above [to South of] yᵉ English ffactory, it is called **the Bandell.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Bandel. It is near Hoogly.

BANG.

Fol. 39. but they find means to besott themselves Enough wᵗʰ **Bangha** and Gangah.

Fol. 40. **Bangha**: theire Soe admirable herbe, groweth in many places of this Coast as alsoe in Bengala . . . . wee wold needs drinke Every man his pint of **Bangha** wᶜʰ wee purchased in yᵉ Bazar for yᵉ value of 6ᵈ English.

See Yule, *s. v.* Bang.

BANGAREE.

Fol. 141. Save 2 that made theire Escape to **Bangaree** and thence to Queda.

Fol. 153. about 30 or 40 Prows they have y^t belonge to Queda, y^t constantly trade to **Bangaree** : Ianselone : and Pera, some few to Achin.

Not in Yule. [A town and estuary on the Western Coast of the Malay Peninsula.]

BANQUALA.

Fol. 131. I my Selfe have knowne it to be y^e Malayers themselvs that dwell here, namely in **Banquala** . . . . There are 3 Sea Ports Vpon this Island [Janselone] viz^t **Banquala.**

Fol. 132. The Custome is here as Soone as any Ship or Vessel doth anchor in y^e Roade, w^{ch} is generally y^e Roade of **Banquala.**

Fol. 134. y^e Shabandar of **Banquala** wth 3 pieces Jdem.

Fol. 137. the Ship Vsed to lye at anchor (for y^e most part) in y^e Roade of **Banquala** : viz^t on y^e S^o West Side y^e Jsland and a Very Safe Roade almost land locked.

Fol. 138. The Merchants &c: inhabitants of **Banquala** . . . soe longe as they were Vnder y^e Radja of Janselone's protection and in theire Riuer.

Fol. 140. was kindly Entertained . . . Especially by some of y^e Old Shabandars and Merchants in **Banquala.**

Not in Yule. [Janselone is Junk Ceylon, an island off the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula.]

BANTAM.

Fol. 142. but doe rather wish they were Served soe in **Bantam.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Bantam. He has no quotation for the 17th century.

BANYAN.

Fol. 18. There is another Sort of these Idolaters . . . . these are called **Banjans.**

Fol. 23. When any man of y^e **Banjan** or Gentue Sect giue up y^e Ghost.

Fol. 69. y^e richest of Gentues and **Banjan** Merchants of w^{ch} this Part of y^e Kingdome hath great Numbers.

Fol. 70. he Sent for most rich Merchants of Gentues and **Banjans** . . . . att w^{ch} Juncture of time a great **Banjan Merchant** called Chim Cham.

See Yule, *s. v.* Banyan.

BAY OF BENGAL.

Fol. 59. Point Palmeris y^e Entrance into y^e **Bay of Bengala.**

Fol. 61. **the Sea or Gulph of Bengala** : viz^t between Point Palmeris (the Entrance thereof) and the Arackan Shore y^e whole Extent of y^e bay beinge about 300 Eng^l miles Over.

Fol. 69. the towne of Ballasore (y^e onely Sea Port in y^e **Bay of Bengala**).

Not in Yule. [Valuable as showing exactly what was known in the 17th century as the "Bay of Bengal," the limits being so very much more restricted than is now the case.]

BAZAAR.

Fol. 40. w^{ch} wee purchased in y^e **Bazar** for y^e Value of 6^d English.

Fol. 49. Metchlipatam . . . . . . beinge a great market-place, and indeed y^e Great **Bazar** . . . . may then wth freedome goe to any **Bazar** and there Vend in Publique.

Fol. 74. a very large **Bazar** or markett place . . . . dayly to be bought and Sold in the publicke **Bazar,** commonly called y^e^ great **Bazar.**

Fol. 92. Cossumbazar . . . . whence it receiued this name Cossum signifieinge y^e^ husband or Chiefe and **Bazar** a Markett.

Fol. 174. all that piece of land . . . . neare y^e^ great **Bazar** [at Achin] is a great deale higher and not at all Overflowne.

See Yule, *s. v.* Bazaar. [It may be news to many that the third *a* in "baza*a*r" is a comparatively modern introduction, the old spelling "bazar" being the *correct* one from all points of view.]

BEEJAPORE.

Fol. 14. alsoe y^e^ Kingdoms of **Vizepoore** and Golcondah.

Fol. 41. Southward of Porto Novo, w^ch^ appertaineth to y^e^ **Vizepore** Kinge.

Not in Yule. [It is noteworthy that in the time of the writer the kingdom of Bîjapûr (or Viziapûr as T. B. probably heard it pronounced) did extend right across the Peninsula to Porto Novo on the East Coast.]

BENDARA.

Fol. 141. he jmmediately turned out of Office most of y^e^ Syamers both Councellors Secretaries Shabandares **Bandarees** &c: men of Antient Standinge, and choice men of all y^e^ Countrey, both for Estates and publick good and very well approved of by y^e^ people.

Not in Yule. [The Bendara was a degree of nobility among the Malays.]

BENGAL.

Fol. 61. **Bengala**: It is one y^e^ largest and most Potent Kingdoms of Hindostan.

Fol. 79. Hee found 5 Saile of **Bengala** Ships in y^e^ roade.

Fol. 84. The **Bengala's** (vizt: y^e^ Jdolatrous people of y^e^ Countrey).

Fol. 93. Even soe farre as Persia: when in y^e^ yeare [?] I went from **Bengales** thither.

See Yule, *s. v.* Bengal. [See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 347.]

BENJAMIN.

Fol. 158. ffrom y^e^ West Coast of this Jsland [Sumatra] Store of very Excellent **Benjamin.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Benjamin, Benzoin (incense).

BETEL.

Fol. 20. make merry with **Betelee** Areca tobacco or the like accordinge as theire abilitie can afford.

Fol. 45. often chawinge **Betelee** Areca, w^ch^ they call Paune.

Fol. 135. all the fruite this countrey [Janselone] affordeth is . . . . . **Betelee** Areca.

Fol. 162. there are Sett before him Store of **Betelee** Areca to eat and tobacco to Chaw.

Fol. 163. The **Betelee** Areca: is here [Achin] in great plenty . . . . . . and then [cut] one **Betelee leafe** or two accordinge as they are in bignesse . . . and thus will they almost all day longe chew **betelee** Areca . . . . and paringe off a little of y^e^ green rine, eat it w^th^ **betelee** . . . . The leafe is y^e^ **betelee**, a broad leafe not very much Vnlike to an Ivie leafe, onely Somethinge thinner, and groweth resemblinge y^e^ Vine.

Fol. 164. Areca, (viz^t^ commonly called **betelee Nut**) doth grow Vpon a very comely Streight and Slender tree . . . . . It is a very hard wood, and much valued by many in Jndia to make lances and pikes On.

Fol. 167. now is a Great Gold **betelee box** as bigge as one of [the] Eunuchs can well beare (in his arms) brought downe and placed before them.

[The Chief Washer was then Tasherifd and **Beetle** distributed. April 13th, 1679. **Beetle** nutts 15-16 of a fanam per aminum (Tamil) or 20,000 nutts. 3rd June, 1680. *N. and E.* pp. 18 and 22.]

See Yule, *s. v.* Betel. [The whole of the quotations are valuable for the history of betel and the betel-nut, which are two separate things.]

BETTEELA.

Fol. 56. [On the Gingalee Coast] great Store of Calicos are made here most Especially **beteelis (wch wee call Muzlin).**

See Yule, *s. v.* Betteela.

[**Beteelaes**, Rede. 22nd April 1680. **Beteelaes** of 50 *coveds.* **Beteelaes** of 40 *coveds.* 13th April. Oringall **Beteelaes.** 19th June. Golconda **Beteelaes,** Do. brown to be whited. 19th June. *N. and E.* pp. 17, 18, 24, 25.]

BEZOAR.

Fol. 158. ffrom ye Wt Coast of this Jsland . . . very good **Berar Stone.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Bezoar. [In the text "Berar" is miswritten for Bezar. See *ante*, Vol. XXVII. p. 336.]

BHOORA.

Fol. 100. A **Boora** : being a Very floaty light boat, rowinge wth 20 or 30 Owars, these carry Salt peeter and Other Goods (from Hugly) downewards, and Some trade to Dacca wth Salt, they alsoe Serve for tow boats for ye Ships bound up or downe ye Riuer.

See Yule, *s. v.* Boliah.

BIMLIPATAM.

Fol. 56. beinge a Very Secure Coast to harbour in namely in . . . . **Bimlipatam.**

Not in Yule. *Vide ante,* Vol. XXX. p. 348.

BISNAGAR.

Fol. 50. conquered this Kingdome [Golcondah] then called by ye name of **Bisnagar.**

Not in Yule. [Bisnagar stands for Vijayanagar through Portuguese Bisnaga.]

BLACK PAGODA.

Fol. 50. ye **Black Pagod** Some 20 miles below [to North of] ye Pagod Jno Gernaet.

Not in Yule. [It is a well-known mariner's mark on the Orissa Coast. *Vide ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 348.]

BOLANGO.

Fol. 175. This Countrey [Achin] affordeth Severall Excellent good fruites, Namely . . . . . . **Bolangos.**

Not in Yule. [I do not know what fruit this can be unless it be *lansium*, one form of which is known as langseh in Malay. See Crawfurd, *Dictionary of the Malay Archipelago.*]

BORNEO.

Fol. 153. 5 or 6 great Prows yearly from **Borneo.**

Fol. 157. Many Ships and Vessels doe . . . arrive in this Port [Achin] from . . . . . **Borneo.**

Fol. 158. The **Borneo** and Macassar Prows for y^e^ most part bringe . . some Diamonds and Saphir, y^e^ Diamonds of Landock (upon Borneo) are accompted y^e^ best in y^e^ World.

See Yule, *s. v.* Borneo. [The quotations are valuable for the form of the word.]

BRACES, THE.

Fol. 74. This Riuer is soe named from y^e^ great towne of Hugly Scituated Vpon y^e^ banks of it neare 150 miles up from y^e^ **Braces** or Shoals that lye at y^e^ Entrance thereof.

Not in Yule, though it should have been. [*Vide ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 552.]

BRAHMIN.

Fol. 7. It is soe Severely forbidden by theire **Brachmans.**

Fol. 9. the **Brachmans** are theire Priests, but I am Sure and without all controversie very Diabolicall Ones.

Fol. 88. I saw another Gentue woman burnt about 6 miles above Hugly w^ch^ was y^e^ pleasantest I ever Saw, y^e^ Woman wold not at all deny to burne . . . . whereupon the **Brachmans** gave Order for y^e^ fire to burne very furiously . . . . but when she was accordinge to theire Expection to have leaped into the fire she refused it, whereupon y^e^ Brachmans were very yeare to take hold of her, but y^e^ first y^t^ laid hands on her She laid as Sure hands upon him, and threw herselfe headlonge into y^e^ fire and y^e^ **Brachman** w^th^ her, where they both perished in a moment.

Fol. 89. The **Brachmans** of this Kingdome [Bengala] are great Students in y^e^ Magick art . . . . . They are a people very much dreaded by y^e^ Moors as well as y^e^ Idolaters . . . . They are Reputed to be very wise Philosophers and doe really and w^th^ great Zeale Study y^e^ Pithagorean Philosophy . . . . . they are said to be great Astronomers . . . . . and are called (very properly) Gimnosophists . . . . theire ready and admirable discourse and Civilities to all Europeans and Christians in generall . . . . Many of these Gymnosophists are dispersed into most Villages in y^e^ Kingdome.

Fol. 93. Not farre above y^e^ towne of Cossumbazar doe inhabit many of y^e^ Earnest and devout Jdolatrous Priests (called **Brachmans**) who are much reverenced all Asia over.

See Yule, *s. v.* Brahmin. [The writer has followed the usual spelling of the time. *N. and E.* for 1679-80 has **Braminy** on pp. 27, 33, 35.]

BUCKETT.

Fol. 131. There are 3 Sea Ports Vpon this Island [Janselone] viz^t^ . . . **Buckett.**

Not in Yule. [Buckett stands for **Bukit** in Junk Ceylon.]

BUDGEROW.

Fol. 81. their new Commadore Cap^n^ Wilkins came Vp to Hugly in y^e^ Sloope, thence tooke **Budgaroe** for Dacca.

Fol. 99. A **Budgaroo** : Or Pleasure boat whereon y^e^ English and Dutch Chiefe & Councill goe in State Vpon y^e^ water.

See Yule, *s. v.* Budgerow. [The quotations are useful.]

BUFFALO.

Fol. 32. All Sorts of Provisions are here [Pettipolee] to be had in very great Plenty, and at very Reasonable rates, viz^t^ Cows, **Buffaloes.**

Fol. 151. All Sorts of Provisions are here [Queda] in Plenty Enough viz^t^ . . . . Cows, **buffoloes** . . . . y^e^ maine is very plenty of Wild beasts, viz^t^ . . . . **Buffolos** . . . The **Buffolo** is here both wild and tame . . . . they have Seen a Wild **buffolo** to Encounter w^th^ a Very large Tiger and worst him; The **Buffolo** is not much Vnlike to a Cow or Bull.

Fol. 169. and w^ch^ to us is most delightable is y^e^ warre Elephants . . . . . grap-linge w^th^ theire teeth and Strikeinge with all their force w^th^ theire trunks y^e^ **Buffolos** and fight w^th^ each other.

See Yule, *s. v.* Buffalo.

BUNCUS.

Fol. 46. this is called a **bunko,** and by the Portugals a Cheroota.

See Yule, *s. v.* Buncus. [This is the earliest quoted instance of this word.]

BURRIE.

Fol. 94. 5 Gundas is one **burrie** or 20 : Cowries. 4 **burries** make 1 Pone or 80: Cowries.

Not in Yule. [The word is *bhaṛī.*]

CABUL.

Fol. 62. to the Eldest Dara he gave **Cabul** and Multan.

See Yule, *s. v.* Cabul. [The quotation is useful for the history of the word.]

CAFILA.

Fol. 97. the Commodities of those Countries are transported hither by **Caffila.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Cafila.

CALABASH.

Fol. 135. Save y^e^ wild **Calabashes** &c : that grow in y^e^ Woods [of Janselone] : an Excellent food for y^e^ Wild Monkeys.

Not in Yule, which is odd. [The writer means pumpkins by the term.]

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from Vol. XXXI. p. 508.)

1795. — No. X.

Fort William 23rd March 1795.

The following Letter was received, on the 11th Instant, **from Major Kyd,** and a copy of it has been transmitted to the Honble Court of Directors in **the Dart Packet,** with a Copy of the Appendix to which it refers.

To the Honble. Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General in Council.

Honble Sir, — In Conformity to your instructions conveyed in your Letter of the 21st April last accompanying Extracts of your proceedings in Council of the same date **I proceeded from the Andamans to Prince of Wales's Island in August last, on the Sea Horse Brig,** and during two Months, employed myself with all the assiduity in my power to obtain information upon the various objects you were pleased to point out for my investigation, the result of which I will proceed to state in as few words as the subject will admit, but I fear that the little practice I have had in Statements of this kind will not enable me to place every thing in so clear a point of view as the subject requires.

The principal object of my visit to Prince of Wales's Island was not originally to ascertain the points of enquiry that you were pleased afterwards to direct me in, many of which were of a temporary

nature as chiefly to enable me to clear up strong doubts that had arisen in my mind respecting **the comparative advantages of the Infant Settlement at the Andamans, as a Port of refitment and refreshment for the natives of Great Britain, with those of Prince of Wales's Island,** which I surveyed and reported upon to Government soon after it was settled in the year 1787.

It may not be improper before I enter on a discussion of this important point, to take a short View of what has been done by Government heretofore, for the Establishment of a Port of refitment for our Fleets to the Eastward of Cape Comorin, in order to prevent in future the great loss of the most Valuable period of the year for Naval operations, which has heretofore been sustained by the Fleets being obliged to make a long Voyage to Bombay to repair ; It was an object which Administration justly considered of the utmost national consequence, Ultimately tending in a material degree to the safety and permanency of the British Dominions in this Country.

The first Plan I believe that was taken notice of **was Mr Lacam's, at new Harbour in the Mouth of the Ganges proposed in the year 1774 or 1775,** but after much Argument on both sides, and the most careful and the fairest Investigation, demonstratively proved to be totally Impracticable. There can be no doubt, however that the Projector of this Plan enthusiastically believed that it would be attended with success and as there are many great Advantages attending such a situation that none other can boast of it is not astonishing that such an inviting prospect misled his judgment especially when it is known that many Maritime people of high reputation were of Opinion at the time that Ships of the Line could be brought into the Ganges through **Mr Lacams Channel** with safety. But admitting this really to be the case there is great reason to believe that the unhealthiness of the lower parts of Bengal, would always be an insuperable objection to the Establishment of a Marine Port in the Mouth of the Ganges.

The next Plan that was proposed **was the Settlement at Prince of Wales's Island,** which at first seemed principally of a Commercial nature: for when Lord Cornwallis arrived here in 1786 it was not absolutely known to Government whether the Harbour and situation were calculated for a Fleet of Ships of War, and to establish these points His Lordship in Council did me the honor of employing me in the year 1787.

In the report I gave to Government, I touched on **the various Harbours that could be taken possession of in the Bay of Bengal** and to the Eastward, estimating their Advantages as accurately as I could from the information I had then obtained, and from this report I have great reason to believe that instructions were formed for **Capt. Moresom of the Royal Navy, who was sent to India in the Ariel Sloop of War for the express purpose of Surveying these Harbours.**

He was however put under the Orders of **Commodore Cornwallis,** who, it would appear had been entrusted with the Superintendance of this Commission, and who during the time that he commanded his Majesty's Squadron in India took the greatest pains to inform himself respecting the various Harbours ; He visited most of them himself and examined them with the greatest attention.

In the year 1788 Government gave directions for the Survey of the Andamans Islands which was undertaken with two Vessels, under the direction of Lieutenant Blair of the Bombay Marine, and completed in two Seasons in a manner that does much Credit to that Officer.

Several good Harbours were found on the East side of the great Andaman, but particularly one near the South end, which Capt. Blair thought perfectly well calculated for the purposes, and he reported it accordingly to Government.

He was then directed to form a small Settlement at that place, and in the year 1789 it was visited by Commodore Cornwallis whom I had the honor of accompanying there, as well as to **Nancowry Harbour at the Nicobars Islands, in Possession of the Danes, which Excellent Harbour I Surveyed by the Commodore's desire.**

In the beginning of the next year, the remaining part of the East Coast of the Andamans was carefully examined by Lieutenant Blair and myself and three Vessels, several very good Harbours were discovered but especially one near the North end and then called North East Harbour, which Commodore Cornwallis examined about the end of the same year, and he gave it as a War Port a decided preference to all the other Harbours he had examined; The Supreme Board in consequence of the Commodore's opinion determined to form a Settlement at the **North East Harbour, now Port Cornwallis** and I was appointed Superintendant there in 1792.

Captain Blair was sent in charge of four small Vessels with Settlers and stores, under instructions to move everything from the old Harbour to Port Cornwallis where we are now settled, and this was completely effected early in 1793.

In the Report laid before Government by Captain Blair, every information was given respecting the Soil, Climate, and natural productions of the Island that could be obtained during the short time we were there. These must have been known to Commodore Cornwallis who had also visited Prince of Wales's Island, and being well acquainted with the exact state of it, he must well have considered the whole of the Subject before he gave his Opinion upon it.

I think it very proper to observe that I never at any period found occasion to alter the Opinion I had formed of the **comparative Advantages of the Andamans and Prince of Wales's Island** as delivered in my abovementioned Report of the last place, It was from the desire of establishing the truth or falsity of this opinion, upon the firmest grounds that of Experience, that I was induced to undertake the charge of the new Settlement, as well as to visit Prince of Wales's Island, a second time to observe its progress during a period of the eight preceding years. I now with confidence proceed to present the reflections that I have made on both Situations, having alone truth in view, and a sincere desire of being of as much use to the public as is in my power, by giving reasons to encourage Government to adopt and pursue with vigour the Plan that appears to me the most reasonable and to desist from that which may ultimately lead to disappointment.

Andamans.

Although the Governor General in Council has already in his possession **the Reports of Captain Blair,** where the Geography, Soil, Produce and Climate of the Andaman Islands are touched on, and also a Paper laid before the Board by **the late Lieutenant Colonel Kyd,** bringing into one point of view the various information, respecting them, which he carefully **collected from Captain Blair and myself** [**i.e. Major Kyd**] it may not be improper to render a fuller account of them, more especially as we have found **the Climate** vary exceedingly from what it was at first represented, and this is a circumstance to be much attended to in estimating its value as a Settlement for an Arsenal and War Harbour.

The Andaman Islands comprehending what is called **the Great and little Andamans,** extend from North Latitude 10°.31ᵉ to 13°.40ᵉ laying nearly in a North and South direction between the 92 and 93 Degrees of Longitude East of Greenwich. **They are part of a continued range of Islands** extending from Cape Negrais, to Acheen Head, including the Preporis, Cocos, Carnicobars, and the great and little Nicobars, the whole being a Chain of Islands between which there is reason to believe that there is a continuation of Soundings, entirely dividing the Eastern part of the Bay of Bengal, and **known by the Antient Geographers by the name of the Fortunate Islands, and which are described by them as being all inhabited by Cannibals.** This Opinion corresponds also, with that delivered by tradition from the Hindoos of Indostan.

The Andaman Islands are at no part broader than twenty Miles, and **the Great Andaman** in particular is deeply indented on both sides, by extensive Bays and Inlets, two of which have been found to run entirely across, one at the Southern part Navigable for the largest Vessels and another about the middle of the Island thro' which Vessels of small burthen may pass; and there is reason to believe that on a more Minute Survey, other smaller passages will be found.

On both sides, but particularly on the Eastern side of the Great Andamans, there are **a great many detached Islands** so that was heretofore generally considered as one mass of land proves to be a congeries of Islands the most extensive of which is probably **the little or Southern Andaman,** being a solid or oblong mass, of a moderate height of about thirty miles in length, by sixteen in breadth.

The General aspect of the land seems to be alternate Hills and Plains, so wholly covered with **Trees of immense Size,** and closed with almost impenetrable underwood, that no judgment can possibly be formed, by distant Views, of the relative proportion of Hills or flat Grounds, or whether the former are abrupt or otherwise, but by our experience upon **Chatham Island, [in the modern Port Cornwallis]** where we are now established, the removal of these obstacles is attended with inconceivable labour and tediousness. Many parts, however which, in their original state, were believed to be exceedingly high and steep, were found when cleared to be pretty easy acclivities, and there were several places capable of being brought into Cultivation.

There is in general **a rich Soil** of near a foot depth in many parts, in others less — A fine black loam obviously created by the admixture, in a long series of years, of the leaves fallen from the Trees, and underwood with the natural Earth, which appears below to be either of a reddish marble, or whitish grey, mixed with small soft Stones and seemingly sterile in its nature ; This Vegetable Soil is of excellent quality, and if not liable to removal from natural causes, will doubtless produce those common advantages of newly Cultivated Earth, but **I believe it has been found that the depth of Soil in all Countries that have been cleared of Forests and underwood, has a tendency to diminish gradually** and that in a certain term of Years, high manuring, and even the carrying of Soil, is obliged to be resorted to, as is the Case in the West Indies.

Of the Climate peculiar to the Andamans, a Residence of two years, during which an exact **Journal of the Weather** has been kept and the fall of water accurately ascertained by a **Rain Gage,** as well as from some Journals and accounts given by Captain Blair, during the two previous years that he was there, affords grounds to speak with much confidence. From these it appears that, in the whole year **four Months only** can be counted **of fair Weather** Vizt. December, January, February, and March, though part of the Months of April and November may perhaps not be improperly added to this division of the Seasons, during this period the Weather is dry, the Air is clear and pure, and for a situation between the Tropics, Temperate ; It must however be noticed that the Months of March and April are less so than might be expected on a spot circumscribed in its limits, and insulated by so large a portion of Sea, as the Bay of Bengal.

Towards the end of March, and throughout the Month of April, **Faronheets Thermometer** in the shade from eight in the morning till Sunset, is seldom below Eighty three Degrees during the middle of the day considerably above 90°, and sometimes as high as 98 — about the middle of April the Rains begin to fall, but it would seem, from an interval of dry weather, experienced in the first part of the Month of May, that the actual change of the Monsoon is not to be considered strictly to take place before the 15th or 20th of the Month, which nearly answers to the period of its Commencement on the Malabar Coast in the same parallel of Latitude. From this time to the end of November, when it only ultimately ceases, it continues to Rain with little intermission, and often with the greatest violence, attended with constant hard Wind and most violent Squalls. There are however some short intervals of fair Weather, when the Climate is uncommonly pleasant and temperate, but, upon the whole it may with truth be said that, at the Andamans the weather is generally tempestuous for Seven Months.

Hence it appears that the year is divided into two Seasons, the Wet and the Dry — the former preponderating in nearly the proportion of double, the latter the South West Monsoon accompanies or soon follows the commencement of the Rains and continues to the end of September or October, when the North East Monsoon takes place, bringing back from the Continent the latter Clouds

propelled there by the Winds of the preceding Season, which when attracted by the high Mountains of those Islands, agitated by the then unsettled state of the Winds, or some other Physical causes, which others more competent than myself may assign, continue to discharge themselves so long after it ceases to Rain in Bengal and other places, where the Seasons are distinctly defined. In other words it seems to have the whole force of the South West Monsoon, even to a degree more violent than on the Malabar Coast or any other part of India, and to participate also of some part of the North East Monsoon experienced on the Coromandel Coast in the same parallel of Latitude. Hence there is a fall of water, exceeding what is known in any part of the habitable Globe, that I have been able to trace any account of, the greatest fall at Senegal being only 115 Inches. In the year 1793 above one Hundred Inches, and during 94 no less than 125 Inches were measured which is about double the Quantity that falls in Bengal during a Season of the greatest Abundance when the excess is esteemed detrimental to Cultivation. Were it not therefore for the peculiar surface of these Islands, so favorable for carrying the Water off the ground, it does not appear that it could be at all habitable, and even with this Advantage, I had the greatest fear when we experienced the violence of the Rains the first Season we were at the Settlement, and when only a Spot sufficient for our Hutts and Tents were cleared away, that the Violence of the Torrents would carry off every particle of the Vegetable Would as we went on in clearing and leave the surface of the Earth perfectly Sterile. We have however fortunately found that, from the richness of the Soil, and the Quickness of the Vegetation, **the short wiry grass known in Bengal by the name of Doop** which is quickly propagated by planting it in little bunches, and of which we had fortunately taken down a considerable quantity soon spread itself over the risings we had cleared, and effectually prevented any of the Soil from being carried off thus insuring good pasture whenever a sufficient space could be cleared away.

With respect to the effect of the Climate on the human constitution we have not yet, I think sufficient experience to form a conclusive Judgement of it. On my first landing in February 1793 I learnt that many of the Labourers were severely effected with **the Scurvy,** the prevalent Symptoms whereof were swellings of the limbs, Contractions, and Sores, which resisted every medical treatment, and the complaints encreased during the Months of March, April and May in an alarming degree proving fatal in numerous instances. This was almost the only disease experienced during the dry weather, it raged with unabated rigor untill some time after the Rains began, and was imputed to the total want of vegetable food, an opinion fully corroborated by subsequent experience, when the use of some Vegetables found in the Woods, proved conducive to their recovery in the Months of June July and August.

The Scurvy has not except in a few instances made its appearance since that time, and now that there is abundance of Vegetables it will probably not again be known, but the removal of this malady was unhappily succeeded by another of still more disagreeable tendency, and more worthy of particular notice, as it was much feared that it was of an endemial nature; After the first violence of the Rains had subsided, and the Weather became for some days dry and Clear, with every appearance of a pure wholesome Air, in the beginning of June, **Fevers** became very general, not of an Acute or Inflamatory kind, but slow, nervous, and debilitating, generally attended with delirium and obstinately resisting the power of Medicine; and from their extensive prevalence and frequent fatal effects great alarms were created among the Natives, with a general Opinion that there was something particularly noxious in the Air; I was however never without hopes, and almost a conviction that the unhealthiness was principally owing to the very confined situation we were then in, our habitations hardly sufficient to guard against the extreme intemperance of the Weather, being close to the edge of an impenetrable Forest as old as the creation from whence issued the putrid effluvia of all kinds of decayed Vegetation; and I was more confirmed in this Opinion by observing that the Crews of the Vessels, lying in the Harbour, were not at all affected by any Malady. Experience has already proved that my hopes were well founded; for altho' the last rising [(sic? rainy)] Season was much more severe than the former, yet the Settlers were infinitely more healthy, owing doubtless, to our Circle being more extended, and the People being better accommodated with Habitations.

It will appear from both the Surgeons Reports, which accompany this, that it is their Opinions that there is nothing particularly noxious in the Climate of the Andamans, more than in all tropical Climates [subject] to great falls of Rain, and it is here to be observed that, as the cause of Malady in such Cases is not supposed to proceed from the Moisture of the Atmosphere but from the noxious quality of exhalations there is every reason to believe, that the situation will, in the end, become healthy, as from the nature of the surface of the ground water cannot lay an hour, after the most violent Rains.

To an infant Settlement there are numerous convenient articles procurable at the Andamans. Altho' we have as yet discovered few or no Trees of real Value for Ship building, there is a **great abundance of Timbers of material use,** and sufficiently adapted to the construction of buildings, and other purposes on shore; **Stones** of a good kind are abundant on all the beaches, on some of the elevated grounds there is a soft and very tractable **free Stone,** which if it resists the Weather as we have reason to believe it will, becomes an Article of great Utility and Consequence.

Good Lime is to be burnt in any Quantity from White Coral that all the Shores are covered with. **The Bamboo,** of such general use in India, is in the greatest plenty, and of a good kind. We have therefore under our hands all materials both for permanent and temporary Buildings — Glass excepted ; and as a substitute **for thatching** we have been obliged to make use of **the leaves of the Ground Rattan,** which for a little while answers indifferently well, but they are not lasting and are procured with a great deal of trouble, — with respect to other natured productions, which may contribute eventually to the public benefit time alone, and not a small period of it can satisfy us; as the clearing a space of ground for pasture, or the raising of Grain, Sugar, or Indigo, or any other Article of Cultivation that the Soil and climate may be found fit for, has been found from the experience we have had in clearing the small piece we occupy, a Work of the greatest labour from the enormous size of the Trees many of them being from 15 to 20 feet in circumference.

It is to be observed also that not a single spot of the whole Andamans, has yet been discovered that is not covered nearly in this manner, to the very brink of the Sea, which seems to prove the excellence of the Soil and the powerful vegetation derived doubtless from the heat, and great Moisture of the Climate, and indeed, on the small spot we have cleared, we have found all the variety of **Fruit Trees,** carried from Bengal. The Culinary Vegetables, and some small experiments of Sugar Cane, Indigo, Rice and other grains, thrive wonderfully well.

Of the Natives it is not necessary to say much, as their Existence, or non-existence can have very little influence on the plan in question. Never yet, in any part of the Globe, has the human race, been discovered in a more degraded or Savage state. They are Negroes of a very diminutive stature, knowing or practising none of the Arts of civilized Life, ranging, in a naked state along the Sea Shore, from whence they seem principally to derive their subsistance in gathering Shell fish, from the extensive reefs, that the whole Coasts are bound with, or shooting fish with Bow and Arrow at which they are very expert. They have also recourse to wild Fruits and roots; and from the Sculls and bones of wild Hogs, which they paint and carefully preserve in their wretched hovels, they must now and then entrap that animal, of which there are many, and with a species of wild bat, are the only four footed Animals we have discovered on the Islands.

As it has heretofore been generally believed that they are **Cannibals,** it is only here necessary to say that, although **we have not had any proof against** it; yet many circumstances have occurred to make us imagine that **it is not the case,** but we have had repeated proofs that they are most **hostile to all strangers,** never failing to lay wait for, and attack the Crew of any boats, that may land, which they think they can Master, and there can be little doubt that the unfortunate crews of many Vessels, that must have been wrecked on these Islands, have perished by their savage hands, for it is singular enough that no instance is known of any person escaping from such a situation.

I will not say more of **the Harbour of Port Cornwallis,** of which the Board have so excellent a Survey and description by Capt. Blair, than that it is sufficiently capacious for the largest Fleets ; easy of Ingress and egress, and from the experience of two years, during which time we have had several Gales from all Quarters, it appears to give safe Shelter to Ships at all Seasons. From the inspection of the Plan it is also evident that several modes of Fortification more or less extensive, might be adopted for the defence of the Settlement and an inferior fleet that might take Shelter there, depending on the scale that is taken up but, as this is not an object that can come immediately into Consideration, I shall hope that I have said enough of the situation, to admit of a comparison to be drawn between it and Prince of Wales Island, to which I will now beg to draw your attention.

Prince of Wales Island.

It were very unnecessary for me now to give any particular description of that Settlement, or its Harbour, as no part of the **Report I delivered into Government, in the year 1787** has been invalidated. As however, it does not appear to me that it has been at all taken notice of or attended to by the Court of Directors, I must apprehend that it has been by some chance overlooked, or that the Opinions there delivered have not been esteemed of sufficient weight to Induce a determination on so important a point I have therefore subjoined to this a Copy of that Report in addition to which I have only to add that I have again carefully examined and surveyed the Harbour ; that I find the entrance to it over a Mud flat (which had been reported dangerous for large Ships) perfectly safe having upon it depth enough, at low Water Spring Tides, for the largest Ships of the Royal Navy ; that I find the Inner Harbour under Poolajuajah to be a safe and smooth Bason, where the largest Ships can be transported with the utmost safety in one tide, even with their Guns on Board ; that on the Island Juajah, there is space enough for store Houses and a Marine Yard sufficiently extensive ; and that Warfs would be constructed with great ease, to which the largest Ships can be brought to take out their Guns and Stores, previous to any repair, and that this Inner Harbour Spot for a marine Yard has the additional advantage of being easily Fortified at little cost.

I find that the Island which when I surveyed it in 1787 was nearly as impenetrable a Forest as the Andamans, **is already cleared and cultivated to the extent of at least Twenty five square Miles,** that abundance of excellent Tropical Fruits and all the Vegetables, common in India, are produced there, that the Climate is temperate and healthy, and like every other situation in the straits of Malacca, entirely free from Gales of wind, and violent Weather of any kind, it being out of the full range of either of the Monsoons, but participating in a small degree of both ; that there is a considerable Population particularly of industrious Chinese and natives of the Coast of Coromandel — that a large town has been built, and that there are Shops and Markets filled with every Article of refreshment or supply that a Fleet can be in want of, — that a very extensive Commerce is established both through the Medium of ships navigated by Europeans, and Prows from the Neighbouring Countries, even as far to the Eastward as the Celebes ; and that under proper Regulations and management it appears capable of increase to a very great extent. In fine I have seen fully realized here the assertions of the late respectable Superintendant, in the following Extract of a Letter to the Governor General in Council four years ago.

" To enumerate all the benefits which may be obtained from the Possession of Prince of Wales Island might create a Suspicion that from interested motives, I am endeavouring to deceive your Lordship with Appearances, I therefore return to the Advantages which are visible and undeniable collected under the following Heads—

1st. A Harbour with good Anchorage secure from bad Weather, and capable of containing any number of Vessels.

2d. An Island well watered of excellent Soil, capable of sustaining Fifty thousand People and abounding in all necessary materials for their Service and Security.

3d. A Port favorable to Commerce, the present imports Amounting to upwards of 600,000 Spanish Dollars per annum.

4th. A place of refuge for your Merchants Ships, where they may refit and water, and be protected from the insults of the Enemy's ships.

5th. An Emporium so situated as to afford an easy approach from every part of India, from the Extremity of China to the Coast of Africa, where the Merchants of all nations may conveniently meet and exchange their Goods."

It is to be observed that, in the Statement of the Advantages of Prince of Wales Island **Mr Light** does not at all, seem to rest upon it as a Port of refreshment and refitment for the British Navies, which however are certainly the very first considerations with Government, for notwithstanding all the Commercial Advantages of Prince of Wales Island, it is probable it might be doubted whether it would Answer the purposes of Government to retain it for those ends alone at the continued expence it must cost, and the large Sum that must necessarily be disbursed in Fortifications to render the possession secure, but the following Extract of a Letter from **Commodore Rainier** to the Governor General, which he permits me to make public use of, places this matter in so clear a light and is itself so weighty an authority that I should imagine no doubts will long exist of its being in every respect, a Port well calculated for Refreshment and refitment of Ships of War, and, as Commodore Rainier hoists his Flag in a Seventy four Gun Ship, of the greatest Draught of water in the Navy, and takes no notice of the want of water, on the Mud Flat, formerly mentioned, all idea of its danger has disappeared.

Extract of a Letter from Commodore Rainier to the Honble. the Governor General dated on board **the Suffolk** at Prince of Wales Island 31st December 1794.

"Thro' want of information I unluckily put into **the South East Port of the Andamans** [now Port Blair], but got Wood and Water, and did what I wanted to do, and am told that is full as much as I should have effected at North East Harbour, but the refreshment and means of repair at this place are obviously so superior to any thing of the kind at the Andamans exclusive of its Commercial Advantages that I am astonished it should ever have been doubted which to prefer."

In addition to this testimony I have to inform you that, while I was at Prince of Wales Island, the Honble. Companys Squadron under **Commodore Mitchell,** consisting of Five Ships, remained there a Month, and received Abundance of Refreshments, and that soon afterwards His Majesty's **Ship Resistance,** [? arrived] and was so well supplied that **Captain Packenham** assured me that he had never been in any Foreign Port where a Ship of war was so well and easily supplied with every desirable Article.

I will now beg leave to take notice that all those Articles of Refreshment have been produced and will be constantly produced in an encreased Ratio with the Commerce and resort of Merchant Ships ; and that at no expence to Government, the Civil, Military and Naval Establishments, with the Public Buildings and Fortifications, being the only Expence that Government have been at. When this is contrasted with the refreshments that can be furnished at the Andamans which for want of the demand, Commerce, and a resort of Ships create, must probably be always scanty and uncertain, and entirely produced at the public Expence; it stands alone so high in the scale of comparison that there are few Advantages which can weigh against it. The defect formerly supposed in Prince of Wales Island as a War Port Viz. the want of depth of Water in its Harbour, appears to be compleatly disproved and done away. It only now remains to consider the disadvantages which the situation is liable to, and these I will now state.

Prince of Wales Island Defects.

It is at a very considerable distance from any of the Company's other Possessions, so that it cannot very quickly be reinforced with Troops or supplied with Ammunition and stores.

Its communication with Bengal in particular is not so rapid and certain, as could be wished, considering that it is, from thence alone that a large Fleet of Ships of War can be supplied with the great Articles of Provisions and Stores, that is to say those for Sea consumption.

Its position pretty deep in the Straits of Malacca, renders it liable to Calms in the South West Monsoon, so that Ships often find it difficult or tedious to approach or leave it.

From the constant serenity of the Weather, in the Straits of Malacca and the safeness of the Coasts, and from the ·Refreshments and assistance to be obtained by Alliances easily made with the Malay Princes, an Enemies Fleet has considerable Advantage and receives encouragement to project attacks on the Island, not to mention that, if the Enemy happened to be the Dutch, it is too near the Chief Seat of their Force and Power, and unless it be kept always in strength it might be liable to insult, at the breaking out of the War, before it could be reinforced.

From its situation, near the Equator, the climate, probably, as is the case in general, is too hot, and relaxing to admit of the Speedy recovery of European constitutions affected by long sickness; and all cases of Dysentery in particular have been found obstinate there.

Andamans Advantages.

I shall now however proceed to estimate the advantages and disadvantages of the Andamans.

It has an excellent Harbour, well supplied with water and wood and possesses a Soil that with perseverance will doubtless, be productive, of all the Fruits Vegetables and Grain common to India, and probably in very high perfection. Its situation is Central, for a quick communication to all the Mossessions of the Company, and, from its Vicinity to the seat of the National Government in India, it admits of the quickest communication of advices, also of the transportation of troops and Stores as well as of the innumerable Succours derivable from the Soil and Riches of Bengal throughout the course of the year, its communication being nearly alike expeditious in both Monsoons.

It stands unrivalled in its position, as a Naval Arsenal, in the facility of Communication with Aracan and Pegu, affording the so much prized Teak Timber for Ship Building, which unfortunately is the principal Article that the Government of Ava will admit of being exported; but if the present attempts of Government to render the intercourse unrestrained, so as to admit of the Exportation of Articles of Provisions, Cattle and live Stock of all kinds that these Courtries abound in, should succeed it would prove a great benefit to the Settlement in its infant state.

It derives some advantages in defence from the tempestuousness of its Climate, and the dangers of its Coast in discouraging the attempts of an Enemy, who can have no Ports in its vicinity where they can procure the least assistance or refreshment or from alliances, Advantages that Prince of Wales, and none other of the Companys Settlements possesses.

These are all the benefits that occur to me as belonging to the position of the Andamans and some of them when the matter is considered, on a great scale are certainly important, I should be happy more if **the disadvantages** did not outweigh them; they appear to me as follows.

The Climate has been described, from its excessive moisture, during so great a part of the year, although it may prove sufficiently healthy to those inured to it, would probably be not so to strangers, and particularly to the Crews of Ships of War, worn out by long Service, and in such Cases, generally visited by the Scurvy and Dysentary, to which a moist atmosphere is obnoxious.

The Weather is for the greatest part of the year very tempestuous and irregular, the Islands during the South West Monsoon being generally enveloped and obscured by obstructed Clouds, and on the Coasts there have been found so many dangerous Coral Shoals, many of which may be yet discovered, that it must always be approached with much caution, especially by Ships disabled in their rigging as might be the case after an Action in the South West Monsoon. It is to be feared therefore that accidents would frequently happen, and here the barbarity of the natives must be

considered as a lamentable inconvenience, as there is little hope that even in a very long period of Years, our communication with them would produce much change in the manners of any, excepting those in the neighbourhood of the Settlement.

The abovementioned Severity of the Weather points out the Necessity of having all the buildings of Masonry, even the habitations of the nearest [? meanest] labourers, mere temporary Houses (such as are in common use in Bengal) yielding but an insufficient protection against the Violence of the Rainy Months.

The whole Settlement must for a time be supplied with Provisions from Bengal or some foreign Port, for except the raising of a few Culinary Vegetables, it cannot be expected that ground will be cleared to much extent in several Years, even for the purpose of converting it into Pasture, for the support of the necessary live Stock, much less for the Culture of grain in Quantity, equal to the Subsistance of the Settlement.

The Establishment of Vessels therefore to keep up a constant and certain supply, were extensive Works to be carried on, and a consequent encrease to the Establishment of Labourers to take place, would be a very heavy expence, every work must be done by labourers from Bengal, upon encreased pay, with Provisions gratis; and as, even with those indulgences, it is found difficult to induce them to go, there is not much hope that we shall be able to strike them off and when to this is added that, for above half of the year, very little work, without doors can be done, labour becomes exorbitantly high indeed; and the completion of Fortifications, or other buildings must be proportionably slow, tedious and burthensome.

No assistance is to be expected from Voluntary Settlers (i. e. Adventurers) either Europeans or Natives of Bengal, or other parts of India, Men whose dependance for a livelihood, is on their own Industry, and who seek it in a foreign Country, are usually induced, by one or other of the following causes existing in it; Natural productions more plentiful or more valuable than in other places — Superior excellence of the Inhabitants in the useful Arts, or valuable Manufacturers, or peculiar Advantages from its situation as a European [? mart] of Traffick with other Countries. Unfortunately the Andamans do not hold out any of these incitements in the smallest degree.

Prince of Wales Island Comparatively.

I have now, I think stated all the various circumstances, relative to the two situations, as Harbours for our Navies that may enable you Honble Sir to draw a Comparison and Establish a preference upon solid grounds, with all the accuracy, and impartiality in my power, and this on the idea that it will not answer the end of Government to retain both, from the enormous expence that the keeping up two such Establishments would create. In forming this Judgement which will depend upon the weight that is put upon the several Advantages or defects as stated, which the enlarged views of Government can alone estimate.

I hope, however that I shall not be thought to go too far when I declare that, in my own restricted scope of the subject, I have a full conviction that **Prince of Wales Island,** all circumstances considered, is **infinitely preferable to the Andamans,** and that, in fact it provides every thing that Government can want for a Port of Refitment and Refreshment for the Navies of Great Britain, to the Eastward of Cape Comorin. To this conclusion I have been led by a long and tedious investigation and much personal labour and exposure to the inclemency of the Weather, during a series of Years. The facts as stated are all from my own observation, and if I have erred it has been alone from want of capacity or Judgement as I have had every opportunity of information that could be afforded me on the subject.

As the other objects of investigation that you were pleased to recommend to my attention at Prince of Wales Island are merely for a local nature I have thought it best to keep them separate and they will be the subject of another address, that I shall shortly have the honor to present you.

I am with the greatest respect Honble. Sir &c &c

(Signed) **A. Kyd.**

Calcutta, March 4th 1795.

Ordered that the Appendix referred to in the above Letter **be entered in the Proceedings,** and that the Letter itself shall lie for consideration.[30]

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from Vol. XXXI. p. 514.)

[30] [*Note.*—This Appendix is not to be found in the Consultation Book.]

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE ANGLO-DUTCH ATTACK ON BOMBAY IN 1626.

IN the second edition (1891) of his *Report on the Old Records of the India Office,* Sir George Birdwood printed three previously unpublished accounts, derived from ships' logs now preserved in that Office, of a joint attack made by a number of Dutch and English vessels on Bombay, then an insignificant Portuguese settlement, in October, 1626. Little resistance was experienced, and after a short bombardment, the allied forces landed their men, and plundered and burnt the castle and town. Having done all the damage they could, the men were re-embarked, and the two fleets sailed away to do more mischief to the Portuguese elsewhere.

To these three narratives we can now add a fourth, derived from a collection of papers in the British Museum known as *Egerton* 2086. At f. 107 of this volume is a letter addressed to the East India Company, under date of January 8, 1627-28, by James Slade, master of the *Discovery.* In the course of this letter, he mentions the interesting fact that the factors at Surat had had several consultations about the acquisition of a fortified station to serve as

the headquarters of the English in India. Amongst the sites suggested (which, of course, must be outside Mogul territory) were Dabul, the Maldives, a place called "London's Hope," and Bombay; and the mention of the last-named place leads him to describe the recent attack upon that settlement, in which he himself had borne a part. This he does as follows: —

"For Bumbay wee were there last yeare with our 6 Ships & 8 sayle of Dutch, in search of the Portingall Gallions, but found them not. Here after wee had bin before it 24 howers, the Comanders being a board of us resolved to goe with all our bardges & boats to vew the place, to see if wee might land without danger. After there departuer from aboard of us, it was Mr. Wills his fortune & mine to come after them in our shalloop; & after our departuer from our Ships, wee espied aboate in a sandy [bay ?] to the westward of the forte, which boate wee resolved to fetch of. Coming n[eare] the forte, it shott divers times at us, & som smale shott placed at us out of the Corner of a wood where the Boate lay. Notwithstanding wee went aboard of her, which wee found to be one (*sic*) ground & the peple fledd. Whereupon wee landed, and being seconded by 2 or 3 boates of men that Followed us, wee Martch up to the fort, which was left voyde unto us. Som of our men fired a house; by which accident the Comanders perceiving the successe, came ashore unto us, where wee continued all night & till next day in the Evening, at which time the whole towne & fort being burnt to the ground by the Dutch & us, wee departed. This Towne yealded noe benifitt to us nor the Dutch, there being nothing left in it that was worth Carradge, except it were salt fish & Rice, which was consumed with the fier. The Rest of there goods, in regard of our Long being before before (*sic*) wee had landed they had conveyed away.

"This is noe good place to winter in, it being open to the Westerly [ ] & noe sucker for them from the wether. What other place ther[e is ?] in this sound (which is deepe & undiscovered by any of us) to winter in, is un[known] to all us then that were there present."

WILLIAM FOSTER.

COMMAND.

An Anglo-Indianism.

COMMAND and on command are terms that should be in Yule as distinct "Hobson-Jobsons": meaning to all natives of India a duty on detachment or away from head-quarters, and hence the detachment itself and any place subsidiary to head-quarters, an outstation.

Here is a curious instance of the spread of the term beyond the borders of the British Empire:—

"1899. The choice of warders was made from those classes best suited for the control of their fellow-prisoners, especially in the outstations or commands, as they were called . . . . it was necessary to provide accommodation for them in convict lines or commands as we have said, pronounced kumman [kamân] by the convicts . . . . Simpson, in his *Side Lights on* Siberia, uses command as denoting a jail outside of the prison walls."—McNair, *Prisoners their own Warders*, pp. 19, 21.

The Andaman Penal Settlement is in some respects the successor of the system employed first under Sir Stamford Raffles at Bencoolen, and then at Penang, Malacca, Singapore, and Maulmain. In the Andamans command is in common use for a duty or a place away from head-quarters.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE MALABAR QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. I., No. 1, March, 1902. Ernakulam, Cochin Government Press. Annual Subscription, Rs. 5.

THE extreme South has long been an "advanced" portion of India, and this *Review*, conducted almost entirely by Hindus, does credit to their education and to the interest taken by them in their own country in its present and in its past. The list of the articles in the first number shows the nature of the studies of the contributors, who, from the inner front cover, are very numerous. This list is as follows:—Sri Sankaracharya, his Life and Work: The Nambudris of Malabar: Travancore in the Eighteenth Century: The Origin of the Malayalam Language: Marriage among the Malayalis: Our Country (a short poem): Some distinctive features of Malabar Sociology and their Effects.

It gives us great pleasure to notice this new attempt on the part of the Natives of India themselves to study subjects with which this *Journal* has been so long connected.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The places mentioned in the spurious plates, belonging to the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which purport to register a grant made by Dharasêna II. of Valabhî in A.D. 478.

THIS record is No. 32 in the List of Spurious Records given by me in Vol. XXX. above, p. 214 ff. It has been edited, as a spurious record, by Dr. Bühler in Vol. X. above, p. 277 ff., with a lithograph. I have not been able to trace any information as to the place where the original plates were obtained.

The record purports to have been issued, — śrî-Valabhi(bhî)taḥ, — "from the famous **Valabhî;**" that is, from **Walâ** in the Gôhilwâḍ division of Kâṭhiâwâr. And it claims that, on a specified day in the month Vaiśâkha, Saka-Saṁvat 400 (expired), falling in April, A. D. 478, Dharasêna II. (of the family of the Maitrakas of Valabhî) granted to a Brâhmaṇ, for the purposes of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva*, *agnihôtra*, and *pañchamahâyajña* sacrifices, a village (*grâma*) named **Nandîaraka** or **Nandîsaraka,** lying (*antaḥpâtin*) in a territorial division which is mentioned as the **Kantâragrâma śôḍaśataṁ vishaya.**

The alleged grantee was the *Bhaṭṭa* Gôminda (for Gôvinda), son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Isara (for Îśvara). His alleged father is described[1] as having come (*vinirgata*) from **Daśapura,** and as being a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place, and as belonging to the Kauśika *gôtra*, and as being a student of the Chhandôga (school of the Sâmavêda). And the **Daśapura** thus mentioned is the modern **Mandasôr,** more properly **Dasôr,**[2] the chief town of the Mandasôr district of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India.

It cannot be doubted that, in the name of **the Kantâragrâma śôḍaśataṁ vishaya,** either the word **śôḍaśataṁ** is a mistake for *shôḍaśa-śata*, a compound of *shôḍaśan*, 'sixteen,' and *śata*, 'hundred,' or else it is a hybrid word, of which the first component is some unusual or corrupt substitute for the *sôḷ* which is the proper Prâkṛit form in Gujarâtî, answering to the Marâṭhî *sôḷâ*. of the Sanskṛit *shôḍaśan*. The intended meaning of the word, however, is not so obvious. The word had previously come to notice, in a similar connection, in the spurious Umêtâ plates, which also purport to have been issued in A. D. 478.[3] In editing that record, Dr. Bühler did not translate this word. In editing the present record, however, he took it to mean 'sixteen hundred;' see Vol. X. above, p. 277 *b*, "the Sixteen-hundred of Kantâragrâma." And, on a recent occasion, when I was not specially concerned with, and had not fully considered, the geographical details of these two records, I adopted that, the more customary meaning of *shôḍaśa-śata*, in my entry of them in Vol. XXX. above, p. 216, No. 23, and p. 217, No. 32. But, in his identification of the places mentioned in the Umêtâ record, Dr. Bühler adopted for *śôḍaśataṁ* the meaning of 'one hundred and sixteen;' see Vol. XVII. above, p. 184, "the 116 villages of the *bhukti* of Kamaṇîya," also p. 193, "the Kamaṇîya *bhukti*, which included 116 villages." Now, *shôḍaśa-śata* may certainly mean either 'one hundred and sixteen' or 'sixteen hundred.' But, according to the customary method of expressing numbers in the epigraphic records, it would mean 'sixteen hundred,' and 'one hundred and sixteen' would be denoted by *shôḍaś-âdhika-śata*, or by *shôḍaś-ôttara-śata*, which actually occurs in *Karmmântapura-prativaddha-shôḍaśôttaragrâmaśat-ântaḥpâtî*, "(the village of Pârâhaṇaka) lying in the hundred and sixteen villages attached to the town of Karmântapura," in the Bagumrâ plates of A. D. 867,[4] and which was no doubt the basis of the corrupt expression *sôḍasôttamadhyâ*, for

[1] The construction of the passages specifying the alleged grantee and his father, is similar to that used in the spurious Umêtâ plates, which has been quoted in Vol. XXXI. above, p. 337.

[2] See Vol. XV. above, p. 194, and *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 79, note 1.

[3] Vol. VII. above, p. 64, plate ii., line 1.

[4] Vol XII. above, p. 185, plate ii.b, line 8 f.

the headquarters of the English in India. Amongst the sites suggested (which, of course, must be outside Mogul territory) were Dabul, the Maldives, a place called "London's Hope," and Bombay; and the mention of the last-named place leads him to describe the recent attack upon that settlement, in which he himself had borne a part. This he does as follows: —

"For Bumbay wee were there last yeare with our 6 Ships & 8 sayle of Dutch, in search of the Portingall Gallions, but found them not. Here after wee had bin before it 24 howers, the Comanders being a board of us resolved to goe with all our bardges & boats to vew the place, to see if wee might land without danger. After there departuer from aboard of us, it was Mr. Wills his fortune & mine to come after them in our shalloop; & after our departuer from our Ships, wee espied aboate in a sandy [bay ?] to the westward of the forte, which boate wee resolved to fetch of. Coming n[eare] the forte, it shott divers times at us, & som smale shott placed at us out of the Corner of a wood where the Boate lay. Notwithstanding wee went aboard of her, which wee found to be one (*sic*) ground & the peple fledd. Whereupon wee landed, and being seconded by 2 or 3 boates of men that Followed us, wee Martch up to the fort, which was left voyde unto us. Som of our men fired a house; by which accident the Comanders perceiving the successe, came ashore unto us, where wee continued all night & till next day in the Evening, at which time the whole towne & fort being burnt to the ground by the Dutch & us, wee departed. This Towne yealded noe benifitt to us nor the Dutch, there being nothing left in it that was worth Carradge, except it were salt fish & Rice, which was consumed with the fier. The Rest of there goods, in regard of our Long being before before (*sic*) wee had landed they had conveyed away.

"This is noe good place to winter in, it being open to the Westerly [ ] & noe sucker for them from the wether. What other place ther[e is ?] in this sound (which is deepe & undiscovered by any of us) to winter in, is un[known] to all us then that were there present."

WILLIAM FOSTER.

COMMAND.

An Anglo-Indianism.

COMMAND and on command are terms that should be in Yule as distinct "Hobson-Jobsons": meaning to all natives of India a duty on detachment or away from head-quarters, and hence the detachment itself and any place subsidiary to head-quarters, an outstation.

Here is a curious instance of the spread of the term beyond the borders of the British Empire:—

"1899. The choice of warders was made from those classes best suited for the control of their fellow-prisoners, especially in the outstations or commands, as they were called . . . . it was necessary to provide accommodation for them in convict lines or commands as we have said, pronounced kumman [kamân] by the convicts . . . . Simpson, in his *Side Lights on* Siberia, uses command as denoting a jail outside of the prison walls."— McNair, *Prisoners their own Warders*, pp. 19, 21.

The Andaman Penal Settlement is in some respects the successor of the system employed first under Sir Stamford Raffles at Bencoolen, and then at Penang, Malacca, Singapore, and Maulmain. In the Andamans command is in common use for a duty or a place away from head-quarters.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE MALABAR QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. I., No. 1, March, 1902. Ernakulam, Cochin Government Press. Annual Subscription, Rs. 5.

THE extreme South has long been an "advanced" portion of India, and this *Review*, conducted almost entirely by Hindus, does credit to their education and to the interest taken by them in their own country in its present and in its past. The list of the articles in the first number shows the nature of the studies of the contributors, who, from the inner front cover, are very numerous. This list is as follows:— Sri Sankaracharya, his Life and Work: The Nambudris of Malabar: Travancore in the Eighteenth Century: The Origin of the Malayalam Language: Marriage among the Malayalis: Our Country (a short poem): Some distinctive features of Malabar Sociology and their Effects.

It gives us great pleasure to notice this new attempt on the part of the Natives of India themselves to study subjects with which this *Journal* has been so long connected.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The places mentioned in the spurious plates, belonging to the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which purport to register a grant made by Dharasêna II. of Valabhî in A.D. 478.

THIS record is No. 32 in the List of Spurious Records given by me in Vol. XXX. above, p. 214 ff. It has been edited, as a spurious record, by Dr. Bühler in Vol. X. above, p. 277 ff., with a lithograph. I have not been able to trace any information as to the place where the original plates were obtained.

The record purports to have been issued, — śrî-Valabhi(bhî)taḥ, — "from the famous **Valabhî**;" that is, from **Walâ** in the Gôhilwâḍ division of Kâṭhiâwâr. And it claims that, on a specified day in the month Vaiśâkha, Śaka-Saṁvat 400 (expired), falling in April, A. D. 478, Dharasêna II. (of the family of the Maitrakas of Valabhî) granted to a Brâhmaṇ, for the purposes of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva*, *agnihôtra*, and *pañchamahâyajña* sacrifices, a village (*grâma*) named **Nandîaraka** or **Nandîsaraka**, lying (*antaḥpâtin*) in a territorial division which is mentioned as the **Kantâragrâma śôḍaśataṁ vishaya.**

The alleged grantee was the *Bhaṭṭa* Gôminda (for Gôvinda), son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Isara (for Îśvara). His alleged father is described[1] as having come (*vinirgata*) from **Daśapura,** and as being a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place, and as belonging to the Kauśika *gôtra*, and as being a student of the Chhandôga (school of the Sâmavêda). And the **Daśapura** thus mentioned is the modern **Mandasôr,** more properly **Dasôr,**[2] the chief town of the Mandasôr district of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India.

It cannot be doubted that, in the name of **the Kantâragrâma śôḍaśataṁ vishaya,** either the word **śôḍaśataṁ** is a mistake for *shôḍaśa-śata*, a compound of *shôḍaśan*, 'sixteen,' and *śata*, 'hundred,' or else it is a hybrid word, of which the first component is some unusual or corrupt substitute for the *sôḷ* which is the proper Prâkṛit form in Gujarâtî, answering to the Marâṭhî *sôḷâ*. of the Sanskrit *shôḍaśan*. The intended meaning of the word, however, is not so obvious. The word had previously come to notice, in a similar connection, in the spurious Umêtâ plates, which also purport to have been issued in A. D. 478.[3] In editing that record, Dr. Bühler did not translate this word. In editing the present record, however, he took it to mean 'sixteen hundred;' see Vol. X. above, p. 277 *b*, "the Sixteen-hundred of Kantâragrâma." And, on a recent occasion, when I was not specially concerned with, and had not fully considered, the geographical details of these two records, I adopted that, the more customary meaning of *shôḍaśa-śata*, in my entry of them in Vol. XXX. above, p. 216, No. 23, and p. 217, No. 32. But, in his identification of the places mentioned in the Umêtâ record, Dr. Bühler adopted for *śôḍaśataṁ* the meaning of 'one hundred and sixteen;' see Vol. XVII. above, p. 184, "the 116 villages of the *bhukti* of Kamaṇîya," also p. 193, "the Kamaṇîya *bhukti*, which included 116 villages." Now, *shôḍaśa-śata* may certainly mean either 'one hundred and sixteen' or 'sixteen hundred.' But, according to the customary method of expressing numbers in the epigraphic records, it would mean 'sixteen hundred,' and 'one hundred and sixteen' would be denoted by *shôḍaś-âdhika-śata*, or by *shôḍaś-ôttara-śata*, which actually occurs in *Karmmântapura-prativaddha-shôḍaśôttaragrâmaśat-ântaḥpâtî*, "(the village of Pârâhaṇaka) lying in the hundred and sixteen villages attached to the town of Karmântapura," in the Bagumrâ plates of A. D. 867,[4] and which was no doubt the basis of the corrupt expression *śôḍasôttamadhyâ*. for

[1] The construction of the passages specifying the alleged grantee and his father, is similar to that used in the spurious Umêtâ plates, which has been quoted in Vol. XXXI. above, p. 337.

[2] See Vol. XV. above, p. 194, and *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 79, note 1.

[3] Vol. VII. above, p. 64, plate ii., line 1.

[4] Vol XII. above, p. 185, plate ii.*b*, line 8 f.

shôḍaś-ôttara-grâma-śata-madhyavarti, in the Bagumrâ plates, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A. D. 888.[5] It was probably the passage in the Bagumrâ plates of A. D. 867 that led Dr. Bühler to substitute 'one hundred and sixteen' for 'sixteen hundred' as the meaning of *śôḍaśataṁ* in these records; for, he proposed[6] to identify the Karmântapura of that record, to which one hundred and sixteen villages were attached, with the same place, Kâmrêj, which is undoubtedly meant by the Kamaṇîya of the Umêtâ record. And that proposal is, no doubt, quite sound; since Pârâhaṇaka is, as he shewed, the 'Parona' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888), about twelve miles south-east from Kâmrêj, and there does not appear to be any place in that neighbourhood, except Kâmrêj, to which the name Karmântapura could well be applied. And it seems, therefore, very likely that the person who fabricated the present record did use *śôḍaśataṁ* for *shôḍaśa-śata* in the sense of 'one hundred and sixteen,' and that the same was intended to be its meaning in the case of the Umêtâ record. However, the two records are spurious records, and we do not know absolutely for certain what the composer or composers of them had in view. And, partly for these reasons, and also in order not to lose sight of one marked peculiarity of both the records, I think it better, now, in referring to the territorial appellations presented by them, to use the expression given in the original records, instead of offering any translation of it either way.

The name of the village claimed by these plates was given by Dr. Bühler as Naṁdîaraka in his text, and as Nandîaraka in his translation. In his introductory remarks, however, he intimated that it might be taken either as Nandîaraka or as Nandîsaraka. And, to this, he attached a note indicating that the *akshara* forming the third syllable is "very indistinct."[7] As presented in the lithograph, however, that *akshara* is not in any way doubtful, which is probably what Dr. Bühler really meant; it is, there, distinctly an initial short *a*. But I find, from my own transcription of the text, that, when the original plates were in my hands, in 1878, — before the time when the editing of the record was made over to Dr. Bühler,[8] — I read the *akshara*, without any feeling of doubt, as *sa*. And Nandîsaraka is a more probable name than Nandîaraka, for the following reasons. In the first place, we have the place-name 'Nadisar,' in the case of a village in the Pañch-Mahâls, which may be found in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 36, S. W. (1897), in lat. 23° 53′, long. 73° 27′, about fifteen miles west-north-west-half-north from Gôdhrâ.[9] And, in the second place, we have seen that the modern name Nâliḍâ or Nâdîḍâ, — the 'Nadira' and 'Nádira' of maps, — represents an ancient Nâudîtaṭâka;[10] like *taṭâka, saraka* means 'a pond, pool, tank, or lake;' thus, Nandîsaraka is essentially the same name as Nâudîtaṭâka, with only the short *a* for the long *â* in the first syllable, and it might be a Sanskṛitisation of any name derived from Nâudîtaṭâka; and we have another such name in the 'Nadirda' and 'Nídirda' of maps, which may be found in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), in the Wâgrâ tâluka of the Broach district.[11] I am inclined to think that the syllable is doubtful in the original plate, and has been wrongly developed into an initial short *a* in the course of preparing the lithograph, which is not a facsimile. But, whether the syllable is *a* or *sa*, cannot be finally decided without another inspection of the original plate, which is not accessible to

[5] Vol XIII. above, p. 67, plate ii.*b*, line 6; and see the corrected transcript on p. 69.

[6] See Vol. XVI. above, p. 100.

[7] Vol. X above, p. 277 *b*, and note 2.

[8] I do not know, for certain, whether he edited it from the original plates, or from the lithograph. But I infer that he had the original plates before him.

[9] That, however, is not the village claimed by the record: partly, because, instead of being on the coast, it is on the east bank of the Mahî, and there are no names in the vicinity of it answering to the other names given in the record; and partly because it is far away from what was evidently the Kantâragrâma country.

[10] See Vol. XXXI. above, p. 397.

[11] But this place, also, is not the village claimed by the record: partly, because it is eleven miles from the coast, and there is nothing in its vicinity to represent Girivili and Dêyathali and the river Madâvi; and partly, because it is separated by the rivers Narbadâ, Kîm, and Taptî, from what was evidently the Kantâragrâma country. — Nor is the modern Nâdiḍâ or Nâdiḍâ, the Nâudîtaṭâka of the Bagumrâ record of A. D. 915, the village claimed by the present record: it is, indeed, on the north bank of the river Madâvi; but it is bounded on the east by Bârḍôlî (instead of Girivili), and on the north by 'Ten' (instead of Dêyathali), and it is some twenty-four miles from the coast.

me. And, for these reasons, I treat the name as either **Nandîaraka** or **Nandîsaraka**. It may be added that the intended name may have been even Nândîsaraka, with the long *â* in the first syllable; in the record, there are quite enough cases of an omission of a medial long *â*, to justify even that surmise.

In specifying **the boundaries of Nandîaraka or Nandîsaraka,** the record places on the east a village (*grâma*) named **Girivili.** On the south, it places a river (*nadî*) named **Madâvi.**[12] On the west, it places **the sea.**[13] And, on the north, it places a village (*grâma*) named **Dêyathali.**

To the localisation of this record, we are led primarily by the reference to the territorial division which is mentioned as **the Kantâragrâma ṡôḍaṡataṁ vishaya.** We should, of course, have expected that a village claimed by a charter attributed to Dharasêna II. of Valabhî, would be found either somewhere in Kâṭhiâwâr, or, if outside that territory, then at any rate somewhere close to, and probably on the north of, the river Mahî. An examination of the maps, however, has failed to produce anything tending to connect the record with those parts. And there is no doubt that it really belongs, as was indicated by Dr. Bühler,[14] to a territory which was formerly attached to and was named after, — or, it may be said, was supposed, by the person who fabricated the record, to have been attached to and named after, — the modern **Katârgâm** or **Kattargâm.** This is a very large village, or a small town, close on the north of Surat, which is shewn as **'Katargam'** in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E (1888), in lat. 21° 13′, long. 72° 53′, and as **'Katârgám'** in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 15 (1879) of Gujarât, in a large bend of the Taptî, and on the south of that river. I am not quite sure of the exact form of its modern name; for, whereas Dr. Bühler wrote it as Kattargâm, with the double *tt* followed by a short *a*, the compilation entitled *Bombay Places and Common Official Words* (1878) certifies it, in Gujarâtî characters, as Katârgâm, with a single *t* followed by a long *â*: and it is not impossible that more careful inquiries on the spot would shew that the real modern name is Kâtârgâm, with a single *t* and the long *â* both before and after it. However, the 'Katargam' and 'Katârgám' of the maps, close on the north of Surat, is the place meant by Dr. Bühler. He has told us that it is still known by the Sanskrit appellation of Kantâragrâma. There is no other place, either in Kâṭhiâwâr or in Gujarât, the name of which can be taken as derived from, or as properly capable of being represented by, Kantâragrâma. And the next identification fully endorses Dr. Bühler's recognition of the identity of the Kantâragrâma of the record with Katârgâm or Kattargâm.

Dr. Bühler was not able to go beyond that point. But **the river Madâvi** of the record is certainly that river which is called **Mandâkinî** in the Chokkhakuṭi grant of A. D. 867, and which, as is shown by the details given in that record,[15] is unquestionably the modern **'Mindhola, Mindhála, or Miṇḍhôḷâ' river,** also known as the **'Midágri,'** which falls into the sea about five miles on the south of the Taptî, and from the north bank of which, at its nearest point, Katârgâm or Kattargâm is distant about nine miles.

The maps do not disclose, in the area from the coast, with the Taptî on the north and the 'Mindhola' on the south, to a line from Katârgâm or Kattargâm to the 'Mindhola,'[16] the existence of any names that can represent the **Nandîaraka** or **Nandîsaraka** and the **Girivili** and **Dêyathali,**

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[12] As I have already remarked (see Vol. XXXI. above, p. 254, note 7), there is a somewhat unusual mark at the top of the *ma*, to the right. It does not seem to be intended for a long *â*. Nor, as far as I could see when I had the original plate before me, does it seem to be part of an imperfectly formed *anusvâra*.

[13] The actual reading presented in the text, is *samuṁdrô*, as given by Dr. Bühler. And I know, from my own transcription, that the *anusvâra* exists in the original, and has not been simply evolved in the preparation of the lithograph. A name Samuṁdra might easily be imagined, as an intermediate form between an original Śamîpadraka and a modern name which might appear either as 'Sondarna' (see Vol. XXXI. above, p. 363), or as 'Samadra' or 'Samádra,' which latter name does occur in the Mehmadâbâd tâluka of the Kaira district. But, in addition to other considerations, the absence of the word *grâma*, which is attached in the other instances in the text, makes it certain that *samudrô*, 'the sea,' really was intended.

[14] Vol. X. above, p. 277 *b*.

[15] See Vol. XXXI. above, p. 254 f.

[16] Nor, it is hardly necessary to say, anywhere else.

of the record. And we can only arrive at the conclusion that these three villages all lay quite close to the coast, where the maps shew a few villages of the Sachîn State and some large islands or banks on one of which there is a hamlet named 'Kâdi Phaliya,' close on the north-west of 'Dumas,'[17] and that they have all disappeared in the course of time. They may have been absorbed into 'Dumas' and 'Bhimpur.' Or they may have been washed away and destroyed by encroachments of the Taptî and the sea.

But the identifications of Kantâragrâma with Katârgâm or Kattargâm, and of the river Madâvi with the 'Mindhola,' and the mention of the sea, are sufficient to make it quite certain that **this record is to be localised here, between the mouths of the Taptî and the 'Mindhola.'**

The places mentioned in the spurious Umêtâ plates which purport to have been issued in A. D. 478.

This record is No. 23 in the List of Spurious Records given by me in Vol. XXX. above, p. 214 ff. It has been edited, as a genuine record, by Dr. Bühler, in Vol. VII. above, p. 61 ff., with a lithograph. From the information given by him, we know that the original plates were obtained in 1875 by the Rev. J. Taylor at **Umêtâ** in the Kaira district of Gujarât, Bombay Presidency. This place is on the west bank of the river Mahî, about ten miles towards the south-east-by-east from Bôrsad, the head-quarters of the Bôrsad tâluka of the Kaira district. The record, however, has no real connection with that locality.

The record purports to have been issued, — vijaya-vikshêpât Bharukachchha-pradvâra-nâsakat (*read* vâsakât), — "from the victorious cantonment situated (*lit.*, dwelling, abiding, halting) before the gates of **Bharukachchha,"** that is, of **Broach.** And it claims that, on a specified day in the month Vaiśâkha, Śaka-Saṁvat 400 (expired), falling in April, A. D. 478, the Gurjara prince Dadda II. granted to a Brâhmaṇ, for the maintenance of the *bali, charu, vaiśvadêva, agnihôtra, pañcha-mahâyajña*, and other (unspecified) rites, a village (*grâma*) named **Niguḍa**, lying (*antaḥpâtin*) in a territorial division which is mentioned as the **Kamaṇîya śôḍaśataṁ bhukti.** Regarding the word *śôḍaśataṁ*, thus presented, reference may be made to page 49 above.

The alleged grantee is described as the *Bhaṭṭa* Madhava (for Mâdhava), son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Mahidhara (which name may, or may not, be taken as standing for Mahîdhara, with the long *î*).[18] His alleged father is described as dwelling (*vâstavya*) at **Kânyakubja,** and as being a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place, and as belonging to the Vasishṭha *gôtra*, and as being a student of the Bahvṛicha (school of the Ṛigvêda). And we may, no doubt, take it that the **Kânyakubja** thus mentioned is **Kanauj,** in the Farukhâbâd district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oude, and that there is no confusion in this record between Kânyakubja-Kanauj and the name Karṇakubja which the Girnâr *Mâhâtmya* would put forward as a former name of Junâgaḍh in Kâṭhiâwâr.[19]

In specifying **the boundaries of Niguḍa,** the record places on the east a village (*grâma*) named **Vaghauri.** On the south, it places a village named **Phalahavadra.** On the west, it places a village named **Vihâṇa.** And, on the north, it places a village named **Dahithali.**

This record has been localised by Dr. Bühler.[20] **Kamaṇîya** is used in it as another form of the name of the ancient **Kârmaṇêya** and **Kammaṇijja,**[21] which is the modern **Kâmrêj,** the head-quarters of the Kâmrêj subdivision of the Nausârî division of the Baroda territory ; it is on the south bank of the Taptî, and is to be found in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888), in lat. 21° 17′, long. 73° 2′. And, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler, **Niguḍa** is a village which is shewn as '**Nagod**' in the same Atlas sheet and in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 34 (1882) of Gujarât, ten and

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[17] The Atlas sheet places this hamlet on the mainland. But the Trigonometrical sheet makes it quite clear that it is on an island.

[18] The whole passage specifying the alleged grantee and his father, has been quoted in Vol. XXXI. above, p. 337.

[19] See Vol. XXXI. above, p. 332, note 12. [20] Vol. XVII. above, p. 184. [21] See Vol. XXXI. above, p. 393.

a half miles east-south-east-a-quarter-south from Kâmrêj; **Phalahavadra** is the '**Moti Phalod**' of the two maps, about one mile on the south-east of 'Nagod;' **Vihâṇa** is the '**Vihan**' of the Atlas sheet, and the '**Viháṇ**' of the Trigonometrical sheet, one mile and a half west-north-west from 'Nagod;' and **Dahithali** is the '**Dethli**' of the two maps, one mile on the north of 'Nagod.' The maps do not present any name corresponding exactly to that of **Vaghauri.** Immediately on the east of 'Nagod,' they place a village the name of which is given as 'Rudhwara' in the Atlas sheet, and as 'Rudhwára' in the Trigonometrical sheet. And Dr. Bühler considered it "not improbable that this "name is a mistake for Vaghvârâ, caused by the resemblance of the syllables *rudh* and *vagh* if "written with Gujarâtî characters;" and he added "Vaghvârâ might be the representative of Vaghauri."[22] That may be the case. Or, possibly, the name of Vaghauri may be partially preserved in that of the 'Waghecha Kadod' and 'Wághechha Kadod' of the maps, about two miles further towards the east from 'Nagod.' However, the identification of the other three surrounding villages makes quite certain the identification of Niguḍa with 'Nagod.'

The places mentioned in the spurious Bagumrâ plates which purport to have been issued in A. D. 493.

This record is No. 34 in the List of Spurious Records given by me in Vol. XXX. above, p. 214 ff. It has been edited, as a genuine record, by Dr. Bühler in Vol. XVII. above, p. 183 ff., with a facsimile lithograph. And the first of the references given by him, in his introductory remarks, shews that the original plates were found, in 1881, along with some others, in excavating temporary kitchens for a large wedding-feast at **Bagumrâ** in the Palsânâ subdivision of the Nausârî division of the Baroda territory in Gujarât, Bombay Presidency. The record claims a grant of the village of Bagumrâ itself. And it, therefore, does belong to the locality where it was obtained.

The record purports, like the spurious Umêtâ plates, to have been issued, — vijaya-vikshêpât Bharukachchha-pradvâra-nâsakât (*read* vâsakât), — "from the victorious cantonment situated before the gates of **Bharukachchha,**" that is, of **Broach.** And it claims that, on a specified day in the month Yêshṭha (meaning Jyêshṭha or Jyaishṭha), Saka-Saṁvat 415 (expired), falling in May, A. D. 493, the Gurjara prince Dadda II. granted to a Brâhmaṇ, for the maintenance of the *bali, charu, vaiśvadêva, agnihôtra, pañchamahayajña,* and other (unspecified) rites, a village *(grâma)* named **Tatha-Umbarâ,** lying (*antaḥpâtin*) in some territorial division regarding which reference may be made to the next paragraph but one.

The alleged grantee is described as the *Bhaṭṭa* Gôvinda, son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Mahidhara.[23] As in the spurious Umêtâ plates, dealt with above, the alleged father is described as dwelling (*vâstavya*) at **Kanyakubja,** that is, **Kanauj,** and as being a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place. But the other details differ; and he is further described as belonging to the Kauśika *gôtra,* and as being a student of the Chhandôga (school of the Sâmavêda). And it would seem, therefore, that the grant of Tatha-Umbarâ was not claimed for a brother of the person to whom the grant of Niguḍa is said to have been made.

The village of Tatha-Umbarâ, claimed by these plates, is described in line 17 of the text as:— Tatha-Umbar-âhârâdvali[śa]-antaḥpâti-Tatha-Umbarâ-grâmô. And here there is certainly a reference to a **territorial division** of some kind or another. Dr. Bühler proposed to render these words as meaning that the village was "situated in the *âhârâdvaliśa* or district of Tatha-Umbarâ;" finding in them a word *dvaliśa* or *âdvaliśa* which, he suggested, might possibly be a corruption of *dvâdaśan,* and might be intended to indicate that the *âhâra* consisted of twelve villages.[24] To this, however, there is the objection that any such word ought to have been placed before the word *âhâra,* and the text ought to have run: — Tatha-Umbarâ-dvaliś-âhâr-ântaḥpâti, &c. On the other hand, the syllables

[22] Vol. XVII. above, p. 184, note 6.

[23] The construction of the passages specifying the alleged grantee and his father, is similar to that used in the corresponding passage in the spurious Umêtâ plates, which has been quoted in Vol. XXXI. above, p. 337.

[24] See Vol. XVII. above, p. 183 *b*, and note 3.

vali[śa] are strongly suggestive of some reference to a place which is mentioned as Balisa in the Bagumrâ plates of A. D. 655 and as Valîśâ in one of the Bagumrâ records of A. D. 915, and which is the modern 'Wanesa' of the maps, five miles south-east-by-east from Bagumrâ.[25] But, to the supposition that the writer of the record intended to mention a Vališa *âhâra* and to place Tatha-Umbarâ in it, there is the objection that there ought not to have been any mention of Tatha-Umbarâ at the beginning of the passage, and the text ought to have run : — Valiś-âhâr-ântaḥpâti-Tatha-Umbarâ-grâmô. I am somewhat inclined to think that the text is faulty between *âhâra* and *antaḥpâti*, and that what was really intended may have been : — Tatha-Umbar-âhâra-vishay-ântaḥpâti-Tatha-Umbarâ-grâmô, — "the village of Tatha-Umbarâ lying in the Tatha-Umbarâ *âhâravishaya*."[26] It is, however, impossible to decide finally, at present, what may really have been meant.

In specifying **the boundaries of Tatha-Umbarâ**, the record places on the east a village (*grâma*) the name of which is plainly presented, not as Ushilathaṇa as given in the published text, but as Dashilathaṇa, for **Dashilathâṇa.**[27] On the south, it places a village named **Ishi.** On the west, it places a village named **Saṅkiya.** And, on the north, it places a village named **Jaravadra.**

This record, also, has been localised by Dr. Bühler.[28] **Tatha-Umbarâ** is the modern **Bagumrâ** itself, in the Paḷsânâ subdivision of the Nausârî division of the Baroda territory ; it is to be found in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888), in lat. 21° 8′, long. 73° 3′, about four miles north-by-east from Paḷsânâ, and nine and a half miles south-by-east from Kâmrêj, the position of which has been specified on page 52 above. **Dashilathâṇa** is the **'Dastan'** of the same map, and the **'Dastán'** of the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 34 (1882) of Gujarât, about two miles east-north-east from Bagumrâ.[29] As indicated by Dr. Bühler, the Trigonometrical sheet shews **'Isi (old site),'** answering to the **Ishi** of the record, about two miles south-south-east from Bagumrâ and half a mile on the south-east of a place which it marks as 'Tájpur (old site).'[30] And, also as indicated by him, **Saṅkiya** is the **'Sanki'** of the Atlas sheet, and the **'Sánki'** of the Trigonometrical sheet, one mile on the south-west of Bagumrâ, and **Jaravadra** is a village, about one mile and a half on the north of Bagumrâ, the name of which is given as **'Jolwa'** in both the maps. To this, I have to add that the name of the latter place is given in the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) as **'Jorwa,'** with *r* instead of *l*, and that the existence of this variant of it is fully borne out by the Sanskṛitised name presented in the present record, though that name would more correctly represent a modern 'Jarod.'

Of the prefix *bag* in the modern name Bagumrâ, I have suggested an explanation in Vol. XXXI. above, p. 397 f. Dr. Bühler was inclined to look upon **the prefix tatha,** attached to the old name of the village in the present record, as possibly a corruption of the Sanskṛit *tîrtha* and the Prâkṛit *titha*.[31] I am more disposed to connect it with the name of a neighbouring village, which is shewn as 'Tantithaia' in the Atlas sheet and as 'Tántithaia' in the Trigonometrical sheet. The lands of this

25 See Vol. XXXI. above, p. 397.

26 Compare, for instance, the expression "the Kârmaṇêya *âhâravishaya*" in line 21 of the Surat plates of A. D. 692 and in line 38 of the Nausârî plates of A. D. 739; see the *Proceedings* of the Seventh Oriental Congress, pp. 226, 233.

27 An inspection of the lithograph will shew at once that the first *akshara* is certainly not the initial *u*, which we have very plainly twice in *Umbarâ* in the preceding line, and again in *ubhaya*, line 8, and in *udak-âtisargêṇa*, line 22, and that it can only be the dental *d*, or possibly the lingual *ḍ*. There can hardly be any doubt that, in the second component of the name, a long *â* has carelessly been omitted: there are various cases of that omission in this record, — for instance, immediately after this word, there is *grama* or *gramaṁ* by mistake for *grâmô* ; and *thâṇa* is a frequent ending of place-names in Gujarât.

28 Vol. XVII. above, p. 184 *a*.

29 It is difficult to understand how Dr. Bühler, having the Trigonometrical sheet apparently in his own hands, came to overlook the existence of 'Dastán,' and so failed to detect the right reading of the name in line 18 of the text. Reading Ushilathaṇa, he proposed to find, not the place itself, but a survival of its name, in "probably a "new settlement, founded by the inhabitants of Ushilathana when the site to the east of Bagumrâ was abandoned," in the 'Chalthán' of the Survey sheet, about two and a half miles west-by-north from Bagumrâ.

30 'Isi' and 'Tájpur' are not shewn in the Atlas sheet.

31 Vol. XVII. above, p. 184 *b*.

village are contiguous with those of Bagumrâ, and probably were originally part of the lands of Bagumrâ. Its village-site is about one mile north-west-by-west from the village-site of Bagumrâ. And its name would furnish to the person who fabricated this record, a convenient means for distinguishing the ancient Umbarâ, before the time when it acquired the prefix *bag*, from the various other places of the same name.

The places mentioned in the spurious Ilâô plates which purport to have been issued in A. D. 495.

This record is No. 24 in the List of Spurious Records given by me in Vol. XXX. above, p. 214 ff. It was first edited, as a genuine record, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 19 ff. And my own treatment of it has been given in Vol. XIII. above, p. 115 ff., with a lithograph. Dr. Bhandarkar's remarks shew that the original plates were found at, or in the vicinity of, **Ilâô** in the Broach district of Gujarât, Bombay Presidency.[32] This place is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), as 'Elao,' on the north bank of the river Kîm, about seventeen miles south-west from Aṅklêshwar, the head-quarters of the Aṅklêshwar tâluka of the Broach district. And the record really does belong to that neighbourhood.

The record purports, like the spurious Umêtâ and Bagumrâ plates, to have been issued, — vijaya-vikshêpât Bharukachchha-pradvâra-nâsakât (*read* vâsakât), — "from the victorious cantonment situated before the gates of **Bharukachchha,**" that is, of **Broach.** And it claims that, on a specified day in the month Yêshṭha (meaning Jyêshṭha or Jyaishṭha), Śaka-Saṁvat 417 (expired), falling in June, A. D. 495, the Gurjara prince Dadda II. granted to a Brâhmaṇ, for the maintenance of the *bali, charu, vaiśvadêva, agnihôtra, pañchamahâyajña*, and other (unspecified) rites, a village (*grâma*), the name of which is to be read as **Râivaṁ**, lying (*antaḥpâtin*) in a territorial division called the **Akulêśvara vishaya.** The name of this village was engraved over some other name, of which two syllables, *vari*, can be seen in the original plate under the first two syllables of the extant name;[33] and there are some marks in the lithograph, which suggest that the name of the *vishaya*, also, may have been engraved over something else. The extant name of the village was read by Dr. Bhandarkar as Râchhchhavaṁ; and by me as either Râidhaṁ or Râivaṁ, with a preference for Râidhaṁ. That it should be taken as Râivaṁ, was subsequently shewn by Dr. Bühler.[34]

The alleged grantee is described as the *Bhaṭṭa* Narayaṇa (for Nârâyaṇa), son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Gôvinda.[35] His alleged father is described, in a passage which was partially engraved over a cancelled passage, as dwelling (*vâstavya*) at **Abhichchhatra,** and as being a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place, and as belonging to the Kaśyapa *gôtra*, and as being a student of the Bahvṛicha (school of the Ṛigvêda). The name **Abhichchhatra,** thus presented, is, no doubt, a mistake for the **Ahichchhattra** of various other epigraphic records and of Sanskṛit literature. Tradition or legend presents more than one place named Ahichchhattra; for instance, the Bhairanmaṭṭi inscription, put together in the period A. D. 1069 to 1076, speaks of an Ahichchhattra on an island of the river Sindhû, that is, the Indus.[36] But there can be little doubt, if any, that

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32 In his opening remarks, Dr. Bhandarkar described the record as having been found "in a village in the Surat Collectorate;" see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 19. But his subsequent remarks, on page 24, specify "Elao" as the place "in the vicinity of which the copper-plate was found," and make it quite clear that the village meant is Ilâô in the Broach district.

33 See Vol. XIII. above, p. 117, note 8.

34 See page 58 below.

35 The construction of the passage specifying the alleged grantee and his father, is similar to that used in the corresponding passage in the spurious Umêtâ plates, which has been quoted in Vol. XXXI. above, p. 337.

36 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 231, 235. I do not remember, now, whence I obtained the meaning of 'region' for the word *kuruva*, in line 12 of the text. The Rev. Dr. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary gives that word the meaning of 'an island.' — For some other references to one or more places named Ahichchhattra, see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. I. Part II.), p. 560 and note 11, and p. 561. An emigrant from Ahichchhattra is mentioned in the Ujjain plates of A. D. 974 or 975; see Vol. VI. above, p. 53. A territorial division called the Ahichchhattrâ *bhukti* is mentioned in the Banskhêra plate of Harshavardhana; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 210.

the Ahichchhattra mentioned here is the place called **'O-hi-chi-ta-lo** by Hiuen Tsiang,[37] which General Sir A. Cunningham localised, by means of an old fort still known as **Ahichhatr**, but also called **Âdikôṭ** in connection with a local legend about a king named Âdirâja, near Râmnagar in the Bareilly district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oude.[38]

In specifying **the boundaries of Râivaṁ**, the record places on the east a village (*grâma*) named Vâranêra, for **Vâraṇêra.** On the south, it places a river (*nadî*) named **Varaṇḍa.** On the west, it places a village the name of which it gives as **Śuṇṭhavaḍaka**, perhaps by mistake for Śuṇṭhavâḍaka with the long *â* in the antepenultimate syllable. And, on the north, it places a village named **Araluaṁ.**

It was easily recognised that the mention of the territorial division called **the Akulêśvara vishaya** localises this record somewhere near the modern **Aṅklêshwar,** the head-quarters of the Aṅklêshwar tâluka of the Broach district. This town is shewn as 'Aukleshwar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), in lat. 21° 37′, long. 73° 2′. It is on the south of the Narbadâ, and about four miles south of the town of Broach which is on the north bank of that river. The following remarks may here be made in respect of the territory formerly attached to Aṅklêshwar. The territorial division is mentioned by the earlier name of the **Akrûrêśvara vishaya** in the Kaira plates of A. D. 629,[39] and, no doubt, in also the Kaira plates of A. D. 634, where, however, the published lithograph fails to shew the vowel *û* and presents the name as Akrarêśvara.[40] And the name of the town is presented as Aṁkûlêśvara, for **Aṅkûlêśvara,** in the Bagumrâ plates, of doubtful authenticity, which purport to have been issued in A. D. 888.[41] It would seem that it was not long before A. D. 629 that a territory was attached to, and named after, the town of Akrûrêśvara-Aṅklêshwar; for, the 'Sunev Kalla' plates of the *Mahâsâmanta* and *Mahârâja* Saṁgamasiṁha, dated in the (Kalachuri or Chêdi) year 292 (expired), with details falling in A. D 541,[42] place a village named Śônavvâ, which is plainly either the 'Sunáo-Kala' or the 'Sunáo-Khurad' of the Atlas sheet, about fourteen miles south-west from Aṅklêshwar, in a territory to which they give the name of **Antar-Narmadâ vishaya,** meaning, most probably, the country on both sides of the lower part of the Narbadâ, rather than simply the country on the south of that river.

So much, regarding the general locality to which the record belonged, was evident. But it remained for Dr. Bühler to identify the village claimed by it. He decided[43] that the record must be taken as presenting the name of that village as **Râivaṁ.**[44] He identified the place with a village, about twelve and a half miles south-west-by-west from Aṅklêshwar, which is shewn as '**Rayamal**' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), and as '**Ráyamál**' in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 13 (1873) of Gujarât, and the name of which he wrote as **Râyâmâl,** with the long *â* in all three syllables. And he explained that its name must have been derived from Râivakamâla, meaning "the field of Râivaka (in Sanskṛit, Râjîvaka)" or perhaps "the lotus (*râjîva*) field," and that the form Râivaṁ must have been an abbreviation of the form Râivamâla, with an omission of the second component of the name as in the case of Bhîma for Bhîmasêna. It then became certain that **Vâraṇêra,** on the east of Râivaṁ, which Dr. Bhandarkar had said seems to be 'Walner,' is the '**Walner**' and '**Wálner**' of the maps, the village-site of which is about one mile and a half towards the north-east from the village-site of Râyâmâl, and that the river **Varaṇḍa,** on the

[37] Beal's *Siyuki*, Vol. I. p. 200.

[38] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 255 ff.; and *Anc. Geo.* p. 359 ff., and see the map at p. 327.

[39] Vol. XIII. above, p. 84, line 33; and see the lithograph attached to Prof. Dowson's article in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. I. p. 247 ff. I am quoting, however, from a facsimile lithograph, prepared under my own direction from the original plate but not yet published.

[40] *Ibid.* p. 90, line 33; and see the lithograph attached to Prof. Dowson's article.

[41] Vol. XIII. above, p. 67, plate ii. *b*, line 3; and see the corrected transcript on p. 68.

[42] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 211 ff.

[43] See Vol. XVII. above, p. 193, note 37.

[44] Dr. Bhandarkar, reading this name as Râchchhavaṁ, said that it "appears to be the modern Racheed;" see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 24. I cannot, however, find any such place as 'Racheed.'

south of Râivaṁ, which Dr. Bhandarkar had said seems to be the 'Wand Kharee,' is a small river or large nullah, flowing immediately on the south of Râyâmâl, the name of which, not entered in the maps, was written by Dr. Bühler '**Wâṇḍ Khârî.**' And Dr. Bühler identified **Araluaṁ,** on the north of Râivaṁ, with the '**Alwa**' of the maps, the village-site of which is about two miles due north of the village-site of Râyâmâl. As was indicated by Dr. Bühler, the maps do not shew, in this locality, any name answering to the **Suṇṭhavaḍaka** or Śuṇṭhavâḍaka of the record, on the west of Râivaṁ.[45] Two miles towards the north-west from Râyâmâl, they shew a village 'Sayan,' 'Sâyan.' But he considered this to be "probably a new settlement."

The places mentioned in the spurious Muḍiyanûr plates which purport to have been issued in A. D. 338.

I have given the preceding four notes as a preliminary to a full exposition of the spurious nature of the Umêtâ, Bagumrâ, and Ilâô records. I do not purpose dealing at present with the spurious records of Mysore in the same way. Before they can be conveniently treated in full, we require to have accurate and critical editions of at any rate some of them. One step, however, is to localise them, as far as possible, by an exact identification of the places mentioned in them. And it is convenient to give here a note on one of them from that point of view.

This record is No. 47 in the List of Spurious Records given by me in Vol. XXX. above, p. 214 ff. It has been edited by Mr. Rice in Vol. XV. above, p. 172 ff. And, from his remarks, we know that the original plates were found at **Muḍiyanûr,** in the Muḷbâgal tâluka of the Kôlâr district, Mysore.

The record claims that, on a specified day in the month Kârttika of the Vilambin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 261 (current), falling in October, A. D. 338, and in the twenty-third year of his reign, an alleged Bâṇa king Śrîvadhûvallabha-Malladêva-Nandivarman, whose first *biruda* is presented in lines 50 and 51 f. in also the simpler form of Vadhûvallabha, granted to twenty-five Brâhmaṇs[46] a village (*grâma*) named **Muḍiyanûr** in the **Hodali vishaya.**

It states that, when he made this alleged grant, Nandivarman was at a town named **Avanyapura.** And, in the passage specifying **the boundaries of Muḍiyanûr,** mention is made, amongst a variety of details, of the following places, easily capable of identification: on the east, (*a village named*) **Kuladipa**;[47] somewhere on the south and west, a village named **Uttagrâma,** and (*a village named*) **Kottamaṅgala**; somewhere on the north of them, a village named **Koḷattûr**; and then, again, **Kuladipa,** somewhere towards the south-east from **Koḷattûr.** As was pointed out by Mr. Rice in publishing the record, the village claimed, and the other places named above, still exist and can be identified.[48] And it only remains for me to complete the matter, by shewing exactly where they are, and by correcting a misreading of another place-name, of some interest, which is mentioned in the same passage.

The **Âvanyapura** of this record is the modern **Âvani,** in the Muḷbâgal tâluka of the Kôlâr district, Mysore. It is shewn as '**Awnee**' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 78 (1891), and as '**Âvani**' in the Madras Survey sheet No. 171 (1890), and as '**Avani**' in the Atlas quarter-sheet No. 78.

45 The same name, Śuṇṭhavaḍaka, no doubt survives in the case of a village the name of which is given as 'Sunthwâd' in the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879), and as 'Suthwad' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888). It is five miles north-north-east from Chikhlî, the head-quarters of the Chikhlî tâluka of the Surat district. And in Vol. XIII. above, p. 116, at a time when I had not any maps to refer to, I suggested that this 'Sunthwâd' might perhaps be the Śuṇṭhavaḍaka or Śuṇṭhavâḍaka of the record. But none of the other place-names, mentioned in the record, are to be found there; and this 'Sunthwâd' is some fifty-five miles away towards the south-by-east from Aṅklêshwar, with the rivers Kîm, Taptî, 'Mindhola,' Pûrṇâ, and Ambikâ intervening, and it has, of course, no connection with the present record.

46 Names and other details are put forward in respect of only four of them.

47 The original seems to have the short *i* in the third syllable of this name in all the four places in which it is mentioned.

48 Vol. XV. above, p. 172 *a*, p. 174 *a*.

N. W. (1901), in which it stands in lat. 13° 6′, long. 78° 23′, five and a half miles south-west from Mulbâgal. Of two other records, at Âvani itself, one, of the tenth century A. D., mentions the place as **Âvany-avasthâna,** "the residing, abiding or dwelling-(place), **Âvani,**" and the other, of later date, mentions it as **Âvanya.**

Hodali is, no doubt, the '**Wodly**' of the Atlas full-sheet, and the '**Hodali**' of the Madras Survey sheet No. 170 (1890) and of the Atlas quarter-sheet, in the Śrînivâspur tâluka of the Kôlâr district. It is in lat. 13° 21′, long. 78° 19′, about four miles east-north-east from Śrînivâspur. In the Atlas full-sheet, — which is really the original sheet of 1828, "with additions to 1891" which apparently consist of nothing but an insertion of the railways, — 'Wodly' is marked as a fortified village, and is shewn in large type, just the same as 'Awnee' and 'Moolwagle,' as if it was a more important place then than now. And the same remarks apply to the 'Wootnoor' which is mentioned below. It may be added that a comparison of the full-sheet with the quarter-sheet shews, in that neighbourhood, numerous discrepancies, not simply in spelling, but in the actual names of places. This suggests, either that the original sheet was exceptionally imperfect and inaccurate, or else that many of the local names have completely changed in the course of the nineteenth century.

The name of **Muḍiyanûr** is not shewn in the Atlas full-sheet; but it is shewn in the Survey sheet No. 171, and in the Atlas quarter-sheet, as '**Madiyanur,**' — with *a*, not *u*, in the first syllable, — six and a half miles north-west-half-west from Mulbâgal, and nine and a half miles south-south-east-a-quarter-south from Hodali. The village is mentioned as **Muḍiyanûr** in line 28 of the text. In line 51, its name is presented as **Chûḍagrâma,** — with the short *a* in the second syllable, — evidently, because the Kanarese *muḍi* has the same meaning with the Sanskrit *chûḍâ*, 'the hair on the top of the head, the single lock or tuft left on the crown of the head after tonsure.' But the name of the village was probably derived from that of a man called Muḍiya.

Of the other places, **Kuladipa** is the modern '**Koldevi**' of the Survey sheet No. 170, and of the Atlas quarter-sheet, about three miles towards the east-north-east from Muḍiyanûr. **Kottamaṅgala** is the '**Kottemangala,**' — with *e*, not *a*, in the second syllable, — of the Survey sheet No. 171, and of the Atlas quarter-sheet, four and a half miles on the west of Mulbâgal, and four miles south-by-east from Muḍiyanûr. **Uttagrâma** is probably the '**Wootnoor**' of the Atlas full-sheet, and the '**Utnur,**' probably meaning **Uttanûr,** of the Survey sheet No. 171, and of the Atlas quarter-sheet, two miles on the south-west of Muḍiyanûr; but it may possibly be the 'Wotoor' of the Atlas full-sheet, and the 'Huttur' of the Survey sheet No. 171 and of the Atlas quarter-sheet, about eight miles south-south-west-half-west from Muḍiyanûr. And **Kolattûr** is the '**Kolatur**' of the Survey sheet No. 170, and of the Atlas quarter-sheet, two and a half miles towards the north-west-by-north from Muḍiyanûr.

The passage specifying the boundaries of Muḍiyanûr mentions also, and locates somewhere on the south-east of that village, **a hill,** the name of which, in line 30-31 of the text, has been misread as Kanakadvâraparvata, and has been supposed to be "a translation of some vernacular name like Sonnabâgilu," which would mean 'gold-gate.' From the ink-impressions, which I made from the original plates for an inspection of which I was indebted to Mr. Rice, I find that the name given in the original is distinctly **Kaṇṭakadvâraparvata.** The word **Kaṇṭakadvâra** is the exact Sanskrit translation of the Kanarese **Mulbâgil, Mulubâgalu,** 'thorn-gate.' And we thus see that the name of the town was quite correctly indicated as Mulbâgal in Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II. (1876), in the appendix which gives the names of places in Kanarese characters as well as in ordinary spelling, — a very useful feature wh ch has been omitted in the revised edition of that work, — and that the statement, made on page 129 of that book and repeated in *Mysore*, Vol. II. (1897), p. 143, that the name is "more properly *Mûdla-bâgalu*, eastern gate, so called from being situated at "the eastern pass from the table-land of Mysore to the temple of Tirupati," is erroneous. The **Kaṇṭakadvâraparvata** is evidently the hill, 3668 feet high, with a fort on it, which the maps shew immediately on the north-west of the town of Mulbâgal.

It may be added that **some of the names presented in this record are not unique.** There is a 'Mudiyanur' in the Satyamaṅgalam tâluka of Coimbatore; and another in the Kallakurchi tâluka, and another in the Tirukoilûr tâluka, of South Arcot. There is a 'Hodaly,' or 'Hadli,' in the Maḷavaḷḷi tâluka of the Mysore district. There is a 'Kuladipamangalam' in the Tirukoilûr tâluka of South Arcot; and a 'Koladevi' in the Mâlûr tâluka of the Kôlâr district. Koḷattûr is a name of frequent occurrence. And there are, or were, at least two or three other places named Kottamaṅgala in Mysore.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WESTERN HINDÎ, INCLUDING HINDÓSTANÎ.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 25.*)

IN the following lists I have taken special care to include everything written by Garcin de Tassy. In this respect I have to acknowledge the assistance which has been kindly rendered to me by Monsieur J. Vinson. With his help I trust that I have been able to offer a not unworthy tribute to the memory of the great French scholar:—

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Scott, W., — See Gilchrist, J. Borthwick.

De Sacy, Silvestre, — See Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (Mirzā), and Price, Captain William.

Smyth, W. Carmichael, — See Taylor, Captain Joseph; Roebuck, Lieut. T.

Tāriṇī-charaṇ Mitra, — See Price, Captain W.

(To be continued.)

REPORTS MADE DURING THE PROGRESS OF EXCAVATIONS AT PATNA.

BY BABU P. C. MUKHARJI.

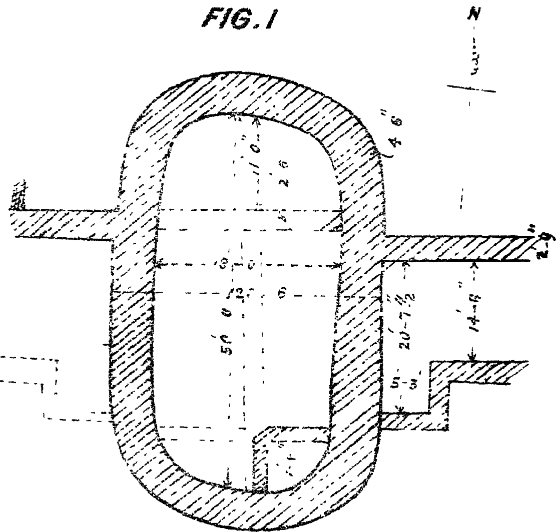
(Concluded from Vol. XXXI. p. 498.)

REPORT No. III. — FEBRUARY, 1897.

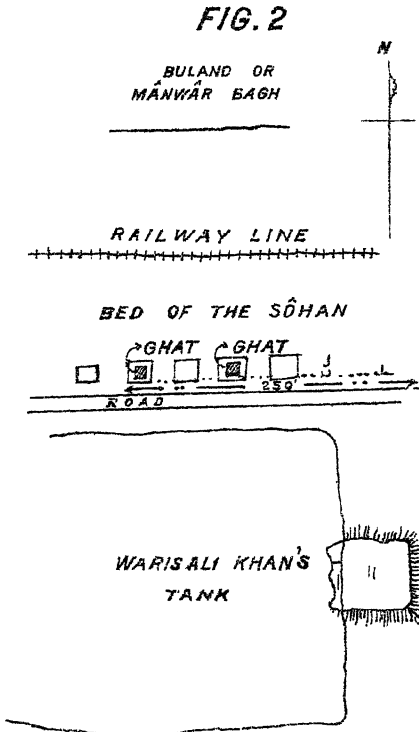
In February 1897 the important results obtained were the discoveries of, (1) a Buddhist temple, oval in plan, at **Nauratanpûr**; (2) **ghâṭs,** — three retaining walls and flights of steps leading to the old bed of the Sôhan, just north of the tank of Wâris 'Alî Khân; (3) several large pieces of the **Aśôka pillar,** and some walls on the north and west of the tomb, and south of the **Kallu Talâo;** and (4) some rooms, probably of a *vihâra,* about 12 feet below the high mound, which is just west of the **Chaman Talâo.**

I.

Finding that the high field near **Nauratanpûr** was cleared of its crops, I recommenced excavations. It was here that one of the most important discoveries at Pataliputra was brought to light. It appeared to be a **Buddhist temple,** oval in plan, with subsidiary buildings at the two sides. The thickness of the main wall is about 5 feet, while the length and breadth of the chamber are 50 and 19 feet respectively. The northern apse appears to have been the shrine, for a partition wall is traceable still. The side-walls were opened. **The importance of this structure** will be known to students of Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* in which the author, in discussing the forms of the Kârlê and similar caves, could not, as a matter of proof, trace their origin. But, remembering the fact that it was Aśôka, who, making the Buddhist faith as the State religion, covered the whole of India with religious monuments, this **Nauratanpûr temple** (Fig. 1) most probably supplied the idea for the four of the cave-temples cut in the living rock in the Deccan and Central India. A little south of the existing remains are two stone architraves, which must have belonged to this temple.



II.



The second important discovery made was **a line of ghâṭs** with retaining walls, just north of Wâriṣ 'Alî Khân's Tank, and on the south bank of the old bed of the Sôhan or one of its channels (Fig. 2). In digging into the pits of a brickfield, just south of the railway line, I discovered a line of ancient wall, about 10 feet below the present level of the ground. It runs almost parallel to the road (just south of it), and the railway line on the north. I traced about 400 feet of it on the east and west. The *ghâṭs* do not appear to have been continuous, but are at short distances, each bounded by walls. Both the walls and the steps are an interesting study; the walls have *batter* on the south face, not much on the river-side; while the steps are made up of horizontal and vertical layers of bricks, which are usually very large, finely grained and well burnt. Near the steps is black soil, below and beyond which is the stratum of the sand of the Sôhan, rather large in grain and yellowish in colour. Here some very interesting questions present themselves for solution: — when was this series of *ghâṭs* built? And when did the Sôhan cease to flow here, since above the stratum of sand there is an accumulation of ordinary earth, about 12 feet in depth? And at what rate per century was the level of the ground here raised?

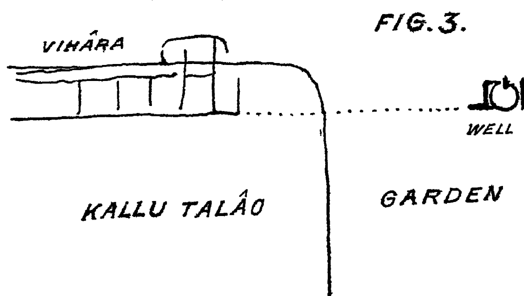
III.

About 500 yards east of the above site, and on the north of the railway line, is a high field

was peculiar. One near Bahâdurpûr was exhumed last year by the villagers, and it was found to stand on two others, crossing each other at right angles, thus :—



In one of the two diggings I found a wall or a mass of brickwork, on which the beam I searched for was most probably standing.

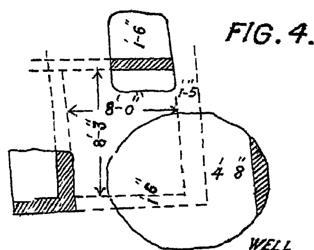


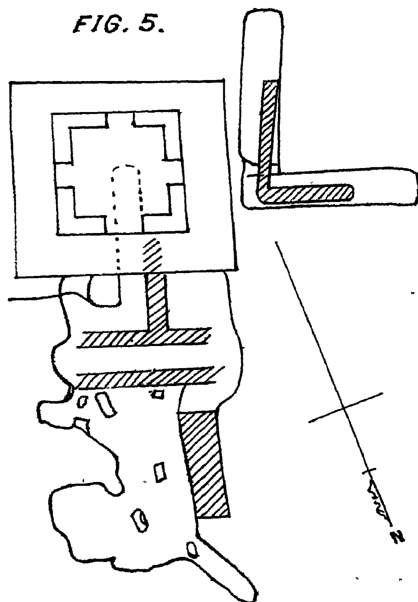
IV.

In the garden just west of the **Kallu Talâo** I discovered some walls near a well, of which the southern one might be a continuation of that of the *vihâra* I brought to light on the south of the tank. But as the proprietor of the garden would not allow me to dig further, I was unable to verify my supposition and to exhume the rooms already traceable there (Fig. 3).

V.

On the south of the tank and just on the north and west of the tomb, I found some walls and several large pieces of the **Aśôka pillar,** though the site of the latter's foundation, which I searched for, was not traced. Finding one of the walls going underneath the south side of the tomb, I drove a tunnel along its eastern side and went just underneath the centre, and then found that the wall had been removed when the tomb was built about 500 years ago: Nothing else was discovered. On the north of the tomb some walls were also traced. But the important finds here were innumerable fragments of the **Aśôka pillar,** to discover which I had been excavating on this side. Several of the pieces were large, — one about 5 feet in length, and about 2 feet 6 inches in breadth. These relics are invariably found about 10 feet below the present level of the field. This 10 feet stratum of soil is thickly composed of rubble-bricks and earth, below which is a layer of black soil, about 2 feet in depth, and in this the Aśôka relics are invariably found. Where the larger pieces are found, the black soil is deeper by 3 and 4 feet, and in a few places more. This black soil is composed chiefly of charcoal, ashes, and lime. And noting the fact that the larger fragments show a flaking-off in the smooth and highly polished surface, I began to think that **the Aśôka pillar was destroyed by fire.** It seemed to me that the story of the destruction of the pillar in the light of the finds is explainable thus : — Fuel, dry leaves, and other combustibles were probably massed around the great column to a considerable height, and set on fire; — certainly, a most cheap and expeditious way of destruction, perhaps resorted to probably by Râja Sasânka Dêva of Karna Suvarna in the sixth century A. D. This process would cause the destruction of the pillar by first flaking off the surfaces and then the body, and the smaller bits of fragments might have been burnt down to lime. Later on the burnt remains would be spread over a great area by wind and age; and when King Purṇa Varma, the last of Aśôka's race, restored the Buddhist

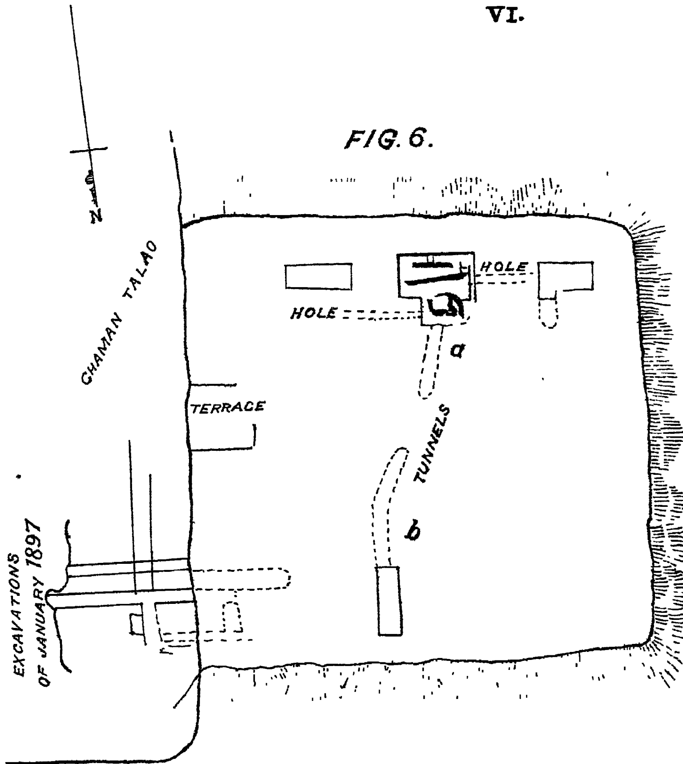




the ground afresh to build the *vihâra*, the foundation walls of which I exhumed. When Hiuen Tsiang visited Pataliputra, the restored monuments were again in decay. And during the period of Muhammadan supremacy, the work of vandalism was completed; so that above the black soil a thick stratum of rubble-bricks, about 10 feet in depth, was formed.

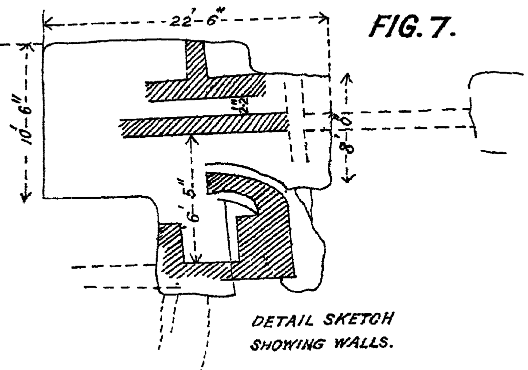
It is rather surprising that though several hundreds of fragments of the Aśôka pillar have been found, no inscribed piece has yet been discovered. And since the Chinese travellers mention only one edict pillar at Nîlî, the birthplace of Aśôka, about 3 *li*, more than half a mile, south of the old city (the two others being simply noted, and not described as inscribed), a doubt arises in my mind whether the pillar, of which I exhumed fragments, ever had any inscription. Where was this **Nîlî**? If Patna be the old city, on which Shêr Shâh constructed his town, then the site of Nîlî **must be somewhere near Râṇîpûr,** south of the railway station.

VI.



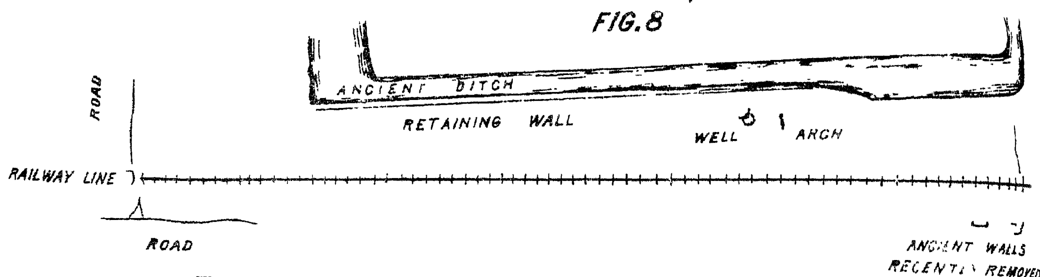
The high mound just west of the **Chaman Tâlâo** claimed my attention; for Dr. Waddell had directed me to go down as far as I could, this site being the likely one to yield important results as to the monuments of Nanda and Chandragupta. So I dug deep both on the north and on the south, about 10 feet down, and, going down about 3 feet further, sprung two tunnels, so as to meet each other at the midmost point (Fig. 6). In excavating I found, in the middle pit on the south side, some walls, drains, and holes (Fig. 6). The holes appear to have been made by some vandals of old, who, springing wells and tracing the then existing walls, took out all the bricks they could lay hands on, just as they are now doing at Bihâr, Bâkra,— Bêsaḍ (ancient Vaisâlî) and other places.

The walls do not exactly run parallel to one another. There is a drain, 6 inches wide, just on the north side of the southern wall. The third wall appeared to be circular, on the north of which there was a niche. The circular wall had also a drain on its outer face. Beyond the niche I drove a tunnel towards the north, to meet the other coming from the north. At first a terrace was found, about 10 feet below the level of the mound; I then went 3 feet further down, but beyond the usual rubble and some unimportant terra-cotta work, nothing was discovered. In the northern pit I went down about 12 feet, and then commenced the tunnelling. Here also a terrace and a wall



VII.

About 500 yards north-east of the **Kallu Talâo,** and just north of the railway line, I discovered some remains of ancient structures, of which one seemed to be an arch, the second a wall belonging to a house, and the third, a very long wall, about 200 yards long, east to west, embanking an ancient ditch. This sketch (Fig. 8), done from memory, will show them better —



The ancient ditch turns towards the north, leading to an ancient and very large tank, on the north of which is a small temple, sacred to Sîtala Dêvî, in which are a few relics of ancient sculpture. And just on the west of this tank is another modern temple, probably on the site of an ancient one, where are enshrined a *linga* with the face of Pârbatî attached to it, and two carved bars, belonging to **a Buddhist railing,** of which several posts were recovered for the purpose of the local Museum. The *linga* is said to have been found in the ditch, just north of the newly-discovered wall.

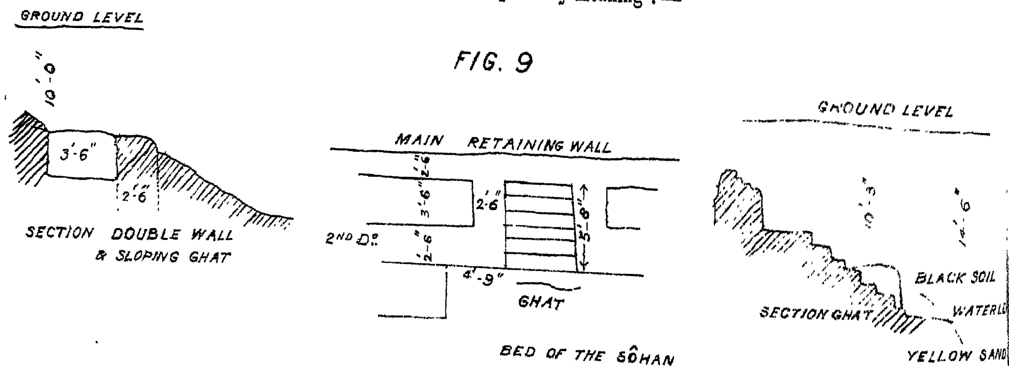
VIII.

On the west of the village of Kumrâhar and in the fields I detected walls several feet below the present level of the ground, which should be opened and traced in order to discover the nature of the buildings they indicate.

IX.

I found that the temple at **Nauratanpûr,** and the *ghâṭs* south of the **Wâris 'Alî Khân's Tank,** are much more interesting than at first I thought. The temple showed better as I went down, indicating several stages of construction, and the main oval chamber was found to be subdivided by partition-walls, north to south, and east to west, thus: , a peculiarity I have not seen elsewhere in India.

The **ghâṭs** and the retaining walls I followed up to more than 400 feet east and west. The *ghâṭs* are small but pretty and are at short distances, being backed by the retaining wall, which is double in the intervening space between the *ghâṭs*. The second wall towards the Sôhan has a mass of brickwork, sloping towards the water of the river, which might have been intended for the cattle to drink and bathe. A sketch plan (Fig. 9) will explain my meaning : —



EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 44.)

1795.—No. XI.

Fort William 30th March 1795.

Read a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir,—I beg you will be pleased to inform the Honble. the Governor General in Council, that **the Brig Dispatch** arrived from Port Cornwallis yesterday which place she left on the 7th Instant.

I have the pleaswer to acquaint you that **the Sea Horse Brig** had a remarkable quick passage to the Andamans and was to sail for Pegu on the 9th Instant. **Lieutenant Ramsay** has transmitted me the Accounts of the Settlement, for the last three Months which I now send you; to enable him to pay up all the Establishment he has drawn on Government Bills of Exchange according to the accompanying list for Cash paid into the Treasury there. I have to observe that in the Account Current he only gives credit for 10,000 Rupees by the two last Vessels that were dispatched the remaining part of the Cash, I last drew for the use of the Settlement will be sent by the first Vessel that Sails, and will be given credit for in the next three Months Accounts.

I have the honor &c

(Signed) **A. Kyd Superintendant Andamans.**

Calcutta 25th March 1795.

Ordered that the List of Bills received from Major Kyd, be presented to the Accountant General, and that an Extract from his Letter relative to the accounts at the Andamans be sent with the Accounts also, to the Military Auditor General for his Report upon them.

1795.— No. XII.

Fort William 8th May 1795.

Read a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

Superintendant at the Andamans 8th May. To Edward Hay Esqr., Secretary to the Government.

Sir,—I request you will be pleased to acquaint the Honble. the Governor General in Council that **the Cornwallis Snow** is in readiness to sail for the Andamans with Provisions and Stores, and that I wish for his permission to dispatch her. I also beg leave to acquaint the Board that it will be necessary to send by her **Ten Thousand Rupees in Gold Coin** for the payment of the Establishment for March and April last and request that an Order on the Treasury may be granted for that Amount.

I have the honor to be &c

(Signed) **A. Kyd Superintendant Andamans.**

Calcutta, 8th May 1795.

Agreed that the Snow Cornwallis be Dispatched with the Provisions and Stores, embarked in that Vessel to the Andamans, and that an order on the Treasury be granted in favor of the Superintendant for the amount, as requested, **issuable half in Gold Mohurs, and half in Pieces of four Rupees.**

1795. — No. XIII.

Fort William 22d. June 1795.

Read a Letter from the Military Auditor General.

Military Auditor General 17th June. To the Honble. Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General in Council, **Military Department.**

Honble. Sir,— By the returns transmitted to the Military Board by the Commissary of Provisions at the Andamans, it appears that Grain and Provisions to a considerable Amount furnished by the Garrison Storekeeper in Fort William, have been issued to the Convicts at Port Cornwallis, and as the expence of provisions to the Convicts in my Humble Opinion belongs to the Civil Department, I request that if the Board should also be of this Opinion you will be pleased to authorize me to transfer charges of this nature, from time to time, to the Debit of General Books.

I have the honor to be &c

(Signed) **John Murray**, Colonel & Military Auditor General.

Mily. Auditor Genl's Office

17th June 1795.

Agreed to the transfer abovementioned, and ordered that the Military Auditor General be acquainted accordingly.

1795. — No. XIV.

Fort William 22d. June 1795.

Read a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I request you will be so good as to acquaint the Honble. the Governor General in Council, that as the Monsoon is now fairly established it is my wish to send **the Dispatch Brig** to the Andamans, with Stock and private Articles of Supplies that must be wanted there, I have been prevented from proposing to dispatch her before, from the danger there would have been to so small a Vessel during the tempestuous Weather at the change of the Monsoon.

I beg also to represent that, owing to the want of the Services of the Sea Horse Brig, there will be occasion to send a supply of Grain for the use of the Settlement, and as at this Season, freight may probably be procured on Vessels Sailing to the Eastward, I beg I may be permitted to agree with the owners of such Vessels to convey five or Six Hundred bags of Grain to Port Cornwallis which I will endeavour to do at as easy a rate as possible.

I have the honor to be &c

(Signed) **A. Kyd Superintendant Andamans.**

Calcutta 22d. June 1795.

Ordered that the Dispatch Brig be sent to the Andamans as proposed by the Superintendant, — further that he be authorized to procure freight on any Vessels going to the Eastward, for five or Six Hundred Bags of Grain, required at Port Cornwallis.

1795. — No. XV.

Fort William 6th July 1795.

Read a Memorial of Captain Copestakes.

To the Honble. John Shore Bart. Governor General in Council. The Humble Memorial of Stephen Copestakes **of the Snow Druid.** Humbly Sheweth That in the Month of [?] your Memorialist Vessel the Snow Druid was freighted by Government to carry Sundry Articles of Stores and

Eighty Convicts for the use of the Settlement at the Andamans, that she arrived there on the 22nd January last and that a few days afterwards a small Schooner Arrived there from **Bassuen with a French Man on board who had many Papers in his possession belonging to English Vessels, as well as several Draughts of the Andamans,** on which Account it was the Wish of the Acting Superintendant to send him to Calcutta but at that time there was no person upon the Island Capable of Navigating the Vessel he was to be sent in, Application was therefore made to your Memorialist for his Chief Officer and an other European to send in Charge of the Vessel which your Memorialist on Account of the extreme Exegence of the Case and from an entire Wish to further the Publick Service complied with altho' his Vessel was but Weakly Mann'd. The Detention of the Druid it was agreed Should be about 25 Days or one Month as by that time it was fully expected the People would return but the Month having elapsed without any tidings of them, your Memorialist thought it adviseable to proceed to Pinang altho' wanting an Officer, fearing the Markets at that place might alter for the worse by a longer detention, which was Actually the case by at least 25 pr Cent by which your Memorialist Suffered considerably and which would have been avoided could he have Sailed from the Andamans at a reasonable time.

He therefore hopes his case will be taken into consideration and that Government out of their great Humanity will not allow him to be a Sufferer from his having so readily Complied with the Wishes of the Superintendant, and that they will make him such allowance for the Detention of his Vessel as they may deem adequate.

And your Memorialist as in duty bound Shall ever Pray

(Signed) S. Copestakes Master and Owner of the Snow Druid.

Calcutta 6th July 1795.

Ordered that a Copy of the Memorial from Captain Copestakes be sent to Major Kyd, and that the Subject of it be referred to him for his Report and opinion upon it.

1795. — No. XVI.

Fort William 13th July 1795.

The following **Letter** was received, on the 10th Instant, **from Major Kyd Superintendant at the Andamans,** and permission was given that **Lieutenant Lawrence,** the Senior Officer of the Snow Cornwallis, should be put in Charge of her, and that he should be allowed to entertain a second Officer, until Lieutenant Wales Should be Sufficiently recovered from his present Indisposition to resume the command. Major Kyd was also acquainted that the Cornwallis is to return to the Andamans without delay; — and the Marine Board were instructed to pass the usual Indents for Provisions and Pay for the Vessel. An Order on the Treasury was likewise directed to be issued, in his Favour, for 10,000 Rupees to be remitted to the Andamans.

Major Kyd 10th July.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir,—I request you will be pleased to acquaint the Honble. the Governor General in Council that the Cornwallis Snow has arrived from the Andamans, having left Port Cornwallis on the 20th of last Month — I am sorry to learn from the Officer Commanding there, that the Setting in of the Rains has again Brought with it **Severe Sickness** to the Settlers and that the fiver (sic) of the Climate had proved fatal to **Mr. Medows first Officer of the Nautilus Brig.**

Mr. Wood one of the Surgeons has come passenger on the Cornwallis having been Obliged to leave the Settlement on Account of Severe illness. As he has for two years past been Subject to frequent attacks of Fever, he requests to be removed from that Station and hopes the Board will be pleased to appoint him to do duty as an Assistant Surgeon in Bengal.

I am also sorry to acquaint you that **Lieut. Wales** Commander of the Cornwallis was also attacked with the Fiver of the Climate and is now dangerously ill — as there can be little hope that he would be able to go to Sea for a considerable time, I have to request that the Vessel may be put in Charge of Lieutenant Lawrence the Senior Officer who is exceedingly well qualified, and that he be permitted to employ a Second Officer, till Lieutenant Wales is in a state to take Charge again.

It is my wish to dispatch the Cornwallis immediately with Stores and Provisions for which I request to have the Boards permission, and I will beg that the Marine Board may be directed to pass the usual Indents for Provisions and Pay with as little delay as possible. Accompanying I send you the Accounts of the Settlement brought up to the 1st of June last with a list of Bills of Exchange drawn by **Lieutenant Ramsay** for Cash received into the Treasury there; as you will Observe there is but a very small Balance of Cash in hand it will be necessary to send 10,000 Rupees in Specie on the Cornwallis half in Gold and half in Silver for which I request an order on the Treasury may be issued.

I have the honor to be &c

(Signed) **A. Kyd Superintendant Andamans.**

Calcutta 10th July 1795.

1795. — No. XVII,

Fort William 7th August 1795.

Read a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

Colin Shakespear Esqr. Sub Secretary.

Sir,—I have received your Letter of the 6th Instant accompanying a memorial from **Captain Copestake** claiming a compensation for the detention of the Druid at the Andamans, with the Honble. Governor General in Councils desire for me to report on it.

I have to acquaint you for the information of the Board that I have examined carefully into the circumstances and that altho' on the Memorial the loss said to be sustained appears to me a little exaggerated yet that certainly the Owners of the Druid, have a right to some remuneration. I find that the Vessel absolutely remained a Month at Port Cornwallis by agreement with the Officer Commanding there in expectation of the return of the Officer and People he offered to navigate **the Leeboard Schooner** to Calcutta. It appears that Captain Copestake concurred with great readiness in this measure, thought of great public importance and which might eventually have been so. I think the Owners of the Druid have fairly a Claim on Government for one Month Sailing Charges of the Vessel which I learn is about 1,500 Rupees and with this Sum I have reason to think they will be content.

I have the honor to be &c.

Fort William 31st July 1795. (Signed) **A. Kyd, Supt. Andamans.**

Agreed that a Compensation be made the Owners of the Druid as proposed by Major Kyd and that a Treasury order be issued.

1795, — No. XVIII.

Fort William 21st September 1795.

Read a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

Superintendant at the Andamans 12th September. To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir,—I have to request you will be pleased to acquaint the Honble. the Governor General in Council that both on a Public and private Account it is my wish that **the Nautilus Brig** should be discharged from the Andamans Establishment; on a Public Account because I do not think the

Service she can do as a Transport, is proportioned to the Expence She is to the Government, and on a private Account, because I find that her Sailing Charges has been considerably more than what I represented it would be to Government, and which in consequence was allowed me. When I did myself the honor of offering her to Government it was at a period when a more proper Vessel could not be spared or procured for the service of the Andamans; I however think that in **the present reduced state of the Settlement,** the Cornwallis Snow and Sea Horse Brig will suffice to supply it with Provisions and Stores, with occasionally freighting a Vessel for the transporting of Grain which is infinitely the cheapest way of supplying the Settlement with that Article. Altho' the Nautilus from her small size is not fit for a transport, yet from her qualities as an exceeding fast Sailer, I think she is particularly well suited for a Dispatch Vessel, to any of the Company's Possessions on this side the Cape of Good Hope, and if she could be useful in this way I should be very glad that Government will purchase her for this purpose, and shall be content to receive the lowest Value that may be put upon her by any professional Set of Men. I am chiefly wishful that she may be disposed of in this way as it may be the means of keeping **Mr. Timins her Commander** in an employment for which he is exceedingly well qualified, and that he deserves well of the public for his services as Chief Officer and occasionally as Commander of the Nautilus, with the Squadron under Commodore Mitchell.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most Obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) **A. Kyd Superintendant Andamans.**

12th September 1795.

Agreed according to the Recommendation of the Superintendant at the Andamans, that the Nautilus Brig be discharged from that Establishment, and that the Marine Board be desired to issue the necessary Directions in Consequence.

With respect to **the Dispatch Brig** the Board agree that it may be proper to discharge her also from the Service, and to dispose of her at public Sale; but the Resolution is not final, and is to wait the return of the Vessel from Port Cornwallis.

In regard to the proposed service for the Nautilus, **Agreed** that the Proposition shall lie for Consideration.

Ordered that Major Kyd be informed of the Resolution passed concerning the Vessel.

1795. — No. XIX.

Fort William 25th September 1795.

The Secretary reports that the Dispatch Brig arrived this morning from Port Cornwallis, and brought a Packet directed to Major Kyd or in his absence to the Secretary of the Government, that Major Kyd being absent it was opened, and that it was found to contain the following **Letter from Lieutenant Ramsay** in temporary Charge of the Settlement at the Andamans.

To Major Kyd, Superintendant at the Andamans.

Sir, — On the 13th Instant I had the honor to receive your favour of the 28th July by **the Dispatch Brig** and on the 20th I received your subsequent letter by the Snow Cornwallis, Both of these Vessels experienced tempestuous Weather in their Voyage to this Port, but I am happy to inform you their Cargoes sustained very little injury.

The want of Naval Stores I am apprehensive may detain the Cornwallis longer in Harbour than could be wished her Sails and Rigging requiring a thorough repair before She can with prudence proceed to Sea Lieutenant Lawrence has few Stores on board and we are incapable of affording him an immediate Supply.

I have directed the Commissary to indent on the Naval Storekeeper for a variety of marine Stores necessary for the use of the Boats and Vessels attached to the Settlement and earnestly request they may be sent to us at the earliest opportunity.

Conformable to your Instructions bearing date the 28th of July, I directed **Captain Roberts** to prepare to return to Bengal with the Honble. Companys **Brig Dispatch,** accompanying is a protest I received from him in reply to my requisition, your Orders and an evident abatement of the violence of the Monsoon have induced me to persist in directing him to proceed to Bengal with all practicable expedition. To his charge I have intrusted the Accounts and Disbursements of the Settlement for the last three Months.

Enclosed is the Surgeons return of the Hospital for the same period and a List of Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honble the Governor General in Council for Cash received from Sundry Individuals into the Andaman Treasury.

I have much pleasure in acquainting you **the Settlers are in general more healthy** than they have been for some Months past and have the honor of subscribing myself with the greatest respect

Sir &ca

(Signed) **Thos. Ramsay Lieutenant In temporary charge of the Settlement.**

Port Cornwallis 1st September 1795.

The Secretary reports that **Captain Roberts's Protest,** mentioned in the 4th Paragraph of the above Letter has not been received.

Ordered that the Accounts and Disbursements mentioned at the Close of the same Paragraph be transmitted to Major Kyd with the Surgeons Hospital Returns referred to in the 5th.

Ordered that the List of the Bills of Exchange be sent to the Accountant General.

1795. — No. XX.

Fort William 9th November 1795.

The following Letter from the **Secretary to the Marine Board** was received on the 7th Instant and the letter to be entered after it was in consequence written to the Garrison Store Keeper.

Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of the Govr. General in Council, that the Board have engaged **the Snow Nancy Capt. Hugh Drysdale,** to convey the Provisions and Stores to the Andamans, she being reported by the Surveying Officers as a fit and proper Vessel for this purpose.

I am &c

(Signed) **G. Taswell** Secretary Marine Board.

Fort William the 6th November 1795.

No. XXI.

To Lieutenant G. A. Robinson Garrison Store Keeper.

Sir, — I am directed by the Governor General in Council to inform you that **the Nancy Snow Captain Drysdale** has been taken up by the Marine Board to carry Provisions and Stores to the Andamans and you will be pleased immediately to lade on Board her the Provisions indented for that Settlement including a Supply of Articles equivalent to what was embarked on **the Druid** for the use of the Settlement that the deficiency occasioned by **the Wreck of that Vessel** may be supplied.

I am Sir &c.

(Signed) **Colin Shakespear** Sub Secry.

Council Chamber the 5th November 1795.

1795. — No. XXII.

Fort William 23d. November 1795.

Read the following **Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.** To the Honble Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General in Council.

Honble. Sir, — I beg leave to acquaint you that **the Brig Nautilus** is arrived from the Andamans, which place she left on the 2nd Instant, two days after the Cornwallis which Vessel is not yet arrived.

By Letters from the Commanding Officer there I am sorry to inform you that **the Settlement has experienced even more Sickness** this Season than usual Owing probably to the very great fall of Rain and uncommon tempestuousness of the Monsoon, By the unfortunate **loss of the Druid in August last** which deprived the Settlement of a large Supply of Grain, the Public Stores are reduced to the lowest State, there only being Grain for the Settlers to the middle of next Month.

Altho' therefore that a Vessel has just Sailed with a Considerable Supply which there is little doubt, will arrive in safety yet it strikes me that prudence and humanity requires that the Subsistance of so many people should not be left to a single Chance, however favourable. I therefore take the liberty of proposing that **the Nautilus** be immediately dispatched with a further Supply of Provisions ; and as this Vessel is perfectly equipp'd, if directions be given to the Commissary of Stores to quickly supply the Grain And to the Marine Board to expedite the Indents for Provisions and Pay to the Crew, the Vessel will be dispatched without delay and may arrive at Port Cornwallis before there is a possibility of their experiencing any want. I have no reason to be Alarmed at the detention of the Cornwallis, for that Vessel has been so long without any Repair & the Copper of her bottom is in so bad a State that she has become a very Slow Sailer.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) **A. Kyd Supt. Andamans.**

Calcutta 21st November 1795.

Resolved for the reasons stated by Major Kyd that he be desired to dispatch the Nautilus immediately to the Andamans and that intimation be sent to the Marine Board and Commissary of Stores.

1796. — No. I.

Fort William **5th February, 1796.** Read a Letter and its Enclosures from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

Superintendant at the Andamans 4th February. To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I beg you will acquaint the Honble. the Governor General in Council that the **Nautilus Brig** is arrived from the Andamans, which place She left on the 14th of last Month. It is with much concern I forward the Accompanying Letters from **Lieutenant Stokoe the Officer in Command there,** giving an Account of the **death of Mr. Reddick the Surgeon** and of his own Indisposition, I have also to acquaint the Board that **Lieutenant Ramsay** who was obliged to leave the Settlement for extreme indisposition in the **Nancy Snow,** is arrived from Prince of Wales Island, But, although he is much recovered he will not I fear be able to return Soon to his duty.

I amm very sorry to add that from his Accounts and by private letters from Mr. Stokoe the **Settlement Still Continues exceedingly unhealthy** there having been no less than fifty deaths during the last rains, and that this long Continuance of the fatal effects of this baneful Climate, has so dispirited every class of men, that they are all Solicitous to leave it. It is unnecessary for me to point out the necessity of sending a Surgeon as soon as possible, and in the hope of being able to alleviate some of the distresses of the Settlement and to allow Mr. Stokoe to leave it, Should the

State of his health render it necessary, it is my wish to proceed there as soon as **the Cornwallis or Seahorse** can be got in readiness.

Accompanying is a List of Bills of Exchange drawn by the Officer in charge for the Expences of the Settlement for the Months of October, November & December last; the Accounts of which are forwarded to the proper officers.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendant Andamans.

Calcutta **4th February 1796.**

No. 1.

Enclosure in the letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans of 4th February. Major Alexander Kyd, Superintendant of the Andamans, at Fort William.

Sir, — I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the Hon. the Governor General in Council, that the **Snow Nancy Captain Drysdale** arrived safe in this Port on the 1st of December, with Grain Provisions and Marine Stores for the use of the Settlement.

The Nancy proceeded on her Voyage to Prince of Wales Island on the 7th Instant and it is with much Concern I add Lieut. Ramsay was compelled proceed to Sea in that Vessel as the only probable chance of invigorating a frame reduced by long and severe Indisposition, and of renovating his Shattered Constitution.

In an Envelope addressed to the Adjutant General is a duplicate of the certificate granted Lieutenant Ramsay by the Surgeon.

I execute a most painful duty in communicating to you the Subsequent demise of Mr. Reddick; the abovementioned Certificate having been the last public act of his existence! He died of a Mortification in his Intestines, on the 20th Instant the day after the arrival of the Nautilus. It would be a needless attempt in me to point out the loss the Settlement has sustained by the unexpected Dissolution of this Gentleman. I fear the Consequences are but too Obvious.

In compliance with a Suggestion of Lieutenant Ramsay's prior to his Embarkation, I have ventured to appoint as Magazine Serjeant, Henry White acting Serjeant Major to the Sepoy Detachment, which I hope you will approve.

Every comfort and relief the Hospital Patients can derive from fresh Provisions and nourishing diet is liberally distributed to them. I have the pleasure to acquaint you, there are not more than one or two Individuals whose Cases appear to be dangerous and those I have deemed it adviseable to send to Calcutta on the Nautilus, also Mr. Reddick's Family and private Servants. I take the liberty to mention it was his last request that **his Child might be admitted into the Orphan School,** and I further presume to Solicit your attention to this request.

I beg leave to assure you Sir, that no Exertion shall be wanting on my part, to Carry on the various duties of the Settlement until such time as other Officers may be nominated, and I have great hopes from the peaceable behaviour of the Convicts, and from the assistance I derive from the Native Officers of the Marine Corps, that the general services of the Colony will suffer little Impediment; at the same time I must earnestly request every effort may be made to expedite the return of a Vessel to Port Cornwallis.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) **Joseph Stokoe, Lieut.** in temporary Charge of the Settlement, Andamans.

Port Cornwallis **5th Janry. 1796.**

No. 2.

Enclosure in the Letter from the Superintendant of the Andamans of 4th Febrry. To Major Kyd, Superintendant Andamans.

Sir, — My Indisposition has so much encreased upon me these two or three days past that I have been unwillingly Obliged to apply to **Captain Temmins** to request he will leave **Mr. Sadler** his Chief Officer at this Settlement, until his return to us. Captain Temmins has assured me Mr. Sadler can be spared from the Vessel the present Voyage without material Inconvenience, and as his presence here may eventually be attended with beneficial Consequences both on public and private Considerations I hope you will not disapprove of the measure.

I am &c.

(Signed) J. **Stokoe**, Lieut. Acting Superintendant.

Port Cornwallis **13th Janry. 1796.**

No. 3.

The Governor General in Council is concerned to observe from the Papers laid before him by Major Kyd, **the Unhealthiness at the Andamans** at a season too when a better Climate might have been expected; and it is aggreed that a Question, relative to the Possession of that Settlement, shall be Considered at a future Meeting.

Ordered that the Hospital Board be informed of the Decease of Mr. Robert Reddick, Assistant Surgeon at the Andamans, and desired to recommend, without Delay, a proper Person to Succeed to that Situation. Advice of Mr. Reddick's death, and of the Date on which it happened is also to be sent to the Military Department.

Ordered that the List received from Major Kyd, of Bills of Exchange drawn by the Officer in Charge for the Expences of the Settlement, in October, November, and December, be sent to the Accountant General, and that the Bills be duly honoured.

1796.—No. II.

Fort William **8th February 1796.** The following Letter was received, on the 6th Instant from the Secretary to the Hospital Board, and according to their Recommendation, **Mr. Kean** was appointed to Succeed Mr. Reddick as **Assistant Surgeon at the Andamans.** Major Kyd and the Hospital Board were acquainted accordingly; and the Secretary is directed to send a Note of the appointment to the Governor General's Military Secretary for his Information.

No. 2.

Secretary Hospital Board 6th February. To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I am directed by the Hospital Board to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 5th Instant, and to acquaint you that they beg leave to recommend **Mr. Kean Assistant Surgeon of the 33d Battalion** but at present at the Presidency to succeed the late Mr. Reddick as Assistant Surgeon at Port Cornwallis.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant

(Signed) **A. Campbell**, Secretary.

Fort William Hospital Board Office **the 6th February 1796.**

1796. — No. III.

Fort William **8th February 1796.** Minute and Resolutions.

Read again Major Kyd's Letter dated the 4th February and recorded on the Proceedings of the last meeting.

Minute of the Board. Considering the great Sickness and Mortality of the Settlement formed at the Andamans, which it is feared is likely to continue and the great Expence and Embarrassment to Government in maintaining it and in conveying to it Supplies at the present

period, it appears to the Governor General in Council both with a view to humanity and Oeconomy **prudent to withdraw it.** He observes that if at the termination of the present War it should be thought expedient to carry on the plan with Vigour, it could be renewed with very little disadvantage, no permament or Valuable Buildings having yet been erected, and there being few Stores of Value to remove.

The expediency of withdrawing the Settlement admitted, no Time should be lost, so that it may be done before the change of the Monsoon.

The Board further observes that if it be conceived that this temporary removal from the Andamans could invalidate our Claim to those Islands, were any Foreign Nation in the mean time to settle there (a Circumstance, however, which is highly improbable) the objection may be obviated by keeping a small Vessel at Port Cornwallis to be relieved every six Months.

Resolved therefore that the Marine Board be instructed to take immediate measures for **the removal of the Convicts to Prince of Wales Island,** and for bringing back the Stores and Settlers to Bengal.

That they be further instructed to make provision for **keeping a small Vessel at Port Cornwallis, to be relieved every six Months.**

That Major Kyd be desired to report if any part of the Stores be, in his opinion wanted at Prince of Wales Island that they may be transported there, and to communicate to the Marine Board the number of Convicts and Settlers, and the Quantities of stores to be removed.

No. IV.

Fort William **15th February 1796.** Read the following **Letter from the Marine Board.**

To the Honble. Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General in Council.

Honble. Sir, — Pursuant to your Orders for withdrawing the Settlement from the Andamans, communicated to us by **Mr. Sub Secretary Shakespear's** letter of the 8th Instant, We addressed Major Kyd the Superintendant on this Subject, a Copy of whose reply to us We have now the honor to enclose you and upon which We beg leave to offer the following Opinion.

It appears to us from the representation of Major Kyd that the following Vessels will effect all the Purposes required for this Service.

1st. A Vessel, if such can be met with, of about 300 Tons to convey the Convicts and Stores to Prince of Wales Island.

2d. **The Fairlie,** a ship of 800 Tons burthen, engaged to carry 700 Recruits to Madras, consequently must be able to transport 550 Persons from the Andamans to Bengal, with any stores that there may be to be removed.

3d. **The Sea Horse and Cornwallis** whichever Government can conveniently spare for the accommodation of Major Kyd.

We have directed our Secretary to enquire for a Vessel of the Size of 300 Tons, and the Terms on which she can be engaged, and as Major Kyd from his local knowledge, must be more competent to make the necessary arrangements at the Andamans, than the Board can be, We have requested him to undertake entirely this branch of the service and to provide for whatever may be further necessary.

With respect to the small Vessel to be destined for securing the Claim of right to the Possession of the Andamans, and to be relieved every Six Months, We Submit the following Circumstances to your Consideration.

1st. That as your Honble. Board have already Observed, it is very improbable any European Nation will attempt to form a Settlement at the Andaman Islands during the present War, since the

causes which have operated against the English continuing there will operate in a greater degree against any Foreigners upon account of the greater distance from whence they must receive any Supply.

2d. That the French Dutch and Danes are the only Nations who it is probable would conceive any such design; with the two former we are at War, and consequently a small Vessel at the Island would not barr any project they might conceive of this nature, and **the Danes have already a small Establishment at Now Cowrie, one of the Carnicobars,** where there is an excellent Port, and Consequently will hardly attempt any Establishment on so unpromising a place as the Andaman Island.

3d. That the knowledge of a small Vessel being stationed there might invite the attack upon her of any Enemys Petty Cruizer roving in the Bay.

4th. That whatever sum this Vessel and the relief might Cost, would so far interfere with the Economy assigned as one motive for quitting the Place, and the people would be equally exposed as the present Settlers to the unhealthiness of the Climate.

Finally whether the Claim of right to the Possession might not be maintained by setting up a Pillar and by burying a Plate of Metal, with inscriptions suited to the intentions.

We are &c.

(Signed) **John Bristow, John Haldane, John Bebb.**

Fort William the 12th Febry. 1796.

No. 2.

Enclosed in the letter from the Marine Board. To George Taswell Esqre., Secretary to the Marine Board.

Sir, — I was yesterday favored with your Letter of the 9th Instant, and beg you will acquaint the Marine Board, that there are at present **two hundred and seventy Convicts at the Andamans,** to be conveyed to Prince of Wales Island, and that I imagine there will be a superfluous quantity of Grain in Store, amounting to about One Thousand Bags, which I suppose the Governor General in Council would wish to be sent with them for their subsistence. It is also probable that there are many Military and Naval stores, which it would be adviseable to send also to that place, which would be ascertained by referring to the Military Board, who have the returns of stores of both Magazines.

There are in all about **five hundred and fifty persons to convey to Bengal,** which with their Baggage will take considerable Tonnage. But there is no great quantity of Public Stores or property that it will be necessary to transport to Bengal. It is impossible for me to judge exactly the quantity of Tonnage that will be required to effect the whole removal, but I will take the liberty to point out, what appears to me the best measures to be followed. A Vessel of about three hundred Tons with a good tween Decks will accommodate all the Convicts, and transport the grain and Stores to Prince of Wales Island, which should immediately be taken up. The Sea Horse and Cornwallis should be fitted out, each of which will convey about one hundred and fifty of the Settlers with their property, and if an agreement could be made with the owners of the **Ship Fairlie,** to touch at the Andamans, on her return from Madras, I think she would nearly convey the remaining part of the Settlers and all the Stores to Bengal, by which means the complete removal would be effected before the change of the Monsoon.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendant Andamans.

Calcutta the **11th February 1796.**

The Board taking into consideration the mode proposed by the Marine Board for withdrawing the Settlement at the Andamans in their Letter of the 12th Instant, and Major Kyd's Letter to that Board on the Subject, Resolve that they be authorized to engage a proper Vessel to convey the Convicts with the Superfluous Provisions of the Settlement to Prince of Wales Island, and whatever Military Stores it may be found eligible to transport to that Place, that they be also authorized to engage with the owners of the Ship Fairlie to touch at Port Cornwallis on her return from Madras to assist in transporting Settlers and Stores to Bengal, that they also be directed to fit out the Sea Horse and Cornwallis for the same purpose either of which Vessels may be allotted for Major Kyd's accommodation.

The Governor General in Council adheres to his determination of having a small Vessel stationed at Port Cornwallis, and will take into consideration the Vessel and Commander to be employed on that Service.

Ordered that the Military Board be directed to report what part of the Military Stores at Port Cornwallis they may judge it adviseable to be sent to Prince of Wales Island, a List of which is to be sent to Major Kyd.

1796. — No. V.

Fort William **14th March 1796.** The following Letters were written on the 11th Instant to the Superintendant at Prince of Wales Island and of the Andamans.

Major McDonald Superintendant Prince of Wales Island.

Sir, — The Governor General in Council having resolved to withdraw the Settlement from the Andamans I have his instructions to inform you that he has judged it expedient to order all the Convicts about 270 in number to be sent to Prince of Wales Island Also all the Stores of Whatever discription that it is judged may be useful at that Settlement of which the Commissary at Port Cornwallis will furnish a List.

I am &c.

[Not signed]

Council Chamber **11th March 1796.**

To Major Alexander Kyd Superintendant Or the Officer in Charge of the Settlement at the Andamans for the time being.

Sir, — The Governor General in Council having determined to withdraw the Settlement at Port Cornwallis, I have his Orders to acquaint you that the **Nancy Grab** has been freighted to Convey the Convicts to Prince of Wales Inland, you will therefore be pleased to embark them without delay with all the Superfluous Provisions that you can spare from that Settlement for their Subsistence and the Military Stores of which accompanying is a List. **The Ship Fairlie** has also been engaged to touch at Port Cornwallis on which and on the Cornwallis you will embark the Settlers of every description and all remaining useful Stores and with them you will proceed to Bengal with all expedition.

I have the honor &c.

(Signed) **C. Shakespear** Sub Secretary.

Fort William the 11th March 1796.

1796. — No. VI.

Fort William **14th March 1796.** Read the following letter **from Major Kyd** To **G. H. Barlow Esqr.** Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I beg you will acquaint the Honble. the Governor General in Council that **the Cornwallis Snow** being nearly in readiness, **I shall embark in a very few days for the Andamans,** to carry into effect the removal of the Settlement, according to the Resolutions of the Board, for which the necessary Vessels have been provided by the Marine Board. In consequence of the direction

conveyed to me by these Resolutions I have communicated with the Military Board which from the Returns of the Magazines at Prince of Wales Island and Port Cornwallis, has been able to fix upon such stores, as it will be eligible to send to the first place, which will accordingly be conveyed on the Vessel freighted to convey the Convicts. As by the last Account Current received from the Andamans, there was but a very small balance of Cash at the Settlement, It will be necessary that I should carry there the Sum of Ten Thousand Rupees to enable me to discharge the Pay that will be due to the Public Establishments, I have to request the Board will be pleased to grant me an order on the Treasury for that Sum, half in Gold and half in Silver.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendant Andamans.

Calcutta 7th March 1796.

Resolved that the Sub Treasurer be instructed to pack up 10,000 Sa. Rs. in Specie as required to be sent on the Cornwallis to the Andamans, and that the Superintendant be informed accordingly.

1796. — No. VII.

Fort William **25th April 1796**. Read the following Letters and enclosures from the Marine Board and their Secretarys. To the Honble. Sir John Shore Baronet Governor General in Council.

Honble. Sir, — Conformably to your Orders, dated the 28th Ultimo, We have made Enquiry for a Vessel to be stationed at the Andamans. The **Brig Peggy Captain Carey** has in consequence been tendered to us, and appears to be proper for the service. We submit Copies of the Master Attendant Reports respecting her; and of the terms recommended by him Sicca Rupees 1400 pr Month for 6 Months Certain, every Expence on Account of her to be defrayed by the Owners, [& to] be approved by your Honble Board, we request your sanction to conclude the Agreement, and an Order on the Treasury in favor of the Marine Paymaster for Sicca Rupees Five Thousand Six hundred in order to enable me to pay Four Months advance in part of the Freight of the Peggy.

We are with respect

(Signed) **John Bristow, John Haldane, John Bebb, E. Hay.**

Fort William the 16th April 1796.

Enclosure No. 1.

Captain Taswell Esqr. Secretary to the Marine Board.

Sir, — I beg leave to enclose you my Assistant's Report of the Brig Peggy, which I request you will be pleased to lay before the Board, Captain Carey informs me that the Vessel is fitted and ready for Sea, only wants Manning, which will take Six or Seven Days to get his people all on board I beg leave to offer it as my Opinion that fourteen hundred Sicca Rupees pr Month for Six Months Certain, every Charge and expence to be on Account of the Owners is a sufficient freight for her.

I am &c.

(Signed) **Cudbert Thornhill** Master Attendant.

Marine Office 14th April 1796.

Enclosure **No. 2.**

To Cudbert Thornhill Esqr. Master Attendant.

Sir, — I have examined the Brig Peggy Captain Carey, & find her a new Pegue Built Vessel with a single Deck; in Burthen about Fifty Tons, she is sheathed with Wood, but not Coppered.

I am &c.

(Signed) **A. Waddell, Assistant.**

Marine Office the 13th April 1796.

Agreed that the Marine Board be authorized to engage the Peggy at the stated freight for the Andamans service and that a Treasury Order be issued for Sicca Rupees 5600 on account four Months Advance, of which the Civil Auditor is to be Apprised.

1796. — No. VIII.

Fort William **23rd May 1796**. Secretary Marine Board 10th May. To G. H. Barlow, Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I am directed to acquaint you that, the Cornwallis being returned from the Andamans, and the Board understanding that Government has no further occasion for her services, they propose to have her returned to the Pilot's Establishment, if it meets with the approval of the Governor General in Council.

I am &c.

(Signed) **G. Taswell.**

Fort William the 10th May 1796.

Resolved that the Marine Board be directed **to return the Cornwallis Schooner to the Pilot Service.**

1796. — No. IX.

Read the following Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans. Superintendant Andamans 13th May. To G. H. Barlow Esq. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have to request you will acquaint the Honble. the Governor General in Council that According to **his directions for withdrawing the Settlement at the Andamans,** the necessary arrangements having been made with the Marine Board for that purpose, I embarked on the Cornwallis Snow, on the 12th of last March, and arrived there on the 26th of the same Month. In a very few days afterwards, the Nancy Grab arrived on which I embarked the Stores and all the Convicts for Prince of Wales Island and would have taken this opportunity of relieving the Settlement from a Number of Artificers and private Servants, who were inclined to seek service at Prince of Wales Island, had not many Artificers and private servants been sent on the Ship from Bengal, so that there was but scanty accommodation for the Convicts. In a few days afterwards, **the Druid** from Pegu to Prince of Wales Island touched at Port Cornwallis on which Ship for a very Moderate freight, I embarked forty of the above discription of people. As it was Calculated that the ship Fairlie which was engaged to touch at the Andamans on her return from Madras would be at Port Cornwallis by the end of March, I prepared every thing to embark on her for Bengal, but after waiting with much impatience till the 21st of April, seeing that there was a probability that her Voyage was altered or that some accident had happened to her, I judged it prudent to provide for such circumstanees, to embark as many of the Stores as the Cornwallis would take, all the Sick and the greatest part of the Sepoy Detachment and proceed to Calcutta, where I arrived on the 6th Inst. To the Officer left in charge there I gave instructions to embark on the Fairlie with the remaining part of the Settlers without delay on the event of her arrival, and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I have just heard of her arrival at **Diamond Harbour,** after a very expeditious passage from Port Cornwallis where she made her appearance a very few days after I left it, — upon enquiring of the Owners of that Ship the reason of the delay I find it was occasioned by a difficulty of procuring Ballast at Madras in consequence of which they proceeeded to **Coringa** to ballast with Salt.

I beg you will acquaint the Board, that I paid up the different Establishments and every Expence of the Settlement to the 1st of May which I was enabled to do by receiving Cash from Individuals, for Bills on Government a list of which accompanys this, and as I have yet at balance of Cash in hand I have the pleasure to say that a very small Sum will answer for this Month when every Expence will cease.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendant Andamans.

Fort William 13th May 1796.

Resolved that every expence on account of the Establishment, now withdrawn from the Andamans, shall cease with the close of this Month, and ordered that Major Kyd be Written to accordingly.

1796. — No. X.

Fort William **30th May 1796. Read** the following letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

Superintendant at the Andamans 27th May. To G. H. Barlow Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I beg you will acquaint the Honble. the Governor General in Council, that in making up the Accounts of the Settlement at the Andamans, to the end of this Month I find that the sum of Sicca Rupees Five Thousand Five Hundred and Twenty five ten Pies (Sicca Rupees 5525.0.10) will enable me to discharge every claim when all expences will cease. I have to request therefore that he will be pleased to direct a Treasury order to be issued to me for that amount when the accounts will be closed and transmitted to the prescribed Offices.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendant Andamans.

Calcutta 27th May 1796.

Resolved that a Treasury order be issued for Sicca Rupees 5525.0.10 in favor of Major Kyd to enable him to close the Accounts of that Settlement.

1796. — No. XI.

Fort William **20th June 1796.** Secretary Marine Board 7th June. G. H. Barlow Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the orders of the Board to forward you for the information of the Governor General in Council, the enclosed copy of a letter from **Captain A. Carey Commander of the Brig Peggy, engaged as a stationary Vessel at the Andamans.**

I am &c.

(Signed) **G. Taswell** Secretary Marine Board.

Fort William 7th June 1796.

Enclosure.

G. Taswell Esqr.

Sir, — Upon examining my orders from Government, I find they have not appointed a certain period for my staying at the Andaman Station, whether I am to remain longer than the time specified in my orders; Should the Government require the Services of the Brig Peggy longer than six Months from the date of their orders, they must inform me on [? of it] before the expiration of that

time, at the same time I shall be in want of a supply of provisions for fifteen European Seamen, for any period they may appoint.

I am &c.

(Signed) **A. Carey.**

June 1st 1796.

The Governor General in Council observes that the Marine Board have already been directed to take **measures for relieving the Vessel at the Andamans every Six Months.**

1796. — No. XII.

Fort William **18th July 1796.** Secretary Marine Board dated 15th July. To G. H. Barlow Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of the Governor General in Council, that it has been represented to the Board by the late Commissary of Stores at the Andamans, that on the removal of the Settlement from thence, **a Large Long-Boat**, which was not completed, and could not be taken on board the ship employed for the Service, was **Scuttled and Sunk,** which, as being perfectly new, and as it might be considered an object to raise in the ensuing North East Moonsoon, He has marked her Situation to be **in 4 fathoms Water, and about 250 yards North West of the Watering Place.**

I am &c.

(Signed) **G. Taswell** Secry. Military Board.

Fort William 15th July 1796.

Ordered that the necessary information be given for **raising the Long Boat Sunk at the Andamans,** when an opportunity offers of writing to that Station,

1796. — No. XIII.

Fort William **16th September 1796.** Secretary Marine Board dated 6th September.

Sir, — I am directed to forward you the accompanying Copy of a letter from the Acting Owner of **the Peggy Snow** stationed at the Andamans, and to request you will be pleased to lay it before the Governor General in Council and Communicate to the Board his Instructions thereon.

I am &c

(Signed) **G. Taswell** Secretary Military Board.

Fort William the 6th September 1796.

Enclosure.

To Geo. Taswell Esqr. Secretary Marine Board.

Sir, — As the contracted time that the Honble. Board agreed to employ **the Brig Peggy** (of which I am acting Owner) as stationed at the Andamans, is nearly expiring, I beg leave to offer the continuing the said Brig on the same terms for six months longer, to which should the Honble, Board agree, I purpose immediately to dispatch provisions &c to the Andamans pr **the Bark Phoenix Captain Moore,** who has agreed to touch there should my Offer be accepted, and to him, I will deliver any further instructions for Captain A. Carey that you may think requisite he should be made acquainted with.

I am with due regard &c.

(Signed) **William Mordaunt.**

Calcutta 4th September 1796.

Resolved that the Snow Peggy be chartered for six Months longer on the Andaman Station as tendered by the owner and that the Board be informed.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

BY M. N. VENKATASWAMI, M.R.A.S., M.F.L.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXXI. p. 454.)

No. 19. — The Prince, the Cucumber, and the Râkshashî.

A CERTAIN king had seven sons, who used to tend cattle in the forest. One day they saw a great number of fish in a tank, and so they drove off the cattle to graze and at once began to catch the fish. When this was finished, one of the brothers went to see where the cattle were grazing. He did not find them, but heard a rumour that they had been carried off by a neighbouring Râkshashî.

"Never mind," said the brothers :—" Our father will be pleased with the seven baskets full of fish," and they carried the fish home.

On seeing them, the king asked "where are the cattle ?"

"We were catching fish and the Râkshashî lifted the cattle," replied the princes.

Whereupon the king, out of sheer anger, slew six of his sons, and when he was about to slay the seventh and last, the prince said, "O father, don't kill me, I will bring the cattle home."

"Very well, bring the cattle home," replied the king.

In search of the missing cattle the prince traversed many forests without success, and he thought of returning home despondingly to meet his fate, when he suddenly came upon a shepherd-boy, whom he questioned as to the way leading to the Râkshashî's abode.

"Go this way," said the shepherd-boy, pointing out a long and straight road, "taking three cucumbers from the field, and when you come to the place where three roads meet, place the three cucumbers on the three ways. Watch which cucumber moves and that's the road you are to take."

The prince did accordingly, and the cucumber on the central road moved, and so the prince went on by that road, taking the Cucumber as his companion and eating the others.

When he was half way on the road, the Cucumber called out 'Brother, brother.'

"Who is the man calling me ?" said the prince, looking round.

"I," replied the Cucumber.

"What is it, brother ?" said the prince.

"Well, I have something to say to you," replied the Cucumber. The Râkshashî will put a mat on a well and ask you to sit on it. Beware! She will mix poison in some food and will ask you to eat. Beware."

A little later the Cucumber again called to the prince, 'Brother, brother,' and said, "the time for the Râkshashî to be delivered is at hand, and when she is about to give birth leave me on the ground, and I will drive the cattle home."

"Very well," said the prince, and moved on, and in due course reached the Râkshashî's abode, and as soon as she saw him she put a mat on the well and asked him to sit on it.

"O, don't trouble! I don't want to sit down," said the prince.

She then mixed poison in some food and offered it to the prince.

"O, don't trouble! I don't want to eat," said he.

"Well, stay where you are," said Râkshashî, who was now in labour. "As soon as I am delivered, I will come out."

At this juncture, the Cucumber asked to be left on the ground. The prince did as he was desired, and the Cucumber drove the cattle home.

When the Râkshashî knew of this, she took the new-born infant in her arms and at once rushed upon the prince to swallow him up, but the Cucumber made him climb up a palmyra-tree close by. The Râkshashî put her infant to sleep on the ground, and began to climb up also. The Cucumber then pinched the infant and it cried out and down came the Râkshashî and pacified the infant. She then climbed half way up the tree again, when the Cucumber again repeated the pinch with the same result. This the Cucumber did three times, and then, thinking to itself that the Râkshashî seemed to never get tired, had recourse to another stratagem. It climbed the tree unknown to the Râkshashî before she began, and stuck two pointed thistles into the tree about half-way up. The Râkshashî's eyes ran into them and became blinded. This brought her down off the tree with immense force and she was killed. The Cucumber then killed her child, and, all fear being vanished, the prince started for his home taking the Cucumber with him. His father was very glad to receive him and the cattle, and revoked the order for the prince's execution.

Now the prince kept his life-preserver the Cucumber in a pot very safely. He used to enquire after its welfare every morning and evening with a shout of 'Brother,' and used to receive a reply of 'Yes, brother.' This continued for some time, till one day his household complained of having no curry for the night. Whereupon the prince's sisters said, "There's a cucumber in the pot; make it into a pickle." As soon as the Cucumber was cut open, the whole house was turned into blood.

The prince, on his return home that evening, shouted as usual for his brother the Cucumber, and, receiving no reply, went up to the pot and saw that there was no Cucumber in it, upon which he ran at once to his mother and asked where the Cucumber was.

"I took it from the pot, and when I cut it open to make pickle with it, the house and all was turned into blood."

"My life-preserver is gone, why should I live," howled the prince and committed suicide. The parents followed suit for grief at the loss of their son, and the cattle also, bemoaning the loss they had sustained by the death of their protector, ate a poisonous herb and died also.

No. 20. — The Legend of Ganêśa.

Sarasvatî, the Goddess of Learning, was a most beautiful woman: short of stature, with a round golden face, a curved nose, lustrous eyes, a small sweet mouth, soft, small lily-white hands and symmetrical limbs, ringlets of jet-black glossy hair; a very parrot among women.

She had a son named **Ganêśa**. One day her husband **Brahmâ** said to him:

"My son, would you like to marry?"

"Yes, father," replied Ganêśa.

"What would your wife to be like?"

"As beautiful as my mother," replied Ganêśa.

Whereupon the father's anger knew no bounds, and laying hold of a hatchet that was hard by he cut off his son's head.

When Sarasvatî came to know what had happened, she at once ran in wild confusion to the spot where her son's body was lying weltering in blood. But she could not find the head. She chanced to see an elephant passing by, and immediately a wild thought crossed her bewildered brain. She dashed for the animal and lopped off its head, and fastened it on to Ganêśa's body and prayed to her lord to bring their son to life.

Brahmâ complied with her request, and thus Ganêśa became possessed of his elephant's head, as we see to the present day.[1]

No. 21. — The Bird and the King.

A tiny little bird uttering melodious sounds sat on the terrace of a king's palace. The king was very pleased and called out to an attendant and said, "Put the bird into a golden cage and give it the sweetest seeds to eat."

Scarcely was the bird imprisoned in the cage, than another bird of the same kind, uttering the wildest cries, came and sat on the terrace. Displeased with these discordant sounds, the king called out to an attendant to kill it.

The order was about to be executed, when the first bird, in great humbleness of spirit, said : "O, what are you doing ? O just king, listen to the words of the unprotected, revoke your order."

अहं मुनीनां वचनं श्रुणोमि
श्रुणोति राजान् मनाथ वाक्यम्
न तस्य दोषो न च मद् गुणो वा
संसर्गजा दोषगुणा भवन्ति.

"I have lived in the abodes of saints, and listened to their sweet talk, while this my brother was brought up by a butcher, and learnt his unearthly notes from the cries of animals when being slaughtered. It is neither his fault, nor do I possess merit. Good or bad (in persons) is the outcome of association."

Satisfied with the explanation, the king revoked his order for the death of the other bird.

No. 22. — The Prabhûs and the Horse.

The Prabhûs are irritated beyond measure if called Godai-kavu (*i.e.*, horse-eaters). The following story is told to account for the epithet :—

Once upon a time a great famine fell on the land, and some Prabhûs, in their hunger, concerted together and killed a horse for its flesh. Greatly afraid of being excommunicated, they hastily buried the bones, and, making the horse's tail to stick out of the ground, raised an alarm of "*goda gaila, goda gaila, pâtâlâth*, the horse has gone, the horse has gone, to the nether regions."

Note.

The Prabhûs are a prosperous and wealthy caste. Their women are renowned for their beauty, which Nârâyaṇa Varma notices. They are Hindus, and they do not eat horse-flesh. The only people in India who eat horse-flesh are the Dhêrs of Haidarâbâd (Deccan) and some Musulmâns. There is a regular market in Haidarâbâd for horse-flesh, and the street where that is sold is known by the name of the Nakhûs or Horse-flesh Street.

No. 23. — How the English Got a Hold in India.

First of all the English landed in Madras, and applied to the Nawâb of that place for land equal to a sheepskin. The Nawâb, thinking that the land applied for was not much, gave his permission. Whereupon the cunning Englishmen cut a sheepskin into very thin strips, and, joining them on to one another, encircled the whole place with this leather-string and the Nawâb felt bound by his word. Thus did the English come to possess the first land in India, which they augmented from time to time by slow conquests.

(To be continued.)

[1] Narrated by the writer's mother, the late M. Tulsemma.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE SAYYIDS OF KARNAL.

MR. J. R. DRUMMOND, C. S., first mentioned to me that the Sayyids of certain villages in Karnâl, who are of the Bârâ-Sa'âdat, had a curious system of clan-names, and subsequently I was furnished with an account of them by the kindness of Sayyid Iltâf Hussain, Honorary Magistrate at Karnâl, of whose notes the following is the gist:—

The Bârâ-Sa'âdât have a curious system by which the inhabitants of each hamlet or *bastî* are known by certain nick-names. These Sayyids are descended from Sayyid Abu'l-Farash Wâsitî, son of Sayyid Dâûd or Sayyid Hussain, and it would be of great interest to see if any other Sayyids have a similar custom. A list of the *bastîs* and nick-names is appended:—

Name of Bastî.	*Nickname.*
Sanbhalhêrâ.	*Kafandôz*, or sewer of shrouds.
Mojhâra.	Confectioner.
Mîrânpûr.	Sheep-butcher.
Kethôrâh.	Butcher.
Tandhêrâh.	*Bhutnî*, she-ghost.
Khojêrâh.	Ghost.
Kakrôlî.	Dog.
Behrah.	*Chamâr*, scavenger or leather-worker.
Môrnâ.	Camel.
Jatwârâ.	Pig.
Nagla.	Barber.
Jansathâ.	*Chirîmâr*, bird-catcher.
Chitôrâ.	Mimic.
Kâwal.	*Jariya*, one who sets glass or stone in ornaments.
Jaulî.	*Telî*, or oilman.
Tasang.	*Dûm*.
Sâlarpûr.	*Chutîyâ*, fool.
Ghâlibpur.	He-ass.
Sêdipûr.	She-ass.
Kelaudah.	*Kûnjrâ*, greengrocer.
Bahârî.	Goldsmith.
Bahâdurpûr.	*Kûngar*. rustic.
Bilâspur.	*Khumra*, a cutter of mill-stones.
Pâlrî.	*Kamangar*, bowman or bowmaker.
Saudhâwâlî.	*Dâr-ul-Himâqat*, house of foolishness.
Pimbôrâ.	....
Sarâî.	*Bhatiârâ*, baker.
Churiyâlâ.	*Manihâr*, bangle-maker.
Tassar.	Sweeper.
Sakrêrâ.	Owl.
Muzaffarnagar.	Eunuch.

At first sight some of these names look like totems, and one is tempted to see in them traces of Arabian totem-clans, which would be in accord with the claim to be descended from the tribe of Qurêsh. This, however, does not appear to be the true explanation of the names, which, it should be noted, are called palwal, or countersigns, by the Sayyids themselves. Moreover, the Bârâ-Sa'âdât are all Shî'as, except those who live in Lathêrî village, and even they intermarry with the Shî'as.

The nick-names given above appear to be in reality relics of a system of initiation into the degrees of a secret order, and are paralleled in Turkey in the order of the Maulavîs, in which the novice is called the scullion, and so on. The Shî'as have always tended to become organized into orders, or secret societies; and the Assassins of the Elburz formed in the Middle Ages the most powerful and famous of these associations. They also had a system of degrees into which their adherents were successively initiated. The Tûrîs of the Kurran Valley, who are or claim to be Shî'as, also have signs by which they ascertain if a man is straight, *i. e.*, a Shî'a, or crooked, *i. e.*, a non-Shî'a.

If any reader of this *Journal* could refer me to works on the religious orders or sects of the Shî'as, it might be possible to trace further survivals of their organizations among the Sayyids, or in general among the Shî'as, of the Panjâb.

H. A. ROSE,

Superintendent of Ethnography, Punjab.

Simla, Aug. 15th, 1902.

A GRAMMAR AND SPECIMENS OF THE MIKIR LANGUAGE.

BY SIR C. J. LYALL, K.C.S.I.

I. — PRELIMINARY NOTE.

LIKE Kachchā Nāgā, Kabui, and Khoirao, Mikir is a language belonging to the Nāgā Group of the Tibeto-Burman Languages, which represents an intermediate stage between the true Nāgā languages, and the various speeches belonging to the Bodo Group. No complete grammar of it has ever been published. The following are the materials which have hitherto been available for its study: —

ROBINSON, W., — *Notes on the Languages spoken by the various tribes inhabiting the Valley of Assam and its mountain Confines. Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XVIII., 1849, Pt. I., pp. 184 and ff., 310 and ff. On pp. 330 and ff. an imperfect Mikir Grammar. On pp. 342 and ff. a Mikir Vocabulary.

BUTLER, CAPTAIN J., — *A Rough Comparative Vocabulary of some of the Dialects spoken in the "Nágá Hills" District. Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLI., Pt. I., 1873, Appendix. Contains a Vocabulary.

CAMPBELL, SIR G., — *Specimens of the Languages of India, including those of the Aboriginal Tribes of Bengal, the Central Provinces, and the Eastern Frontier.* Calcutta, 1874. On pp. 204-205 and ff. there is a Mikir Vocabulary.

ANON., — *A Mikir Catechism* in the Assamese character. Sibsagar, 1875.

NEIGHBOR, THE REV. R. E., — *A Vocabulary in English and Mikir, with Sentences illustrating the Use of Words.* Calcutta, 1878.

DAMANT, G. H., — *Notes on the Locality and Population of the Tribes dwelling between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi Rivers. Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII., 1880, pp. 228 and ff. Account of the Mikirs on p. 236. Short Vocabulary on p. 254.

LYALL, SIR C. J., K.C.S.I., — Note on the geographical distribution and ethnological affinities of the Mikirs on pp. 78 and ff. of the *Census Report of Assam for 1881.* Calcutta, 1883. This has been reprinted on pp. 177 and ff. of the Census Report of the same Province for 1891. The reprinted copy has been revised.

PURSELL, MISS, — *Arleng Alam. A Mikir Primer.* Assam, 1891.

DAVIS, A. W., I.C.S., — Note by A. W. D. on the Relations of the principal Languages of the Nāgā Group on pp. 163 and ff. of the *Census Report of Assam for 1891,* by E. A. Gait, I.C.S., Shillong, 1892. Compares Mikir with the languages of the Nāgā and Bodo Groups.

BAKER, E. C. S., — Account of the Mikirs on p. 254 of the same Report.

According to the Census of 1901, Mikir is spoken in the following Assam Districts: —

DISTRICT.	NUMBERS OF SPEAKERS.
Nowgong	34,273
Sibságar	22,803
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	13,142
Kamrup	8,026
Darrang	3,108
Elsewhere	931
Total number of Speakers ...	82,283

It is spoken principally in the centre of the Assam Valley, south of the Brahmaputra, and in the north-east of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

Mikirs call themselves 'Arleng,' a word which means 'man' generally, although more strictly applied to a Mikir man. Sir Charles Lyall, writing in 1882, described their habitat as follows: —

"The country which, from its geographical nomenclature, we should look upon as the home of the Mikir race is tolerably extensive, and includes a large area of hills in which there are now few or no Mikirs. The characteristic elements of Mikir topographical nomenclature are *Lāng*, river, water; *Lāngso*, small stream; *Inglong*, mountain; *Long*, stone; *Rong*, village; *Sār*, chief. In the isolated mountainous block which fills the triangle between the Brahmaputra on the north, the Dhansiri Valley on the east, and the Kopili and Kalang Valleys on the west, these names are found everywhere, as well in the southern part now inhabited by the Rengmā Nāgās from the hills across the Dhansiri as in the northern portion included in the Nowgong district, and known more particularly as the Mikir Hills. They are also found in considerable numbers to the south of the Lāngkher Valley, in the mountains now inhabited by Kukis, Kachchā Nāgās, and Kachāris (*e. g.*, *Lāngreng* = 'water of life,' *Lāngting*, *Long-lai*, etc.) as far south as the courses of the Jhiri and Jhinam. In the centre of North Cachar they are rarer; but there is a considerable group of Mikir names again to the west of this tract, about the head-waters of the Kopili, and on the southern face of the hills, north of Badarpur. Mikirs also abound, mixed with Lālungs, on the northern face of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and along the courses of the Kopili and Umkhen rivers.

Across the Brahmaputra the topographical nomenclature shows no trace of them, though there are a few recent colonies of the race in Darrang.

They are thus essentially a people of the lower hills and adjoining lowlands of the central portion of the range stretching from the Garo Hills to the Pátkoi. Their neighbours are (1) The Syntengs of Jaintia on the west; (2) Bodos or Kachāris on the south; (3) Assamese on the north and east, where the country is inhabited at all; and intermixed with them are recent colonies of Kukis and Rengmā Nāgas and older ones of Lālungs and Hill Kachāris."

The following sketch, by Sir Charles Lyall, of the principal features of Mikir Grammar is based on the very instructive specimens which accompany it and on materials, not yet published, gathered by the late Mr. E. Stack in the years 1885-86. As regards the specimens, the parable of the Prodigal Son has been translated by Sardoka Perrin Kay, who is by birth a Mikir, and is at present employed in Government service in Shillong. The two pieces of folklore have also been prepared by him, under the supervision of Mr. H. Corkery, LL.D. — G. A. G.

II. — GRAMMAR.

PRONUNCIATION. — Mikir possesses the following **Consonants,** — *b*, *ch*, *d*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v*, and the aspirates *kh*, *ph*, *th*. *Bh*, *dh*, and *g* occur only in a few borrowed words, and *bh* and *dh* are commonly resolved, as *bahār*, a load; *dohòn*, money. *F*, *sh*, *w*, *y* (consonantal) and *z* are unknown. *Ng* is never initial, and the *g*-sound in it is never separately audible.

In **Vowels** Mr. Stack recognised the following, — *ā*, *à* (the latter in closed syllables, abruptly pronounced, as in German *Mann*); *ē*, *è* (the latter in closed syllables, as in *pet*), *e*; *ī*, *i*; *ō*, *ò* (in closed syllables, abrupt, as in *pot*), *o* (this apparently represents a shortened long *ō*, as Mr. Stack notes that the sound *å* or *aw*, sometimes represented by *â*, does not occur); *ū*, *u*. The differences in length of vowels seem often to be (as in Assamese) rather indeterminate. There is a tendency for the long *ā* to be thinned down to *ē*, as in the loan-words *rēcho* = *rājā* and *bērī* = *bāṛī*; *ē-* frequently occurs as a variant of initial *ā-*, see further on.

The **Diphthongs** occurring are *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui*, in all of which the first element represents the long vowel, and the combinations might be written *āi*, *ēi*, *ōi*, *ūi*.

ROOT-WORDS. — The root-words, whether nouns, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs or verbs, are generally monosyllabic. Roots longer than one syllable are apparently formed by adding **prefixes**, originally having separate significance, now often lost, to monosyllabic roots, or by compounding one or more roots. Prefixes of which the significance is not now traceable are *ār-* (as in *ārlèng*, man; *ārlòng*, stone; *ārni*, sun, day); *ing-*[1] (*inglòng*, mountain; *inghòn*, pity, etc.); *ning-*[2] (in *ningvè*, night; *ningkàn*, year, etc.); and *te-*, *ti-*, *to-* (as in *teràm*, call; *tekàng*, abandon; *tikup*, an enclosure; *tovār*, a road). Prefixes which are still significant will be noted below. Instances of compound roots are, in nouns, *kèng-òp*, shoe (foot-covering); *ni-òp*, cloud (sun-cover); *rèng-mē*, being happy (life-good), etc.; in verbs numerous examples will be found in the specimens.

INFLECTION. — Words (whether nouns or verbs) are not inflected, but are located in sense by their position in the sentence or by the addition of particles. These particles may often be omitted where ambiguity is not likely.

Gender. — Gender is not distinguished except for animate beings, and in them either (1) by difference of termination, or (2) by added words indicating sex, or (3) by different terms. Thus, —

(1)	*pō*, father;	*pē*, mother.
	phu, grandfather;	*phi*, grandmother.
	(*pu*)*nu*, paternal uncle;	*ni*, paternal aunt.
(2)	*sō-pō*, boy;	*sō-pī*, girl.
	su-pō, grandson;	*su-pī*, granddaughter.
	āsō-pinsō, male child;	*āsō-pī*, daughter.
	chainòng-ālō, bull;	*chainòng-āpī*, cow.
(3)	*ārlèng*, man;	*ārlosō*, woman.
	īk, elder brother;	*ingjīr* or *tē*, elder sister.

Number. — The ordinary suffix for the plural is *ātum*, but other words are occasionally suffixed to indicate plurality, as *mār*, a mass, quantity, or company; *òng*, many; *lī* (a respectful form used chiefly in addressing a number of persons). With pronouns the suffix is *tum*, not *ātum*; *nē*, I; *nē-tum*, we; *ī-tum*, we, including the person addressed: *nàng*, thou; *nàng-tum*, ye: *lā*, he, she, it; *lā-tum*, they: respectful forms *nē-lī*, *ī-lī*, *nàng-lī*, *ālàng-lī*; also *nē-lī-tum*, *nàng-lī-tum*.

Case. — Case is indicated by position, or by postpositions. The *Nominative* and, generally speaking, the *Accusative* have no postpositions, but are ascertained by their position in the sentence — the nominative at the beginning, the accusative following it before the verb: but both where necessary can be emphasised by the particles *-kē* and *-sī*, which in some sort play the part of our definite article. Thus: —

-kē, — *nē-kē lādàk àn-kàngchir-sī thī-pō*, I (distinguished from my father's servants) here from hunger am dying.

nàng-kē nē-lòngsī kaitā do, thou (distinguished from the prodigal son) with me ever art.

lā nàng-mu-kē thīlòt-tā, rèng-thu-èt-lō, *this* thy younger brother was dead, and is alive again.

nē-mèn-kē Òng, *my* name is Ong.

-sī, — *konāt āchainòng-ā-òk-sī dàklē kedo-jī*, where should cow's flesh be here?

konāt ādohòn-sī nànglī kelòng-dàm, where did you get *so much* money from?

It is to be carefully remembered that these emphatic particles are *not* case postpositions, but may be followed by the latter: *e. g.*, *jàngrēsō-kē-āphàn pulō*, he said to the orphan; and *-sī* is to be

[1] When a prefix comes before *ing-*, it coalesces with it into one syllable; thus, *ā* + *ing* = *àng*; *kā* + *ing* = *kàng*; *che* + *ing* = *chàng* (*ching*); *pā* + *ing* = *pàng*. Apparently the form *kā* (not *ke*) is always chosen for the adjectival prefix, and *pā* (not *pe* or *pi*) for the causal prefix, before *ing-*.

[2] *Ning* means breast, mind, and in that sense numerous easily intelligible compounds of it occur; but in the words mentioned it seems to be of different origin.

distinguished from *-sī*, suffix of the locative and (probably the same) of the conjunctive participle. Another emphatic particle is *-tā*, which may often be translated 'also' or 'even': *vide* specimens.

The construction of the Genitive is one of the most characteristic features of the language. The genitive always precedes the noun on which it depends. When it is a pronoun of the first or second person, nothing intervenes between the two: thus, *nē-hèm*, my house; *nàng-pē*, thy clothes. But when the pronoun is of the third person, or when the first noun takes the place of a pronoun of the third person, the following noun has *ā-* inserted before it. Thus *lā-āpō*, his father; *Ārnàm āhèm*, God's house, *lā hijai-ātum ākàm*, this is the jackals' work; *ārni-kàngsàm āpòr*, day-becoming-cool time. This prefixed *ā-* is really the possessive of the third personal pronoun, as is proved by the equivalence of the pronouns in the following passage from a folk-tale: —

Ànsī' jàngrēsō rēchō-āsōpō-āphàn pulō, 'lā nàng-pē nàng-rī-pèn mamàtlē
Then the-orphan the-king's-son-to said, 'these your-clothes your-dhoti-with yourself-bedecked
nàng ru-ārlo nàng-lutlō-tē, nàng chinidètpō; nē-pē nē-rī nàng pīpō,
you cage-into enter-if, you (they)-will-recognise: my-clothes my-dhoti you (I)-will-give,
ànkē ru-ārlo lut-nòn.' Ànsī rēchō-āsōpō ru ingpu-sī jàngrēsō nàngbārlō, ànsī
then cage-into enter.' Then the-king's-son the-cage opened-having the-orphan let-out, and
jàngrēsō ā-pē ā-rī rēchō-āsōpō pīlō, lā rēchō-āsōpō ā-pē, ā-rī ā-lèk,
the-orphan his-clothes his-dhoti the-king's-son gave, that king's-son his-clothes, his-dhoti, his-necklace,
ā-roi, jàngrēsō pī-thu-lō.
his-bangles, the-orphan (-to) gave-in-return.

'The orphan said to the king's son, "if you go into the cage wearing your own clothes, they will recognise you at once (*dèt*); I will give you my clothes, and then you can enter the cage." So the king's son opened the cage and let out the orphan, and the orphan gave the king's son his clothes, and the king's son gave the orphan in exchange his clothes, necklace, and bangles.'

Here *nē-pē, nē-rī, nàng-pē, nàng-rī*, are followed by *ā-pē, ā-rī*. This use of *ā-* before every noun which has a genitive depending on it has led to that syllable becoming the common prefix of most nouns in the language, and being prefixed not only to the governing word, but also to the word governed. It is, in fact, the ordinary particle indicating relation, and thus comes to be prefixed to adjectives, *e. g.*, *Ārnàm ākethē*, God the Almighty; *lā ōkībī ābàng*, that younger one; and not only to adjectives, but to postpositions: *āphàn*, to, has *ā-* when used with the third person: *lā-āphàn*, to him; *jàngrēsō āphàn*, to the orphan; but *nē-phàn*, to me; *nàng-phàn*, to thee. The only postpositions used without this prefixed *ā-* are *pèn* (*pèn-sī*), with; *lē*, at, in; and *sī*, in: *āpèn* and *ēpèn* are sometimes found. As already observed, this *ā-* frequently takes the form *ē-*; *e. g.*, *hijai-ēhur*, a pack of jackals; *hèm-ēpō*, widower; *hèm-ēpī*, widow (literally, the male or female owner of a house).[3]

The other cases are formed by postpositions, which, however, are often omitted when the sense is clear without them: —

The *Instrumental* is generally indicated by *-pèn* (*āpèn, ēpèn*) or *-pènsī*, as *āphèk-ēpèn*, with husks; *Tèntòn-ingchin-āni-pèn kekòk*, tied by Tenton with an iron chain.

The *Dative* takes *āphàn*, to or for (frequent after verbs of saying and asking), which is also occasionally used for the accusative. The sign of the Dative of Purpose is *āpòt*, for, for the sake of: *pī-āpòt*, what for, why? *kopī-āpòtsī*, id.; *āphàn* is also used in this sense in the phrase *jirpō-ātum-pèn ning-āròng chipījī-āphàn*, with my friends in order to make merry.

[3] It may be noted that ī-, the pronoun of the first person plural, is sometimes used in the same way as this prefixed ā-. Thus, ī-*mu*, a younger brother or our younger brother. The pronoun of the first person is used similarly in other Nāgā languages. Hence, in some cases, ē-, also, probably, originally represents the first person, and not like ā-, the third. — G. A. G.

The *Ablative* is formed with *-pèn* (*āpèn*) or *pènsī*: *hēlōving-do-àk-pèn*, from afar off; *nòn-pèn*, from now; *dàk-pèn*, from here. *Āperā* (Assamese *parā*) is also used.

The *Locative* is formed with *-sī*: *hèm-sī*, in the house; *ādèt-sī*, in the country. We also have *ārlō*, in, inside, under. *Lē* (properly the conjunctive participle of *lē*, to arrive) is often used as a locative postposition, for at, in.

Other common postpositions are, —

āthàk, upon, on.
àngsòng, above, upon, over.
ārum, below.
ābēr, below.
ālòng, together with (*lòng* = place).
ādung, *ādun*, beside, close to.
ādàk, between.
āng-bòng, in the middle of.
āphi, after.

ADJECTIVES are regularly formed by prefixing *ke-*, *kā-*, or *ki-* to the root, and do not change for gender, number, or case. Thus, *mē*, being good; *kemē*, good: *hēlō*, distance; *kāhēlō*, far off: *dòk*, savour; *kedòk*, savoury: *hō*, bitterness; *kehō*, bitter: *lòk*, whiteness; *kelòk*, white: *ri*, wealth; *kiri*, rich. The form of the adjective is precisely the same as that of (1) the present participle of the verbal root used to form the present tense, and (2) the abstract or infinitive of that root, and the collocation of the sentence alone determines the meaning of the word used. When particles of comparison or other modifying elements are added to the adjective, the prefix (*ke*, etc.) is often omitted as unnecessary. Thus, —

kelòk, white; *lòk-hik*, whitish.
kemē, good; *mē-mū*, better; *mē-nē*, best.
keding, tall; *ding-mū*, taller.
but *kàngtui*, high; *kàngtui-mu*, higher; *kàngtui-nē*, highest.

The emphatic suffix *sī* sometimes gives the force of the superlative, as in *Ārnàm ākethē-sī*, God the Most High; *kemē-sī āpē*, the best garment.

Adjectives sometimes precede, but more commonly follow, the noun qualified (see below as to the relative clause): as already observed, they are usually constructed with the relative prefix *ā-* when joined to a noun.

Numerals. — The Cardinals are *isī*, one; *hinī*, two; *kethòm*, three; *philī*, four; *phòngō*, five; *theròk*, six; *theròksī*, seven; *nerkèp*, eight; *sirkèp*, nine; *kèp*, ten; for the tens from 11 to 19 *krē* takes the place of *kèp*, the unit being added: *krē-isī*, eleven; *krē-hinī*, twelve, etc. The word for seven is evidently six + one, while those for eight and nine appear to be ten *minus* two and ten *minus* one. A score is *ingkoi*; thirty *thòm-kèp*, and so on; but the higher numbers appear to be little used. A hundred is *phārō*. The numeral follows the noun. In composition *hinī* (except with *bāng*, person) is reduced to *nī*, and *kethòm* to *-thòm*, as *jō-nī jō-thòm*, two or three nights. *Philī* and *theròk* are often contracted to *phlī* and *thròk*.

Generic Prefixes are commonly used with numbers, as in many other Tibeto-Burman languages: —

with persons, *bàng*, as *ā-òng-mār kòrtē bàng-theròk-kē*, his uncles, the six brothers.
with animals, *jòn* (Assamese loan-word), as *nē kethèk-lòng chelòng jòn-philī*, I saw (got to see) four buffaloes;
with trees and things standing up, *ròng*, as *thèngpi ròng-theròk*, six trees.
with houses, *hum*, as *hèm hum-phòngō*, five houses.

with flat things, as a book, a leaf, a hoe, a knife, *pàk*, as *nokē pàk phlī*, four knives; *lō pàk-phòngō*, five leaves.

with globular things, as an egg, a gourd, a vessel, *pum*, as *vō-tī pum-nī*, two eggs.

with parts of the body, and also with rings, bangles and other ornaments, *hòng*, as *kèng ēhòng*, one leg; *roi hòng-nī*, two bangles.

Note that *one* of anything is not formed with *isi*, but, if of persons, with *inut*, if of other things, with *ē-* prefixed to the generic determinative; one cow = *chainòng ējòn*; one tree = *thèngpi ēròng*: one book = *puthi ēpàk*; one egg = *vō-ti ēpum*, etc. This *ē-* appears to be borrowed from Assamese, in which it is shortened from *ek*.

Ordinals appear to be formed by prefixing *bātāi* to the cardinal, as *bātāi kethòm*, third; *bātāi phili*, fourth.[4] Distributive numeral adverbs are formed by prefixing *pur* or *phòng* to the cardinal, as *purthòm* or *phòngthòm*, thrice.

PRONOUNS. — The **Personal Pronouns** are, —

1st Person, — *nē*, I; *nē-tum*, *nē-lī*, *nē-lī-tum*, we, excluding the person addressed; *ī-tum*, *ī-lī*, we, including the person addressed.

2nd Person, — *nàng*, thou; *nàng-tum*, *nàng-lī*, *nàng-lī-tum*, ye.

3rd Person, — { *lā*, he, she, it; *lā-tum*, they.
ālàng, he, she; *ālàng-lī*, respectful; *ālàng-ātum*, *ālàng-lī-tum*, they. }

These take the postpositions like nouns. The possessive prefixes have been already mentioned: they are *nē-*, my, our; *nàng-*, thy, your; *lā-*, *ā-*, his, her, its, their. The possessive prefix for the first person plural, *including the person addressed*, is *ē-* or *ī-*, as —

ē-chainòng	ē-haidi	ē-pāchithukoilàng,	āphu-thàk-tā	ē-rèng	ē-hu
our-cows	*our-cattle*	*us-he-has-caused-to-kill,*	*over-and-above-that*	*our-skin*	*our-hide*

ē-kāpesō.
us-he-has-caused-to-smart.

The **Demonstrative Pronouns** are *lābàngsō*, *bàngsō*, this, pl. *lābàngsō-ātum*, these; *hālā*, *hālābàngsō*, that, pl. *hālā-tum*, *hālābangsō-ātum*, those. The syllable *hā* connotes distance, as *dàk-si*, *lādàk*, here; *hādàk*, there; *hā āhèm chevoilō*, he returned home from a distance.

Relative Pronouns, properly speaking, do not exist. Their place is taken by descriptive adjectival phrases. Thus, 'those six brothers who had gone to sell cow's flesh' is —

lā	chainòng-ā-òk	kejòr-dàm-ātum	kòrtē	bàng-theròk.
those	*cow's-flesh*	*to-sell-going-(pl.)*	*brothers*	*persons-six.*

and 'those persons who had carried cow's flesh (to market) returned home,' is —

lā	chainòng-ā-òk	kevàn-ātum	hèm	chevoilō.
those	*cow's-flesh*	*carriers*	*home*	*returned.*

It is to be noticed that in these sentences the adjectival descriptive clause precedes the noun. So also in *Tèntòn ingchin-āni-pèn kekòk ārlèng*, the man whom Tenton had tied with an iron chain.

There is a word, *āling*, which is sometimes called a relative pronoun; it seems, however, to be rather a distributive. 'I don't believe what he says' = *lā keningjē āling-tā nē kroi-krē*, literally, he speaking whatever, I believe not; compare *mār āling-tā ādim-tòt-tòt-lē bi-nòn*, the goods, each thing in its place setting down, put, *i. e.*, put everything in its own place; *nàng kedo-āling*, *nē-tā dojī*, you staying wherever, I also will stay.

[4] The only examples of ordinals so formed are found in the Mikir catechism (1875). In the folk-tales clumsy periphrases are used which indicate that ordinals are not generally known. Thus, in mentioning five brothers one after another, we have *āklèng*, the eldest; *ādàkvàm*, the junior (between-coming); *ādàkvàm-ādun*, the next to the junior; *ādàkvàm-ādun-lēthòt*, the next to the next to the junior; and *ākibī*, the youngest.

The interrogative syllable used to form **Interrogative Pronouns** is *ko*: *komàt, komàt-sī*, who? *kopi*, what? *kopu, kopu-sī, kolopu, kolopu-sòn*, how? *ko-àn, ko-ànsī, kolo-àn*, how many? *konàt*, where? *konàmthu*, when?

The **Reflexive Pronoun** is *āmethàng*, self, own; but a more usual mode of indicating that the action affects oneself is to prefix the particle *che* (*chi, ching, chèng*, and rarely *cho*) to the verbal root. Thus, *lā hèm che-voi-lō*, he returned home (*i. e.*, to his *own* house); *ā-òngmār-ātum che-pu-lō*, his uncles said *to one another*; *che-hàng-jō*, they asked for themselves. Examples will be found in abundance in the specimens.

VERBS. — The Mikir verb indicates time, present, past, and future, by means of particles prefixed or suffixed to the root. The verb does not vary for gender, number[5] or person. There is no separate verb substantive, though there are several ways of indicating existence, as *do*, stay, abide; *plàng*, become; *làng*, exist, continue; *lē*, arrive, happen, etc. Great use is made of adjectival or participial forms, and, in narration, of the conjunctive participle. Compound roots are very extensively used, the principal verb being put first, then the modifying supplements, and then the time-index.

The **Simple,** or **Indeterminate, Present** is expressed by the participle with *ke-*(*kā-*) without any suffix, as *konàtsī nàng kedo*, where do you live? *vō kàngjār*, the bird flies; *sārbūrā thi-lòt-sī nē kāchiru*, the old man having died, I am weeping; *nē-phu kesō-kòn*, my head is aching badly. This tense is, as in other languages, often used historically for the past.

The **Definite, or Determinate, Present** is expressed by the same participle with *-lō* added; *lā kopi kànghoi-lō*, what is he doing (now)?

The **Habitual Present,** including the Past, is expessed by the verbal root with *-lō*, as *vō-ātum-kē nē-phu-āthàk ingjār-lō*, the (*kē*) birds fly above our heads.

The **Simple,** or **Narrative, Past** is formed by the verbal root with *-lō* or *-dèt*, as *lā pu-lō* or *pu-dèt*, he said; *nē-phu sō-dèt*, my head was aching; *lā ke-ri āphi-sī lòng-lō*, he, after searching, found it. Sometimes *-dèt* and *-lō* are used together: *lā nē ingtòn-dèt-lō*, he abused me. *Dèt* appears to be a particle (perhaps once a verb, but not now used separately) indicating completeness, whether continuing in the present or not, and so may be used for the present when the state indicated by the verb is one that began in the past and still endures, *e. g.*, 'why are you afraid?' may be expressed by *kopi āpòtsī nàng kāphērē*, or *kopi āpòtsī nàng phērē-dèt?*

The **Complete Past** is indicated by the root with *-tàng-lō* (*tàng* is a verb meaning to finish), as *lā-āpòtsī nē dàm-tàng-lō*, I went, or *had gone*, on his account; *tēlòng lònglē phō-tàng-lō*, the boat *has* touched ground.

There are besides a great number of other particles indicating past time, used with particular verbs. Thus with the various words meaning 'to fall' the following are used: *hā-lā che-koi-bup*, he fell down; *hèm ru-bup*, the house collapsed (= *ru-tàng-lō*); *lòng-chòng klī-bup*, the upright memorial stone fell down; *lòng-pàk klō-buk* (or *klō-tàng-lō*), the flat memorial stone fell down; *thèngpi-àngsòng-pèn nàng-klō-buk*, he fell down from the top of the tree. All these particles denote abruptness.

A **Periphrastic Past,** with the root followed by *inghoi-lō* (did), must be noticed. This is probably borrowed from Assamese; *e. g., hijai-ēhur ējai āhèn chō-klip-inghoi-lō*, the jackal-pack the whole of the arums ate up completely (*klip*); *sārpī inghàp ingkīr-dun-hèt-inghoi-lō*, the old woman having shut the door made it fast.

Here should be noticed the prefix *nàng*, used (as the specimens show) with great frequency in narrative. It has the effect of *fixing the occurrence to a known-place.* Thus, *phàk lādàksī nàng-thī-lòt: methàn nàng-chō-dèt*, the pig died here: the dog has eaten it up, — in a known place; — but *methàn pòn-dèt* or *pòn-tàng-lō*, the dog has taken it away, — from a known place to

[5] There are particles which indicate plurality where necessary, of which *jō* is that most often used.

a place unknown. It seems very probable that the word is originally the pronoun of the second person, and that it refers to the knowledge of the person to whom the tale is related = 'as you know' or 'as you see.'

The **Future** is represented in two ways only: (1) by *-pō* added to the root, to indicate an action beginning now and continued in the future, as *nē-tum nònkē lābùngsō ākàm āpòtsī pu-pō*, we will talk about this affair *now* (*nònkē*); (2) by *-jī* added to the root, for an action which commences later on, *e. g.*, *bādu ārlèng-tā thī-jī*, all men will die (*i. e.*, at some future time).

As *-pō* includes the present in the case of continuing action, it may also be (and often is) used in a present sense: *-jī* is restricted to future time.

A compound future may be formed by adding to the root with *-jī* the termination *dòkdòk-lō; lā thī-jī dòkdòk-lō*, he is just about to die; *àn ìk-jī dòkdòk-lō*, the rice is nearly all done; *àn-chō-jī dòkdòk-lō*, it is near breakfast time (*i. e.*, rice-eating); *lē-jī dòkdòk-lō*, we have almost arrived; *dàm-jī dòkdòk-lō*, he is about to go. A doubtful future may be expressed by *-jī* added to the present participle, as *konàt chainòng-ā-òk-sī dàksī kedo-jī*, where should cow's flesh be here; *chainòng kenàm-jī*, I want to buy a bullock.

From the above it will be seen that there is much indefiniteness in the indications of time afforded by the Mikir verb: except *-tàng* for the past complete, and *-jī* for the future, the other suffixes may, according to circumstances, be rendered by the past, present, or future; but the context generally removes all ambiguity.

Conditional phrases are formed by putting *-tē*, if, at the end of the first member, and the second generally in the future with *-jī*.

Conditional Future, — *nàng dàm-tē, nàng lā thèk-dàm-jī*, if you go you will see him; *nàng nē pu-tē, nē klèm-jī*, if you tell me, I will do it.

The **Conditional Past** inserts *āsòn* (like, supposing that) before *-tē*; *dohòn do-āsòn-tē, nē lā nàm-jī*, if I had money, I would buy it.

The **Conditional Pluperfect** modifies the second member thus, — *nàng dàm-āsòn-tē, nàng ā lònglòk-jī āpòtlō*, had you gone, you would have got it; *nàng nē thàn āsòn-tē, nē lā klèm-tàng-lō*, if you had explained to me, I would have done it.

Other Conditional phrases:—

nàng dàm bòm-tē, làk mu-chòt-jī làng, the farther you go, the more you will be tired, (*bòm*, to continue; *làk*, to be weary; *mu-*, elative particle; *chòt*, constant affix to *mu-*; *làng*, verb meaning 'to continue' or 'exist').

nàng chòk-pèt-àn mu-chòt-tē, chiru-pèt-àn mu-chòt-pō, the more you beat him, the more he will cry (*chòk*, to beat; *pèt*, adverb expressing plurality; *àn*, particle of number or quantity; *chiru*, to weep).

Tē may be omitted where the sense is otherwise fixed: —

nàng dàm pàngthui òng, chung òng jī.
you go high more, cold more will-be, the higher you go, the colder it will grow.

nàng pu òng, nàng kroi-krē òng pō.
you speak more, you disobey more will, the more you tell him, the more he will disobey.

nàng dohòn pī-òng pī, pekòn òng pō.
you money giving-more give, waste more will, the more money you give him, the more he will throw away.

The **Imperative** is, for the second person, the bare root, or more usually the root strengthened by the addition of *noi, thā*, or *nòn*. Thus, *pī-noi*, give; *làng-thā*, see; *pī-nòn*, give. The form with *nòn* (meaning 'now') is the strongest form. The other two are of about equal value. The other persons are formed by the addition of *nàng* (a verb meaning 'to be necessary') to the future in *-pō* or present in *-lō*. 'Let us go' = *ītum dàm-pō-nàng*; 'let us go to the field and plough' = *rīt hai-bai dàm-lō-nàng*; or, by using the causative form of the verb, 'let him go' = *lā-kē pedàm-nòn.*

Participles. — The **Present Participle** has the form of the adjective, with the prefixed *ke-* (*ki-*) or *kā*, as *kedàm*, going; *kāchiru*, weeping.

The **Past Participle** is the root compounded with *tàng*: *dàm-tàng*, gone; *thèk-tàng*, having seen; *kāpàngtu-tàng*, fattened.

Perhaps the most used form of the verb, especially in narrative, is the **Conjunctive Participle**, either the bare root, or the root with *-sī*, as *hèm chevoi-sī thèk-lō*, having returned home, he saw. When the past is indicated, *dèt* is used, either with or without *-sī*, as *chō-dèt jun-dèt sārbūrā tòn-ārlo kaibòng pātu-joi-sī ī-lō*, having *finished* eating and drinking, the old man, having quietly hidden his club under a basket, lay down; *Tèntòn dohòn-ālàng-pòng lòng-sī, rīt dàmdē-dètsī, kàt-jui-lō*, Tenton, having got the bamboo-joint with the money, without returning to the field, ran away.

When the phrase in which the Conjunctive Participle occurs is terminated by an imperative, the suffix is not *-sī* but *-rā*. Thus, 'having eaten your rice, go' or 'eat your rice and go' is *àn chō-rā, dàm-nòn*; but 'having eaten his rice, he went' is *àn chō-dèt-sī, dàm-lō*. While *-sī* links together parts of a narrative, *-rā* links together a string of imperatives.

The **Infinitive** or **Verbal Noun** is identical in form with the Present Participle: *kum-kiròt tàngtē kekàn ārki nàng-ārju-lòng-lō*, he heard there (*nàng*) the sound of fiddle scraping (*kiròt*) and dancing (*kekàn*). All words beginning with *ke-* (*ki-*, *kā*) may therefore be regarded as (1) Adjectives; (2) Participles forming tenses of the verb; or (3) Verbal nouns; and it will be seen from the analysis of the specimens how clearly this at first sight strange allocation of forms can be made to express the required sense.

A Future Verbal Noun or **Gerund** can be formed by adding *-jī* to the verbal noun with *ke-*: *keklèm-jī*, to make (rejoicing is proper): this form generally occurs with a postposition; *ning aròng chipī-jī āphàn*, in order to make merry together.

The **Passive**, as in other languages of the same family, is unknown as a separate form. It may sometimes be expressed by a periphrasis, as 'I was beaten' = *nē kechòk èn-tàng*, lit., 'I received a beating'; but it is most frequently found in a participial form, *which is identical with the active participle*, and is in fact the same thing regarded from the other side. Thus 'bring the fatted calf and kill it here,' is *kāpàngtu-tàng āchainòng-āsō lāddk vàn-rā thu-nòn*: *kāpàngtu-tàng* is made up of the root *ingtu*, to be fat; *pā*, the causal prefix; *kā*, the participial prefix; and *tàng*, the suffix of completion: the word might mean 'having fattened,' and since in a transitive verb, which alone can form a passive, there are always a subject and an object, it is evident that the verb may be regarded as active from the point of view of the subject, and passive from that of the object. In such a phrase, moreover, the participle (as, in relative phrases, the adjectival clause) *comes first*, and thus calls attention to the action upon the following patient; while in an active phrase the agent comes first and the participle or noun of action after it. In the same way, the phrase 'he was lost, and is found again' is rendered *ingbō-dèt-tā, lòng-thu-lòk-lō*: this might equally well (since no pronoun is expressed) be rendered actively 'I had lost him, now I have found him again.' Thus the absence of a formal passive, in a language required to express so simple a stage of thought, is not found to be an inconvenience.

The **Negative Verb** is a very interesting and remarkable feature of the language. A separate negative root, formed by prefixing or suffixing a negative particle and conjugated in the same way

as the positive, is indeed a common property of Tibeto-Burman speech ; but in Mikir this secondary root is formed in a peculiar manner. The syllable *-ē* is added to the primitive, as *un*, can ; *un-ē*, cannot, is unable. But when the root begins with a consonant or a nexus of consonants, these are repeated before the added syllable: *thèk*, see; *thèk-thē*, see not: *dàm*, go ; *dàm-dē*, go not: *kroi*, believe: *kroi-krē*, disbelieve, disobey: *mèk-pràng*, awake (eye-open) ; *mèk-pràng-prē*, not awake. When the verb is of two or more syllables, the last is chosen for reduplication : as *inghoi*, do; *inghoi-hē*, not do: *ingjinsō*, show mercy; *ingjinsō-sē*, not show mercy: *chini* (Assamese loan-word), recognise ; *chini-nē*, not recognise.

The secondary root thus obtained is conjugated just like the positive root, except that the time-index is more often dropped as unnecessary, owing to the context showing what the time relation is.

In the Imperative, the reduplication is not used ; the particle *-ri* is added to the positive root : *thèk-nòn*, see; *thèk-ri* or *thèk-ri-nòn*, see not.

It may be added that this method of forming the negative by reduplication is not peculiar to verbal forms; adjectives are also negatived in the same way: *kesō*, in pain, sick; *sō-sē*, not sick, well: *kàngjinsō*, merciful; *kàngjinsō-sē*, merciless: but, as there is no distinction between an adjective and a verbal or participial form, this is not remarkable.[6]

Besides this organic negative, there is a periphrastic negative formed by adding the word *āvē*, is not: *Ārnàm ābàng āvē, kechèng āvē, kāpetàng āvē*, God has no body, no beginning, no end (*lit.*, God his-body is not, beginning is not, end is not). The *ā-* in *āvē* is the usual *ā-* of relation and may be dropped; *ālàm-āvē*, without a word; *làm-vē*, wordless, dumb. *Ke-* may be prefixed, yielding *kāvē*, used as an adjectival negative: *ākhàt-kāvē ārlosō-ātum*, shameless women ; *kedo-kāvē*, literally 'being-not-being,' is a common expression for 'all'; — Italian *tutti quanti*.

Interrogative sentences are formed (when not containing an interrogative word formed with *ko-*) by adding *mā* at the end: 'are you planting the arums uncooked?' = *nàngtum hèn ākevēi ke-ē mā*; 'is it true?' = *sākhit-mā*; 'having a bullock already, why should I buy one?' *chainòng do-kòk-lē, kenàm-jī mā.*

Causal Verb. — This is formed by prefixing the syllable *pe-* (*pī-*, *pā-*), which is probably the root *pī*, meaning 'give.' Thus, *chō*, eat; *pechō*, cause to eat, feed: *tàng*, finish : *petàng*, cause to finish, end: *ingrum*, be gathered together; *pàngrum*, collect: *vēr-dèt*, be lost; *pī-vēr-dèt*, destroy. This syllable takes precedence of *che* in reflexive verbs ; e.g., *ē-chainòng ē-pā-chi-thu-koi-làng*, our cows he has caused us to slaughter all. Here *ē-* is the first person plural pronoun including the addressee ; *pā-*, the causal prefix ; *chi*, the reflexive particle, indicating that the cows slaughtered were their own ; *thu*, the verb 'to cut,' 'kill'; *koi*, a particle indicating completeness, all (*chō-koi*, to eat up) ; *làng*, the tense-suffix.

Inceptives are formed with the verb *chèng*, to begin, used with the infinitive: *āròng kā-chi-pī chèng-lō*, they began to make merry; or with the future participle or gerund in *-jī*, with the locative particle *-sī* added, as *keduk-jī-sī chèng-lō*, he began to be in want.

Compound Verbs meet us at every step in Mikir. Roots are heaped together, and the compound is closed by the tense-suffix. Ordinarily the *first* root determines the meaning of the compound, the rest being adverbial supplements of modifying force ; *chiru-pī-lèm-lō*, pretended to weep (*chiru*, weep ; *lèm*, seem, appear ; *pī-lèm*, cause to seem, pretend) ; *ke-phlòng-dàm ābàng*, a person who

[6] In the Kuki-Chin language called Kolrēn, there seems to be optionally a somewhat similar reduplication of the verb before the negative particle. Thus, we find *na-pē-pēk-mao-yai*, did not give. Here *na*, perhaps, corresponds to the Mikir defining prefix *nāng*; *pē* or *pēk* means 'to give'; *mao* is the negative particle ; and *yai* is the tense-suffix. So also, in Khami we have an Imperative *pepe-nōk*, do not give. In Khami the root is also *pe* or *pek*. In several Tibeto-Burman languages tense suffixes are freely dispensed with in the negative form. Good examples are Khyang and Burmese. — G. A. G.

will go and set fire (to the funeral pile) (*phlòng*, kindle; *dàm*, go); *kroi-dun-lō*, she consented (*kroi*, agree, obey; *dun*, go with another) ; *nē do-dun-jī mā*, will you be a companion to us? (*do*, remain; *dun*, be a companion to, go with) ; *hèm lē-dàm-rā jun-dàm-nòn*, go to the house and drink your fill (*lē*, arrive; *dàm*, go; *jun*, drink); *thàng-tā pu-hai-hē-dèt-sī ī-joi-lō*, not daring to say anything, he lay down quietly (*pu*, say; *hai*, dare; *hai-hē*, negative verb; *ī*, lie down; *joi*, adv., quietly); *nàng dàm-lòng-lē*, you cannot go (*dàm*, go; *lòng*, get, obtain; *lòng-lē*, negative verb); *ārju-lòng-lō*, he chanced to hear (*ārju*, hear; *lòng*, get); *dàm-jui-lō*, he went away (*dàm*, go; *jui*, run away). Some verbs take the suffix *lòt* before the suffix of past time, amongst which may be mentioned *thī*, die; *ī*, lie down; and *jàng*, close (the eyes). As an example we may quote *thī-tàng-lòt-lē*, died.

ADVERBS. — These are, extremely numerous, and are, like subsidiary verbal roots, inserted between the principal verb and the tense-suffix; e.g., *thu*, again; *rèng-thu-èt-lō*, is alive again (*rèng*, live, takes *èt* before verbal suffixes); *lòng-thu-lòk-lō*, is found again (*lòng*, find, takes *lòk* before verbal suffixes): *pèt*, completely; *ē-pèt-lō*, he planted completely (*ē*, plant); *nàng-lut-pèt-lō*, all are entered in, they have gone in completely (*nàng*, defining prefix, — see above; *lut*, enter); *klip* and *koi*, also meaning 'completely,' used with *chō*, eat, as in *chō-klip-lō*, *chō-koi-lō*, he ate up; *seràk*, quickly; *vàn-seràk-lō*, he brought quickly.

Here may be mentioned the way of forming **Diminutives** and **Augmentatives**. For the former, add *sō*, small, to the noun; *làng*, water; *làng-roi*, river; *làng-roi-sō*, a brook: *hèm*, a house; *hèm-sō*, a hut: (*ār*)*lòng*, stone; *lōng-sō*, a small stone, a whetstone: *ālòm*, time, interval; *ālòm-sō*, a short time. On the other hand, the syllable *pī* added to a noun magnifies it: *thèng*, wood, firewood; *thèng-pī*, a tree: *làng*, water; *làng-pī*, the great water, the sea: *tovār*, a path; *tovār-pī*, a highway, a broad road; *to-vār-sō*, a foot-path.

(To be continued.)

THE LEGEND OF KUNJARAKARNA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH OF PROFESSOR KERN

BY MISS L. A. THOMAS.

[THE **Legend of Kuñjarakarṇa** has been rendered accessible to the public by Professor H. Kern, who has printed the text from an Old Javanese MS. of the last half of the 14th century, belonging to the University Library of Leiden, and has prefixed a full discussion of the age and sources of the story and the peculiarities of the MS., together with a rendering in Dutch. Professor Kern's work appeared in the *Transactions of the Academy of Amsterdam, Literary Section, New Series, Vol. III., No. 3 of 1901.* The present translation has been made, with Professor Kern's kind consent, from his Dutch version, and is the work of my sister, though I have examined the whole and added the rendering of one passage. It is hoped that the story may prove interesting to readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, both as a highly peculiar production of the Mahâyâna Buddhism of Java and as a charming example of 'Vision' literature in general. For a further account of it, the reader will turn to Professor Kern's above-mentioned original. It will be observed that some of the proper names, etc., show, in their spelling, traces of their sojourn in Java. — F. W. THOMAS.]

AFTER **Bhaṭâra** had proclaimed **the Sacred Law** in the **Bôdhichitta Vihâra**, all the gods, namely, Akshôbhya, Ratnasaṁbhava, Amitâbha, Amôghasiddhi, Lôkêśvara, and Vajrapâṇi, joined in worshipping the Lord **Srî-Vairôchana**, preceded by the rulers of the four corners of the earth, namely, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera, and Vaiśravaṇa. These, all together, worshipped the Lord **Srî-Vairôchana**. After he had preached **the Sacred Law** to all the gods, they took leave in order to return each to his own kingdom. Then they went away.

Now there was a certain Yaksha, called **Kuñjarakarṇa**, who practised asceticism on the slopes of the holy mountain **Mahâmêru** at the North, with all the steadfastness of his soul. But he was

in doubt how he should be born again, whether as man or not as man, as god or not as god. That was the reason why he practised asceticism; he wished, in his future incarnation, to stand higher in the order of living beings. Hearing that **Vairôchana** was preaching the Law to all the gods, he departed to do homage to him, as he desired to hear the teaching of the Lord. This, then, was his plan.

Hey! Presto! Begone! Without lingering on the way he came to **Bôdhichitta**, the holy mansion of **Vairôchana**. Straightway he did homage to the Lord. After he had rendered homage he uplifted his folded hands reverently, saying:—"O gracious Lord! Have pity upon your son, O Master! Instruct me in **the Sacred Law**, as I am in doubt concerning my new birth and the requital (of good and bad) to the children of men; for I see that, of the people on the earth, some are lords, others slaves. What is the cause that it is so? for they are, alike, the work of **Bhaṭâra**. What may be the reason of this? I ask you for enlightenment concerning this; teach me, O Master! with regard to this, and how my defilements may be removed. Instruct me in **the Sacred Law**."

"O my son, **Kuñjarakarṇa**, this is very good of you that you desire to know **the Sacred Law**, and that you make free to put a question about the requital to the children of men. Because one sees that there are men who, however they are made acquainted with the means of expelling the defilements from their bodies, nevertheless do not enquire after the import of **the Sacred Law**, because they wish to enjoy themselves. And what enjoyment? Eating and drinking, the possession of gold and slaves, and the means of bedecking themselves. This is enjoyment according to their view. You, my son, are not of their opinion, and you enquire about **the Sacred Law**. Now I will instruct you forthwith in **the Sacred Law**, so that you may learn to know it fully, and that your vision may be cleared, and you may rightly understand the requital to the children of men, and why now, upon the earth, some are lords, others slaves, both of them everywhere. But you must first go into **the kingdom of Yama**, where you shall see all the wicked. Thereof must you first obtain knowledge. When you return thence, I will instruct you in **the Sacred Law**. Good! Then go first to the lower world and ask **Yamâdhipati** the reason why the evil-doers experience the five states of worldly suffering. Let him explain that to you."

"As you command, Lord! I will go, Master!" Presto! Begone! Thanks to his nature and skill as a Yaksha, he plunged into the ocean and opened the port, the entrance to **Yama's kingdom**. The divinities were amazed at the appearance of **Kuñjarakarṇa**, which caused north and south, west and east, to be agitated. When the atmosphere had become calm, the earth quaked as if it would burst; the tops of Mahâmêru shook, the mountains swayed, the waters of the sea were stirred; thunderbolts, borne by the storm, whizzed; hurricane and whirlwind; mirage and rainbow shot to and fro, through the air, flickering unceasingly. Then, suddenly, the portal of the ocean, through which **Kuñjarakarṇa** had passed, was closed, at which **Kuñjarakarṇa** was very much dismayed and troubled at heart.

With rapid flight in the path of the wind, **Kuñjarakarṇa** journeyed on. He came to a crossway where the ways met; one north, another southwards; another east, and another westwards. The one to the east led to the divine dwelling-place of **Bhaṭâra-Îśvara**, the blessed place of the monks who have acquired supernatural power by asceticism; the road to the north leads to the dwelling-place of **Bhaṭâra-Vishṇu**; this is the heaven of heroes in battle. The one to the west leads to **Buddhapada**; this is the dwelling-place of the god **Mahâdeva**, the paradise of those who have been heroes in generosity and have done pious works upon the earth. The one to the south leads to **Yama's kingdom**; that is the abode of **Bhaṭâra-Yamâdhipati**, where go all who have wrought evil.

At the crossway, where the roads met, was **Dvarakala**, who watches the entrance to heaven and to Yama's kingdom. **Dvarakala** shows the way thither; and so **Kuñjarakarṇa** came upon

him. When **Dvarakala** saw **Kuñjarakarṇa**, he accosted him, saying:—"Hey, brother! who are you, who are come here to the crossways! What is your business in coming here?" So spake **Dvarakala**.

Thereupon **Kuñjarakarṇa** answered, saying:—"I am a Yaksha, **Kuñjarakarṇa** by name, who practise self-mortification at the north-east side of **Mahâmêru**. The cause of my coming here is a command of the Lord **Vairôchana**; he commanded me to go to **Yama's kingdom**, and now I ask you the way there."

Then answered **Dvarakala**:—"Ah so! Oh, dear brother **Kuñjarakarṇa**, old man, I count myself right fortunate, my dear fellow, that you have come here. Well! You ask the way to **Yama's kingdom**. Now, follow that road there to the south. Hasten a little, dear brother, for you run a risk of being overtaken by the darkness; now the danger consists in darkness. Therefore those who celebrate a funeral on earth take lamps with them to serve as a light for the souls when they come into the darkness. If you wish to form an idea of the opacity of this darkness when it is come, well, it lasts seven days before it vanishes."

"What a long time it lasts, elder brother **Dvarakala**! So be it. I ask leave to go hence."

"Good, brother! hasten quickly upon your way, dear brother!"

Thereupon, **Kuñjarakarṇa** went his way. Presto! Begone! Without lingering on the road he came to **Bhûmipattana**. There was a *Srijyoti*, which always gave light over a *sêndriya* space; by *sêndriya* is meant "as far as the sight extends." There **Kuñjarakarṇa** found a gate whose folds were copper, its lock silver, and the key gold; the posts were iron; the entrance was a path a fathom and a *koh* wide. The courtyard was besmeared with dung, manure of a heifer; it was planted with red *Andongs*, *Kayu Mas*, gorgeous in full bloom and impregnated with the vapours of incense, the odour of which is here diffused like a sweet-smelling perfume. It was strewn with scattered flowers, and adorned with garlands of honour. This was the reason why the wicked raced to get there, thinking it was the way to heaven.

Kuñjarakarṇa went further. Quickly! Gone! He came to the field of **Prêtabhavana**, which extends one *yôjana*. He stood still at the boundary of the field **Agnikorova** (Agnitoraṇa?). The boundary was marked off by fire in the middle of **Bhûmipattana**. There were the sword-trees, trees with swords for leaves; the buds thereof were lancets, and the thorns all kinds of weapons. The thickness thereof was that of a *pinang*-tree, and the height ten fathoms. The shadow stretches over 10 *lakshas* above sword-like grass; the undergrowth was formed of lancets and knives. That is the place where the wicked undergo the five states of mortal suffering, while they are hunted and tormented by the servants of Yama. What, then, were the punishments which **Kuñjarakarṇa** saw there? Some of them had their skulls hewn off with an axe; others were chained (or martyred); some were cut open; after that they were beaten with iron clubs and their skulls were split open so that their brains fell out; afterwards, their feet were crushed, by hundreds, all together, all utterly shattered; then they were stabbed with iron pikes as thick as a *pinang*-tree and ten fathoms long, by hundreds all together. To what can one compare them? They were like grasshoppers which have been pierced. They wept and sobbed. Some with lamentations called upon their father and mother, others upon wife and children, for help. There were, moreover, certain Yaksha-birds, called *Sisantana* (*Asipattra?*), malevolent, with knives for wings and swords for claws,—claws as sharp as Indra's weapon. These came flying from the sword-trees and fell upon the evil ones, by hundreds all together, while they were bitten by Yaksha-hounds with gigantic heads, by thousands all together. Some had their necks bitten through; the stomachs of others were torn open at their fall from the sword-trees, so that their bowels hung out. But those who still lived were pursued and driven out by dogs with Yaksha-faces; these were servants of **Yamâdhipati**. There were also Agnimukha-(fire-mouth)-Yakshas, with fiery hands and feet. These pursued the evil ones, in compact troops of thousands all together. The bodies were smitten by a sway of the wings;

those bodies which were burned gnashed their teeth; their eyeballs started out; they writhed and squirmed, groaning, neither dead nor living, panting and gasping for breath, and lying in agony upon the rods. Those who still lived raced their hardest, taking hold of each other by the shoulder, their bodies being exhausted by the heat of the Agnimukhas. All who were pursued by the servants of Yama were taken and laid upon iron pikes which were as thick as an arm, and a fathom and a *koh* long. In convulsions, they were pierced from chine to crown. Others ran away and sought refuge at the sword-trees, by thousands all together in a crowd. When they were come under the trees, they thought these would give them protection. Then the Yaksha-birds shook the trees, which turned entirely to prickles. All those who sought refuge were cut to pieces. What did they look like? Some had their skulls split, their ribs broken, their stomachs torn open; their bowels were falling out, and their arms were cut off. They were not dead, nor yet living, while undergoing the five states of worldly suffering. Moreover, still another disillusionment was prepared for them: some water babbled with a murmur like the water of a little lake. "That will be very delicious to drink," they thought; so they went up to it in great crowds. When they came there, they trod on the sharp grass; their feet were pierced, and the blood gushed out. They all fell as if they had been struck with all kinds of weapons. Then the birds with Yaksha-faces came; they shook the sword-trees so that the leaves all fell. With all the weapons stuck in them, the wicked men looked like the prickles of a hedgehog. Thereupon, their bodies were racked by the *Agnimukhas* with a jerk so that they were shrivelled and their brains gushed out. They were neither dead nor living. They writhed and sighed, being continually tortured. Thus did **Kuñjarakarṇa** behold the evil ones. At the sight, **Kuñjarakarṇa** felt as if his heart were torn in pieces; aghast, he saw the punishment of the evil ones, which seemed to him to be endless.

Kuñjarakarṇa stood still. When he turned his glance towards the south, he caught sight of the **Saṅghâta-parvatas**, two mountains of iron, which, continually moving, closed against each other. There were the evil ones chastised and spurred to go through the yawning opening in the mountains of iron, which turned round like a windmill, resembling *Emprit* birds in flight. The servants of Yama were not even yet satisfied. So the evil ones were tortured anew and struck with iron clubs as thick as a *pinang*-tree. Others were pierced with iron spears, ten fathoms long, by hundreds all together. What did they look like? Like strung locusts. In great haste they sought a means of escape, reverently folded their hands, and uttered a loud cry, saying sorrowfully:—"Ah, great Masters, Servants of Yama! have pity upon me; let me live and be born again upon the earth; teach me what is proper and what is improper, so that I may forsake sin, be an obedient servant of the Paṇḍitas and perform works of charity; now, on the contrary, I reap the fruits of wickedness."

That was indeed a cry; an outburst of sorrow and woe!—"The evil that you have done is altogether too base, is it not? Of that you can be assured in your minds. How can I permit you to be born again? The whole world would go to nought, as also **the Sacred Law**, the nature of things, the ordinance of time, the abandonment of the world, piety, gentleness, all that is right. Wherefore, then, should you be born again hereafter? The world would certainly be through you as it were set in fire and flames in consequence of your former impiety. Also, you were covetous and have repeatedly killed innocent men. Now the evil that you have done is become an iron spear, which torments your bodies as a payment for the wickedness of which you have made yourselves guilty. All that is your merited reward, you wicked ones!"

Suddenly the sound of stabbing was heard; bang! bang; they are beaten unceasingly with an iron club; suddenly, crash! crash, everywhere could one see the points sticking out. So the servants of Yama went to work while they punished all the evil ones, who shrieked in pain. Afterwards they were hung on high, and under them fire was kindled. When **Kuñjarakarṇa** espied the evil ones, he stood still, feeling great sorrow at the sight of the evil-doers, who were being chastised by the servants of Yama. **Kuñjarakarṇa** felt a griping pain at his heart: it was as if the members of his body were being cut in pieces. It was as if he imploringly raised his hands to

Bhaṭâra-Vâirôchana, with the words: — "*Aho, namô Bhaṭâra! Namah Sivâya.*" "Boundless is the mercy of the Lord toward me, in that he commanded me to go to **Yama's kingdom** to see what is prepared for all evil-doers. Now, only, do I understand what was his aim."

So spake **Kuñjarakarṇa.** Then he praised the Lord and went away to the **abode of Bhaṭâra-Yamâdhipati.** Hey! Presto! Gone! He came to **the abode of Yamâdhipati.** Because it was not unknown to Yama who **Kuñjarakarṇa** was, he welcomed him:—"Oh, how fortunate I am that you have come! Well, my dear younger brother, what is the cause of your coming here? It is, indeed, seldom that you come; what is your object, and your desire?"

"Oh, my elder brother, **Yamâdhipati!** my object in coming here is the result of a command from His Holiness **Bhaṭâra-Vairôchana,** and I seek to be enlightened by you, as I am in doubt how I shall be born: as man, or not as man; as divinity, or not as divinity, I know not what recompense I have to expect at my rebirth. So I asked for enlightenment, and **the Lord Vairôchana** said to me:—'It is excellent on your part to ask for enlightenment concerning **the 'Sacred Law.** Therefore I will teach you, so that you may learn to know **the Sacred Law** fully 'and that your vision may be made clear. But first go to Yama's kingdom, where you will see all 'those who undergo the five states of mortal pain. When you have returned from Yama's kingdom, 'I will instruct you in the Law.'—So spake the Lord **Vairôchana** to me. Have pity upon me, O elder brother **Yamâdhipati.** Explain to me the meaning of it. And then I should like to ask you still another thing, O elder brother **Yamâdhipati.** What road is that which one sees from here? I have great fear of it in my heart because it is closed by fire; towards the south thereof are two mountains of iron, which continually move and strike against each other. There are the evil-doers squeezed flat by the mountains of iron; their skulls are broken so that their brains fall out; their tongues hang out of their mouths; their eye-balls start out. They are not dead, and yet not living, but are perpetually tortured. What is it that causes such things? Is it the universal ordinance of God? Tell me that, O elder brother **Yamâdhipati.**"

"Just so, **Kuñjarakarṇa.** I will instruct you, dear brother; listen well! The road where you see the glow of fire leads to **Adhobhûmipattana;** and what you see protruding from the centre of it is the sword-tree jungle; and the black mass you see rising at the southern boundary is the so-called **Parvatasaṅghâta,** mountains of iron, which strike against each other. Thither the evil-doers are pursued by my servants, as punishment for their former *Dushkṛiti,* the evil they have done upon the earth. This adheres to the soul and demands fruition. Such is the *Karma.* The good and the evil-deeds shall both receive a proportionate reward, being pleasure or pain, which one experiences in the body. Into **Bhûmipattana** men are consigned by their evil deeds. How great, then, should be the number of evil-doers whom you saw there anon? A thousand? Two thousand? Incalculable is their number. **Bhûmipattana** is full of them. How broad is the way which you followed just now? A fathom and a *koh* wide. This also is crammed with evil-doers. But yonder way, which is but three spans broad and overgrown with grass and weeds, how comes it so? Because those who do good deeds are so few in number. All men upon the earth do wrong, struggling for precedence. Therefore, **Kuñjarakarṇa,** do not fail zealously to practise self-mortification."

"Ah, elder brother **Yamâdhipati!** Yes, so it is. The evil deeds in their former life are the cause of it. What is really the reason that they wish to live again? For sure they have died formerly on the earth; and yet the dead, as many as have come to Yama's kingdom, return to the flesh."

"Ah, dear brother **Kuñjarakarṇa,** old man! You are very ignorant, brother! That comes about in the following way; listen carefully. You must know then; there are five *Âtmans* in the body, namely, *Âtman, Parâtman, Nirâtman, Ântarâtman, Chêtanâtman.* That is the number of souls in the body. Consciousness (*Chêtana*) is that which rouses a desire to live and unites those other four

Âtmans into one: these become then a composite whole and this assumes a bodily form. It is the evil deeds of a former state that serve as a guide to the soul and are the cause that it goes to Yama's kingdom. But the Higher Power it is which develops the body and makes the five *Âtmans,* namely, *Âtman, Parâtman, Nirâtman, Antarâtman, Chêtanâtman.* The '*Âtman*' is the sight; '*Nirâtman,*' the hearing; '*Antarâtman,*' the breath; '*Parâtman,*' the voice; '*Chêtanâtman,*' the consciousness; this gives unity to the whole, so that an individual with a soul arises. This last begets ideas and desires. He who has desires is subject to the allurements of the sensual world. He knows not how to seek a cure. Therefore he is perplexed: he wishes to enrich himself, to rob, to extort, to conjure, to poison, to kill innocent men, to eat and to drink. The wrong that he does is done under the influence of the *Chêtana*; for the consciousness follows its course uninterruptedly day and night. If now the man dies, he takes his evil deeds with him to Yama's kingdom, where he is punished by being beaten with iron clubs for the sake of his former *Dushkṛiti,* his evil deeds; these become iron spears and iron clubs, which remind him of his evil deeds. According to what he has done and brought upon himself, evil falls to his share; for his good deeds, good comes to him. For both are ready for him; the reward of his good and of his evil deeds. This it is which shows him the way in which he must go. 'Supreme power' is the power of willing and of not willing; for both bring about life. Life is subject to death; memory (and thought) is supplanted by forgetfulness (and inattention, omission); zeal is subject to wandering of the mind (absence). Therefore do not omit to guard carefully your words and your heart. Thus, brother **Kuñjarakarṇa,** practise asceticism. Be steadfast in your self-mortification; let your thoughts be governed; let not your thoughts be continually wandering hither and thither. That is what it is to practise asceticism. If once the thoughts are restrained, the mind must be refined. That is called refining (*i. e.,* purifying from the gross elements). The mind must be refined in the body as a means of banishing impurities for the future, so that one may not go to hell. Away with all self-seeking! Let the *rajas* (passion) and *tamas* (darkening of the mind and foul lusts) be killed by continence. Let foolish conceit and blindness be killed by circumspection. Now have I sufficiently enlightened you, brother **Kuñjarakarṇa.** Do your best and pay humble homage to the Lord Vairôchana; ask that the impurities which cleave to you may be annihilated, and, as fruit of your knowledge of **the Sacred Law,** the blemishes of your body may disappear." So spake **Bhaṭâra-Yamâdhipati.**

"Ah, elder brother **Yamâdhipati,** the words which you have spoken for my instruction have penetrated deep into my bones: I receive them with welcome. Still one thing more would I ask you, elder brother **Yamâdhipati!** It is said that you always cause men to be burned in hell-fire. But you have not always evil-doers with you. Now, indeed, I see the cauldron has been set up, wiped out and made ready. What does that mean?"

"Ah, brother **Kuñjarakarṇa,** that is the way in which I cook. As soon as they go into the cauldron in crowds, the fire which is extinguished must be lighted. They go one before the other into the cauldron, because they have formerly done wrong; they would not be warned by their elders and would not refrain from causing sorrow to others by adjuration, from bringing disturbance into the world, ill-treating their fellow-creatures, being irreverent towards their elders; nothing was held sacred by them. Therefore must they be cast into the cauldron. My business is merely to keep guard over the evil ones, at the command of Bhaṭâra, who has ordered it. Now, as regards the cauldron, the reason that it is set up, wiped out, and made ready is that a certain evil-doer will have to descend into the cauldron. His sins are innumerable; a hundred years long shall he be cooked in the cauldron. After he has been cooked in the cauldron, Yaksha-birds which have the face of Yakshas, will come to seize him and take him to the sword-trees and dash him against the sword-trees, whose thorns are *vajras,* a fathom and a *koh* long and as thick as a *pinang*-tree. The *vajras* are sharp as lancets. The Yakshamukhas bring fire there, which flames up brightly under him. His body is scorched; he is not dead and yet not living. A thousand years is he to be so tortured. He shall soon go into the cauldron; therefore is the cauldron made ready."

"Ah, elder brother **Yamâdhipati**! your explanation is perfectly clear; on hearing your words my heart is struck with pain; my desire to live is gone, now that I have heard your words, O elder brother **Yamâdhipati.** Whence is the evil-doer to come, O elder brother?"

"Ah, brother **Kuñjarakarṇa**! the evil man comes from heaven. Have you never heard, **Kuñjarakarṇa,** of a certain mighty Vidyâdhara, son of Indra, called **Pûrṇavijaya?** He is to come from Indra's heaven. Great is his guilt, especially great is his wickedness, he is shameless, arrogant, ravishes prohibited women, punishes innocent men, defies the elders, mocks the unhappy. He has been repeatedly warned to refrain from his misdeeds, but he was carried away by his former *Dushkṛiti,* his former evil conduct, which, after his death, will bring him to the cauldron of hell."

"Ah, what do you say, elder brother **Yamâdhipati?** Shall **Pûrṇavijaya** go into the cauldron?"

"Yes, dear brother, for his guilt is sore."

"Alas! Oh! I am astonished, elder brother **Yamâdhipati,** that **Pûrṇavijaya** should have so sinned. How is it to be explained? Indeed, he has dwelt so long in heaven and all the gods are subject unto him, also the Vidyâdharas and the Vidyâdharîs are subject to him. That is the reason that I am so amazed. I was jealous when I saw how he was bathed in pleasures, and now he must soon descend into the cauldron! Thereat am I much astonished. Besides, I am his brother in the Order. Therefore am I sorry for him. *Namô Bhaṭâra, Namaḥ Śivâya!* Hearty thanks! It is time for me to go and offer my humble respects to the Lord Vairôchana; I, also, should go into the cauldron maybe, if I showed no reverence to the Lord. May your favour continue towards me, O elder brother **Yamâdhipati,** and may you be my instructor in good."

"And now I will ask you one thing more. When such a wicked man endeavours to be born again, is it permitted to him, O elder brother **Yamâdhipati?**"

"Ah, brother **Kuñjarakarṇa,** old man! Yes, we allow him then to be born again upon the earth, but only when he has undergone the five states of worldly suffering; then is he born again upon the earth, namely, the skin, flesh, blood, and parts of the body; these are cut fine by us and mingled with flowers strewn upon the earth. Out of this come forth loathsome animals, such as there are: little snakes, earth-worms, *teteks,* leeches, *iris-pohs,* caterpillars, all that one holds in horror in the world. A thousand years he remains in this state. Then he dies and is born again as ant, dung-beetle, *kukudikan,* beetle, bee, *kubrem,* caterpillar, ant, and black-beetle. In this state he remains a hundred years. Then he is born again as a grasshopper, *wutang-walahan,* fen-mole, *ucit,* lobster, tree-snail, water-snail, everything of this kind that is edible; thus he comes into existence. In this state he remains a thousand years. Then he is born again as bird, fowl, goose, duck, all kinds of two-footed animals. In this condition he remains a hundred years. Then he is born again as a four-footed animal: civet-cat, ant-eater, squirrel, red squirrel (*jalarang*), mouse, hedgehog, dwarf-deer, roe-buck, wild boar, pole-cat, all kinds of four-footed animals. In this state he remains a hundred years. Then is it permitted to him to be born a human being, but a defective being, such as a hump-back, blind, deaf, hard-hearing (or leper?), dumb, dwarf, lunatic, dropsical, a hydrocele, a one-eyed man, one who has a cataract on his eye, — one who suffers from ophthalmia, — one with his ears and lips torn, or club-footed, — all kinds of deformed beings upon the earth. These are signs that he comes from Yama's kingdom and all this time he undergoes suffering. Then are they born again, naturally sound in body, as a scavenger, a watcher of the dead, a beggar, barren, impotent, a *luñja,* an unlucky wretch, an epileptic, an idiot, one who has an impediment in his speech, who has no sense of smell, who has a defect in his speech, any one who is unhealthy. These are the signs that one comes out of Yama's kingdom. That is what I have to say to you, dear brother **Kuñjarakarṇa.** Now return and make your humble reverence to **the Lord Vairôchana.** Implore him to instruct you in **the Sacred Law,** so that the

blemishes may disappear from your body. Take great pains to be born again as a human being; bridle yourself diligently and constantly, and strive to improve your position."

"Oh, elder brother **Yamâdhipati,** you are very kind to me. Yet I did not think that what the elders say is true: the fruit of the *Yemu* is like a *jadi* (?), the fruit of the tamarind is like a pruning-knife. He who does evil, reaps evil; he who does good, reaps good. So it is with the man who does not follow the teachings of the elders. As regards **Pûrṇavijaya,** I am convinced that he is burthened with sin, that he shall die speedily. He shall endure suffering; he shall become a leper, and men shall not understand what he says. I will follow your advice, and I offer you my humble thanks, O elder brother **Yamâdhipati,** for you have instructed me in what is right and have made **the Sacred Law** plain to me."

"So be it, brother **Kuñjarakarṇa**!"

So **Kuñjarakarṇa** offered his submission, did homage to Yama, made a reverent obeisance and asked for permission to go away. — "Oh, elder brother **Yamâdhipati**! where is the way to heaven? Show me the path."

"Oh, brother **Kuñjarakarṇa,** that road which goes to the north-east, follow that."

"Good, elder brother **Yamâdhipati**! I beg permission to go." This was granted to him and not refused.

Hey! Presto! Gone! **Kuñjarakarṇa** went away. He hastened through **Indra's heaven** with the intention of reaching the dwelling-place of **Pûrṇavijaya.** Without lingering on the way he came to **Pûrṇavijaya's** dwelling-place at midnight. Immediately he asked that the gate should be opened to him, and he knocked on the door, rat-a-tat-tat! — "Come, come, brother **Pûrṇavijaya**! I beg you to open the door to me at once."

Pûrṇavijaya was lying at that time, quietly sleeping with his well-beloved. **Kusumagandhavatî** heard him, and immediately gave the answer: — "Who is it who there asks to have the door opened at midnight?"

"Oh, younger sister, it is I here, my dear! My name is **Kuñjarakarṇa.** Tell **Pûrṇavijaya** to get up!"

"Oh, elder brother **Pûrṇavijaya,** rise up! — **Kuñjarakarṇa** has come!"

"Eh, what do you say, little mother? I was just now so fast asleep. **Kuñjarakarṇa**? Ah, so, little mother; then let him come in at once."

Kusumagandhavatî obeyed him and went. Instantly, in a moment she came to the door and opened it. Suddenly there was a creak and **Kuñjarakarṇa** came into the abode of **Pûrṇavijaya.**

"Oh, elder brother **Kuñjarakarṇa,** let me welcome you; how glad I am that you have come. Remain a little while, elder brother **Kuñjarakarṇa.** You so seldom come here."

"Oh, dear brother **Pûrṇavijaya,** I have been commanded by **Bhaṭâra-Vairôchana** to go to **Yama's kingdom.** When I had arrived there, I saw all the evil-doers. There was a cauldron, which was wiped out and made ready by **Yama**; and that was done, as he said, so that you might be cooked in it. For, in a week, said he, should you go into the cauldron. A thousand years long, said he, should you be cooked in the cauldron. After being cooked in the cauldron you should be dashed against the sword-trees and besides be plagued by the servants of **Yama**; you should be hung up and a fire kindled under you. That should last a thousand years. You should be tortured by the fire *Yakshamukha*, a fire with a gigantic top, which should singe you. After that, said he, the *Yakshamukha*-dogs, hounds with gigantic heads, should bite you; these belong to the army of Yamâdhipati. That was what **Yamâdhipati** told me; and I wished to tell you the same, **Pûrṇavijaya.** I ask for permission to go hence, in order that I may betake myself to my Lord and Master."

Thereupon, **Kuñjarakarṇa** stood up. Then **Pûrṇavijaya** clasped the feet of **Kuñjarakarṇa**, while he wept and besought him to have pity on him, saying:—"Oh, elder brother **Kuñjarakarṇa**, do me this favour, help me in my need, save me from Yama's kingdom. Incalculable is the number of sins which I must expiate, elder brother **Kuñjarakarṇa**!" Thus lamented **Pûrṇavijaya**.

"Oh brother **Pûrṇavijaya**, my friend! What can I possibly do for you? I know no means of destroying the blemishes of the body. What avails it that you fix your glance upon me? When I know a means of destroying the blemishes of the body, my present Yaksha-form will immediately disappear. But I will give you this advice: I will accompany you into the presence of **the Lord Vairôchana** to make your humble reverence to him and to pray him to be merciful to you so that the evil may depart from your body. Come on, make yourself ready, dear brother."

"Oh, brother, I should like to take leave of your younger sister (my wife), brother **Kuñjarakarṇa**."

"Very well, brother **Pûrṇavijaya**."

Pûrṇavijaya then took leave of **Kusumagandhavatî**:— "Oh, my younger sister **Kusumagandhavatî**, little mother! you stay here, dear! I go to **Bôdhichitta** to make my humble reverence to **Bhaṭâra-Vairôchana**, with my elder brother **Kuñjarakarṇa**."

Presto! Gone! **Pûrṇavijaya** went away with **Kuñjarakarṇa**. Without lingering on the way they came to **Bôdhichitta**, the sacred abode of **Bhaṭâra-Vairôchana**. At that time he was seated upon the jewelled lotus-throne, where he preached **the Sacred Law**.

Then said **Kuñjarakarṇa** to **Pûrṇavijaya**:—"Oh, brother **Pûrṇavijaya**! You must not pay your respectful homage to the Lord together with me, you shall make your lowly reverence to the Lord all in good time, when I have paid my homage; for, otherwise, it is to be feared that he will not trust you. But after I have paid my homage, you shall do so in your turn. Otherwise it is to be feared that the Lord will be evil-disposed towards you. Above all, do not act contrary to what I say to you. Clasp at once the feet of the Lord with earnestness. Come then, now go first to a place where you will be hidden."

"Oh brother, what have I to say?"

Presto! Gone! **Pûrṇavijaya** separated himself and remained at some distance.

Immediately **Kuñjarakarṇa** went to do homage to the Lord; he made a lowly reverence and then said:—"Oh Lord and Master! I bow down low before you. I, your son, am back from **Yama's kingdom**, Master. There have I seen an exceeding great number of evil-doers; all my desire to live is gone, even if I were born as a human being. And **Yamâdhipati** has duly enlightened me. May your loving favour continue towards me, O Lord! Teach me how the blemishes which cling to me may be removed from my body, Master! To wear a body has its trials. Clearly **Pûrṇavijaya** offers a proof of this; he drained all pleasures to the full; nevertheless, after his death he shall fall into the cauldron of hell. For a proof that he shall undergo pain it suffices that he will soon suffer leprosy (or an impediment in his speech). A hundred years long is he to be cooked in the cauldron. So said **Yamâdhipati**. This is the reason why I now pay my humble respects to you, Master: I should like to hear from you how such things can be helped and also how sin can be driven out of my body, Master."

"Oh my son **Kuñjarakarṇa**, old man! it is exceedingly well done that you ask me questions concerning **the Sacred Law**. You ask what is the origin of a human being. Listen carefully. Whence came you at the time when you were still in your father as plasm and when your mother was till a maid? Where were you? Where did you abide? In non-existence, was it not? At least,

you abode in the male; you were then externally like molten tin; *kâma* was your name in your father, *rati* was your name in your mother. Your father was joined to your mother. Then your name was *Coming Together*, you came to repose in the Mahâpadma, your mother's secret place. Then was your name *Si Rena* ('Mother'). Three months you lay in your mother's womb; then was your name *Si Lalaca*, and you bore the semblance of an imperfect egg. Seven days you remained in this state. Then came the five elements, following one after another: earth, water, fire (light), wind (air), æther. Each by itself: the æther forms the head; the earth forms the body; the water forms the blood; the wind forms the breath; the fire (light) forms the sight. All together contribute to the life. What the earth contributes is consciousness (spirit), which manifests itself in Will to Live, whence comes the body. The contribution of water is the *Nirâtman*; that of fire the *Parâtman*; that of wind the *Antarâtman*; that of æther the subtle (pure abstract) *Âtman*. Thus the *Âtmans* in the body are five in number. Now each operates by itself: what is called *Âtman*, is consciousness; what is called *Chêtanâtman*, is sight; what is called *Parâtman*, is hearing; what is called *Antarâtman*, is breath; what is called *Nirâtman*, is voice. The five *Âtmans* give rise to desire, which assumes a body, a *śarîra* in the mother's womb. Hence the body is called *śarîra*, because with their five they are the *śarîra* of the five elements. You became older, full ten months, the space of time during which you remained in your mother's womb. You were endowed with hands and feet, you moved and breathed. Then was your name *N. N.* You willed to come forth, then called they you *Si Gagat* (the breaker-out). Next your head maybe just appeared in view. Then you were named 'the Lotus, the brilliant.' You issued forth, wet with the blood of her that bore you, on the ground. Your name was then *Si Pulang* (the moist with blood). Then a blessing was uttered over you; the divine Bhuvanakôśa (Earthly Sphere) was the name of the *proverb*. After you had been washed and tended, your proverb was 'the divine Olive.' After you were smeared with fragrant essence and rubbed, the name of your proverb was *Sari Kuning* (yellow *Nagasari*). Next you were suckled by your mother and incurred a debt of thanks to her for mother's milk. Your father and mother undertook pious vows for your well-being. Threefold is the debt that you have to pay to your father and mother. You reached the stage when they can put something in the mouth to eat and wash you; you were in a position to know your father and mother. Then named they you *Si Tutur Menget* (possessed of recollection and memory) and your proverb was *Waju Kuning* (Yellow Coat). You were in a position to run; your name was *Si Âdikumâra* (First Youth); the name of your proverb *Saṅgraha*. You were shone upon by sun and moon, days and nights passed over you; you knew father and mother. Next came inclination and aversion, hypocrisy, blindness, envy, jealousy, pride, dislike, conceit, anger, failure in deference to elders. Ten is the number of the *daśa mala* (ten impurities) in the body, namely, corruption, filth, entrails, fæces, etc. Henceforth **Bhaṭâra** became the supreme god for you, my son. You became older and were married. Then they named you *Si Saṅgata* (the united), and the name of your proverb was 'Home Life.' Through wife and child you came into perplexity, which was the cause that you began to do wrong: to extort and claim other men's goods; to rob and to scoff. These are what men call 'evil practices.' That is the reason that the men whom you saw lately in **Yama's kingdom** loaded themselves with guilt, that they perpetrated acts of hypocrisy and blindness. Therefore were they cooked in the cauldron of hell. But they will be born again later and will come into being as something horrible, all kinds of animals for which men upon earth feel a horror; thus are born again those who act wickedly. In short, my son, do not show yourself of that mind. Take care that you are reverent to your elders and the clergy. Be neither envious nor evil disposed towards your fellow-men. Do not make your endeavours for all kinds of evil, but for what is right, for loving words, friendly looks, and a pure mind. That is what leads upwards to heaven, my son. That is the mystery of the Law that I reveal to you, my son! So be it! May your sinful inclinations disappear." So spake **the Lord Vairôchana**, initiating **Kuñjarakarṇa** in the Law.

Kuñjarakarṇa bowed low as a sign of respect.— "O, Lord and Master! I bow down respectfully. How can the sinful inclinations be with certainty annihilated, Master? Have pity upon me

and instruct me in **the Sacred Law,** so that the impurities may depart from my body. Have pity upon your son, Master ! "

" Yes, my son, **Kuñjarakarṇa.** The stains of the body can be removed, as something that is banished, trampled upon, trodden down, suppressed. A pure mind is merely true knowledge, which serves for purification ; it is a bath, wholesome and pure. What is called clean is not the water from the pitcher, but a pure mind only. That is the same as what is called **Bhaṭâra-Vidhi.** For He controls the true knowledge and therefore is He called the Sovereign Knowledge. For **the Bhaṭâra** rules your body, which is thus expressed : 'You are I and I am you.' *Namô Bhaṭâra! Namah Sivâya !* The sinful inclinations have vanished from your body, my son, because you honour **Bhaṭâra,** and Bhaṭâra is he who honours. **Bhaṭâra** is the rubber, the ointment, the bath, the oil. How then should the stains not disappear ? Come nearer ; I will hold you fast, the supreme in truth."

Immediately **Kuñjarakarṇa** came nearer and made humble reverence. Straightway was he held fast by the Lord. Thus was the firm bond fastened wherewith **Yôgîsvara** controls the neophyte. " The different forms of the vow (confession of faith) are as follows :— 'We are Buddha's,' say **the Buddhists,** 'for the Lord Buddha is our supreme god. We are not identical with the Sivaites, for to them the Lord Siva is the supreme god.' Certainly the two sects do not mutually agree. This is why there are no *Muktas* among the monks in the world, because they consider as two what is only one ; he who does not see the significance of this is a splitter of hairs. The five Kuśikas are a development (that is, a manifestation) of the Sugatas, say the Sivaites. Kuśika is one with Akshôbhya ; Garga is one with Ratnasaṁbhava ; Maitri is one with Amitâbha ; Kurushya is one with Amôghasiddhi ; Pâtañjala is one with Vairôchana. Well now, my son, these are all one. We are Siva ; we are Buddha. We trust, my son, that you are now fully initiated. Truly say I to you : Your prayer is fulfilled, my son ! " So spake **the Lord Vairôchana,** initiating **Kuñjarakarṇa.**

In consequence of the laying-on-of-hands of the Lord, **Kuñjarakarṇa** minded well and listened attentively. In consequence thereof the innate defects of **Kuñjarakarṇa** and his Yaksha-form disappeared. The Lord plunged the body of **Kuñjarakarṇa** into the consecrated water, so that it shone. Then the body of **Kuñjarakarṇa** burst into flames. Suddenly ! Hey ! Presto ! Hallo ! Gone ! The Yaksha-form had disappeared, and he was metamorphosed into a god. The joy of his mind rose to the highest pitch. Then he bowed low as a sign of respect and offered praise and thanks and kissed the feet of **the Lord Vairôchana.** After he had offered praise and thanks he begged for permission to go home :— " O Lord and Master ! I greet you with reverence and I take leave, O Lord ! I will go and again engage in asceticism, Master, in order to put your lesson into practice."

" Good, my son **Kuñjarakarṇa.** May you, my child, become a Siddha in the monastery."

Immediately **Kuñjarakarṇa** greeted him reverently and went away.

Presto ! Gone ! He came to **Pûrṇavijaya. Kuñjarakarṇa** said to **Pûrṇavijaya:**—" Ah, brother **Pûrṇavijaya,** I have been initiated into the law by **Bhaṭâra-Vairôchana ;** my stains have all been removed from my body, and also my Yaksha-form. Pay your reverent respects to the Lord Vairôchana and honour him, dear brother ; for, otherwise, it is to be feared that he will be angry with you."

Then **Pûrṇavijaya** went to **Vairôchana,** greeted him reverently and spoke : — " Lord and Master ! Here is the discus Sudarśana (the weapon of Vishṇu). Take it in your hand, Lord, and sling it against my neck, Master ! Think not that you will cause me pain : with joy will I perish by one who is the Lord. I am ashamed that I still live, Master ! " **Pûrṇavijaya** entreated the Lord ; he wept bitterly and clasped the feet of **Bhaṭâra-Vairôchana.**

" Oh, **Pûrṇavijaya !** I shall never afflict any one who surrenders himself to me or be ill-disposed towards him. Ah friend ! do not doubt that your stains shall be removed, the fruit of

which shall be that you increase in understanding. Be not proud or restless, and listen carefully :— *Pañca bhûtâni hi mûrtau, ahaṅkâras tu śôdhyatâṁ, karôti śubhaṁ sudantî, hînô rajyati dushkṛitau.* That means :— *Pañca* betokens 'five'; *bhûtâni hi mûrtau*, 'five is the number of *Bhûtas* in the body'; these must first be conquered. *Ahaṅkâras tu śôdhyatâṁ*, 'the *Ahaṅkâra* (self-will) must be purified, destroyed.' *Karôti śubhaṁ sudantî* ; *karôti*, 'makes'; *hĕning hikang śarîra*, 'purification of the body'; *sudantî* is *âdidantî* ; *dantî* is 'elephant.' *Hînô rajyati dushkṛitau* . . . . . *Kṛita* men call : loving words, a friendly countenance, a pure mind, uprightness in actions and in speech: this is called *praśasta* (praiseworthy, good). Conceive the transitory nature (of things); do not cling to worldly possessions; be not infatuated with idle desires, which involves the consequence that men become restless and which causes men to be confused and to desire to get possession of other men's goods. Therefore shall men inevitably fall into the cauldron of hell. This is what is called sin [therefore must restlessness of the mind be banished], namely, hypocrisy (or covetousness), conceit, envy, jealousy, pride, spite. These are named the five *Bhûtas* in the body. The desire for eating and drinking and for the possession of many worldly goods, this also causes confusion of the mind so that men lose their circumspection. Therefore should men kill the coarse, foul desires; for they spring from (innate) impurities. Hence the proverb :— 'Not from far, nor from near, but out of the body itself, arise the impurities.' But the *Pañjita-Mala* arises from the mystery, namely, the *Jñâna-viśêsha.* What is called *Jñâna-viśêsha* is nothing other than a pure mind. By a pure mind 'must be understood' 'the divine, truer knowledge.' It comes forth spotless from its source. Seek to get it into your possession and to regard it as salutary oil and bathe in it continually. Then, indeed, shall the stains disappear thereby."

After **Pûrṇavijaya** had been initiated in the law by **Bhaṭâra-Vairôchana,** he was fully instructed. Suddenly ! Gone ! Banished were all the stains from the body of **Pûrṇavijaya,** and he no longer underwent the five states of worldly suffering. Then he raised his folded hands imploringly to **the Lord Vairôchana,** saying : — " O Lord and Master ! Banished in a moment are my stains, but the thought of death fills my mind. Teach me, Master, how I can escape death. Show me this favour, for I have a great fear of death. I pray you to have pity upon me, your son."

"Ah, my son **Pûrṇavijaya** ! against death is no herb grown, for death is the bourne of life. Everything is equally subject unto it. Life, in fact, is subject unto death; memory is subject to forgetfulness (inattentiveness); zeal is subject to distraction of the mind. Inattentiveness, that rules over everything and so in general the track is lost through inattentiveness. But you have this advantage, that you have received **the Sacred Law.** It is inevitable that you will die, but you shall not be permanently dead. Let it not be said to an uninitiated man, 'death is the counterpart of sleep.' You remember your sleeping and waking. In the time between sleeping and waking you remember the end of your slumber. Keep in mind the high lesson of morality; mark attentively the departure of the spirit of life, the moment when the soul departs. At that moment you sink into refined, pure, simple, stainless *Samâdhi* : the divine certainty appears and the higher knowledge is obtained. Therefore, return to your abode for seven days. Ten nights (day and night) shall you be cooked in the cauldron of hell. On the eleventh day shall you no more suffer the five states of worldly pain; all Yama's means of punishments shall against you, truly I tell you, be turned to nought; all Yama's weapons of every kind, in truth I tell you, shall have no effect, as fruit of your learning to know the quintessence of **the Sacred Law.** See, such is the favour which I show to you; be mindful of that which I enjoin upon you at your departure."

" As you, my god, command. I ask permission to go home, Master ! "

" Good, my son **Pûrṇavijaya.**"

Presto ! Gone ! **Pûrṇavijaya** departed. Without lingering on the way he came to his home. There he met no one except **Kusumagandhavatî.** Then the Vidyâdharas and Vidyâdharîs came

to meet him, and were all amazed to see him, because the stains had disappeared from his body. The mind of **Kusumagandhavatî** expanded with joy on beholding the safe return of **Pûrṇavijaya** in his natural form. Then said **Pûrṇavijaya** to his beloved :—"Ah, dear mother **Kusumagandhavatî**! keep watch over the house of your elder brother; I will go and sleep a little. Ten nights long will you have to keep watch. Be not too much moved with pity for me, dear mother, but watch faithfully: all the Vidyâdharas and Vidyâdharîs shall keep you company." **Kusumagandhavatî** duly kept watch.

All at once! Suddenly! Gone! **Pûrṇavijaya** was fast asleep. His soul came out, fine as an atom. Immediately it was carried away by its former *Dushkṛiti*, its previous evil conduct. This showed it the way to the cauldron of hell. How did it appear? Like a shadow which followed the soul everywhere it went. So, also, its good behaviour; the fruits of both must be enjoyed. The bad behaviour follows, holding fast, and is taken with it to Yama's kingdom; the good behaviour follows, clinging closely, and is taken with it to heaven. When the soul of **Pûrṇavijaya** came to **Prêtabhavana** (the abode of the dead), **the servants of Yama** caught sight of it. They called up their companions; these ran their hardest and fell upon it mercilessly. The executioners laid hold on the soul of **Pûrṇavijaya**; they smote the soul of **Pûrṇavijaya** with iron clubs, and placed it upon iron pikes. Then was it tortured, enveloped in cane, and let down into the cauldron; next was it pricked by darts and cooked in the cauldron until it was scorched. His tongue hung out of his mouth; the eyeballs swelled out; his body was soft; he was not dead and yet not living. He groaned and moaned, lying at the last gasp, tortured all over. Afterwards he was reproached with the words :— "Hey you sinner, **Pûrṇavijaya**! Why do you groan and moan? For it is surely your own fault that you did evil formerly. You used to punish innocent men, and ravish prohibited women, and be irreverent towards the elders. There was nothing that you held sacred; you were not submissive towards the clergy. This behaviour of yours was improper. Therefore came you to abide in hell. As you have acted, so are you treated, and now you receive the reward of your conduct." Thus spake **the servants of Yama** while they admonished the soul of **Pûrṇavijaya.**

After having been in the cauldron some time, about ten nights, he did not neglect his *Samâdhi* and the lesson of the transitory nature of things, nor did he forget to bathe in the consecrated water of the pure spirit, the wholesome and clean, according to the advice of the Lord at his departure. This he followed earnestly. Then the proof of the Lord's favour happened to him. He sank into silence and began to think deeply. Immediately! Suddenly! All at once! Quickly! Gone! broken in pieces, destroyed, smashed was the cauldron; the fire was extinguished and no longer flamed up. There the body appeared in eternal youth.

The **servants of Yama** were amazed when they saw that, and were struck dumb with annoyance. Then they fell upon him again, fixing their glances upon the incarnation of **Pûrṇavijaya.** They beat him furiously with their iron clubs, and attacked him with knives; some thrust at him with iron spears. That had not the least effect: all their weapons could not hurt the soul at all. Then they ran their hardest and told the news to **Yamâdhipati**:— "O Lord and Master! There was the soul of **Pûrṇavijaya.** We had let it down into the cauldron, Master! There was no change to be seen, Master! All weapons were tried and still no change was visible, and now his body has returned to its natural state; it is whole and unhurt. His power is great, Master! Therefore all weapons were without effect. The weapons are broken and destroyed and changed into ashes. Also the cauldron is destroyed and changed into a *Kalpataru*, a young and mightily grown *Varingin*, under which is a pure, clear pond, surrounded by all kind of flowers: red *Andongs*, *Kayu-Mas*, *Purings*. How is that to be explained, Master?"

Then **Bhaṭâra-Yamâdhipati** was silent; he spake not; his mind was in doubt. "How is it that the cauldron has lost its power? Though the soul be extraordinarily powerful, still it is perished and destroyed."

All the sinners said :— " O Lord and Master ! the cauldron is broken and destroyed, Master ! It has quite vanished and is changed into a *Kalpataru*, a young and strongly grown *Varingin.*"

" Come, let me go with you myself to hell."

Presto ! Gone ! Hastily **Yamâdhipati** went to the cauldron. He was amazed at the sight of the cauldron, and wondered within himself, when he saw that it was changed into a *Kalpataru*. He asked the soul : — " O my child, sinner ! What is the reason that the cauldron has been broken and destroyed by you ? The fire is extinguished and the flames likewise. All kinds of weapons had no grip upon your body ; of what, then, does your body consist, that the cauldron is changed by you into a jewelled lotus, and, at the same time, the **Khaḍgapatras** are changed into *Kalpatarus*, trees with leaves of gold and fruits of all kinds of precious stones ; their sap is musk and saffron, which is caught in cups of precious stones. At the same time, the cauldron is become a bright pond, overgrown with jewelled lotuses, golden waterlilies, and *Magiligis* (?) of precious stones. What, then, is the reason of this ? For it was originally intended that you should be cooked in the cauldron for a hundred years. But now, through you, hell is become a heaven. Explain to me what is the reason of it." Thus spake **Yamâdhipati.**

" O **Yamâdhipati**, Master ! No one else would have taken pity upon me, save my teacher ; he took pity upon my lowly person. All honour to you, reverent honour, Lord **Buddha-Vairôchana !** You have instructed me ! All that you commanded me have I borne in mind. These were the words which he once addressed to me :— ' O my son, **Pûrṇavijaya,** as a reward for having promoted **the Sacred Law,** receive from me this favour that you shall not long be cooked in the cauldron of hell, nor undergo the five states of worldly suffering. Ten nights long shall you be cooked in the cauldron. When the eleventh commences, you shall escape, free, from the cauldron, and immediately return to your own home.' That is what **the Lord Vairôchana** said to me. This is, surely, the reason why I was not longer cooked by you in the cauldron, and I should surely have suffered the five states of worldly pains for a longer period, if **the Lord Vairôchana** had not had pity upon me. I acknowledge that my sins are great."

" Ah, is that so ? Out of pity has the Lord been thus merciful to you, you say. Then is it very right that it should be so. Now, then, return to your abode."

Thus was the soul able to return. He took leave of **Yamâdhipati**:— " O **Yamâdhipati,** I desire to take leave of you and return to my abode ; but the jewelled lotuses and the pond I will take thought for as a memorial of me here in the future."

" Good, my son. See, here is Kâlarâtri, let her accompany you ! "

Presto ! Gone ! The soul of **Pûrṇavijaya** departed accompanied by Kâlarâtri. He did not linger on the way, and came to his abode unharmed and again living ! He awoke !

Kusumagandhavatî was astonished to see that **Pûrṇavijaya** awoke. Therefore **Kusumagandhavatî** greeted her husband :— " O my elder brother **Pûrṇavijaya**, how fortunate that you are alive ! I was growing very uneasy, elder brother **Pûrṇavijaya.**"

" O my lass, little mother, now are my stains entirely vanished, and I have atoned for my sins towards **Yamâdhipati.** There is nothing for which you need now be uneasy about me. I should certainly have endured the five states of worldly suffering for a longer time had not my elder brother **Kuñjarakarṇa** previously gone to the Lord, so that the Lord might have pity upon me. How would it have been if my elder brother had not made known my moral maladies to the Lord ? Therefore, I will shortly follow my elder brother in order to practise asceticism for a time and to offer my lowly homage to the Lord. Now, dear little mother, call upon the Vidyâdharas and Vidyâdharîs to accompany us both ; I will go and do homage to the Lord." Thereupon the Vidyâdharas and Vidyâdharîs were called up ; they made themselves ready altogether and all started.

Presto! Gone! Without lingering on the way they came to **Bôdhichitta**, the holy abode of **Bhaṭâra-Vairôchana. Pûrṇavijaya** hastened to pay homage to the Lord. Also the Vidyâdharas and Vidyâdharîs paid homage to the Lord; in the first place **Kusumagandhavatî** and afterwards the Vidyâdharas and Vidyâdharîs, who gave proofs of their talents; they played and sang; the instruments, which have to be beaten, resounded with a deafening noise; *Gamĕlans* and *Bondjings* re-echoed, *Burañcahs* and so forth.

While homage was being paid to the Lord, **all the gods** came to honour **Vairôchana**, namely, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvêra, Vaiśravaṇa; all greeted the Lord with reverence.

Then **Yamâdhipati** asked **the Lord**:— "O Lord and Master! What is the reason that **Pûrṇavijaya** is by you recalled to life? Surely it was originally intended that he should be cooked a hundred years in the cauldron. Now, indeed, has it lasted a shorter time. What is the meaning of it? Be so good as to explain it to me, Master."

"O my son **Bhaṭâra-Yamâdhipati**, and all you four guardians of the quarters; it is very good of you that you make free to ask for the reason of what has happened to **Pûrṇavijaya**. Now listen carefully. There is a place called **Bhûmimaṇḍala**. There lived a man who possessed much silver, gold, precious stones, and servants. His name was **Mûladara**. He did good works; he set up fountain-basins, resting-places for travellers and flat stones to sit upon. He had an architect, named **Kirnagata**, who was his helper in doing good works. He assisted him in deeds of love. There was another place, called **Tapalinada**. There dwelt a man who was very poor and possessed neither child nor worldly goods, called **Utsâhadharma**; he and his wife. The name of his beloved wife was **Sudharmâ**. They lived in very straightened circumstances, but were gentle, pious, loving in their words, and friendly in their bearing. They were extraordinarily charitable, for they had heard **the Sacred Law**. Therefore they joined in doing good works; they never stretched forth their hands without thereby giving alms each time to the passers-by; what they together did was done with gentleness, piety, loving words, and friendly bearing. Now it so happened that they did good works near to the place where **Mûladara** performed good works. This gave occasion to **Mûladara** to scold **Utsâhadharma**, saying:—'Hey, you, **Utsâhadharma**! You wicked, miserable wretch! Why do you practise your charity near the place where I perform my good deeds? You are a very grease-patch, a poor creature. The good deeds which you do are not worth a farthing. Therefore, take care to observe me when I accomplish good deeds. I slaughter oxen, cows, buffaloes; I entertain with palm-wine and rice, whereof numbers of men, as many as eat of it, are satisfied. But you, wretch, you imagine yourself to be somebody and able to vie with me in good works. Do you consider it right, fellow! to be so shameless as to look at me? Go away, right away! Sheer off from here.'— Thus spake **Mûladara**, scolding **Utsâhadharma**.

"Then said **Utsâhadharma** to his beloved wife:—'O my younger sister **Sudharmâ**! little mother! What is to be done, my lass? **Mûladara** would drive me away, and commands you to leave me, dear wife!'

"His wife answered:—'O elder brother **Utsâhadharma**; where shall I find comfort except in my love for you? What else would be able to inspire me with attachment? I have no children, no gold, no possessions. What do you think, if you were once to take up a monk's life, and were to seek refuge in a monastery? Come; let us escape to the wilderness, into the bush, and practise asceticism. Then shall we, in future, no more be treated as now.'

"Her true fellow answered:—'Ah younger sister, that is very well thought of. Come, little mother, let us put our plan into execution.' Then they departed and practised asceticism. There is a certain mountain called **Sarvaphala**; there it was that they practised asceticism, and made a resting-place to receive guests. All passers-by who sought a place of refuge, praised their goodness aloud. The people, whether they departed, or whether they stayed the night, were by their

kindness provided with all that was necessary. For some time, about twelve years, they practised asceticism and so they lived content. Then the man and woman died and were *mukta*, blessed and delivered, in consequence of what they had done: asceticism and good works. Then they went to Indra's heaven, to remain there. **Utsâhadharma** became Indra, but **Mûladara** became **Pûrṇavijaya.** The truth may be that it was ordained for the latter to come to heaven because of his former good works, wherewith, however, was joined an angry disposition, which was the reason why he went to hell. But he has asked for instruction concerning **the Sacred Law,** and this is why he has not long been in the cauldron nor undergone the five states of earthly suffering. And his architect, named **Kirnagata,** was likewise guilty of anger and understood it not. He died and became **Kuñjarakarṇa,** because he too became angry and treated a poor man with scorn. Therefore **Utsâhadharma** takes a higher rank than **Pûrṇavijaya,** because the latter, formerly, was guilty of anger. Both showed regard to **the Sacred Law,** and this is the reason why they ascended to heaven. So be it known to you, defenders of the four quarters, and gods, as well!"

So spake the Lord **Vairôchana,** in order to communicate the former history of **Pûrṇavijaya** and **Kuñjarakarṇa.**— "See, defenders of the four corners of the earth, these are the fruits when men have regard to **the Sacred Law.**"

"O Lord and Master! We, your sons, offer you lowly homage. Yes, Master, such was the past of **Pûrṇavijaya** and **Kuñjarakarṇa.** Yes, the past has been the cause and reason why he was not longer punished in Yama's kingdom and underwent the five states of worldly suffering."

"Ah, my children! defenders all of the four quarters, see the fate, as the consequence of actions in a former state, of one who knows **the Sacred Law**: he does not long undergo pain and torment."

"Amen, so is it, Master!"

Immediately, with lowly bows, they made their parting salutation to **the Lord,** and asked for permission to return, each to his own heaven. Let this be to human beings an example worthy to be followed: he who knows how to respect **the Sacred Law,** returns to his own heaven.

Quickly! Immediately, all the gods took their departure with a lowly reverence. **Pûrṇavijaya** remained behind. He took leave of his well-beloved:— "O little mother! I take leave of you in order to follow my elder brother **Kuñjarakarṇa,** and to practise asceticism for a while. I wish to atone for my guilt towards **Yâmadhipati** and **the Lord.** Great is my obligation to them: I have to thank them for my life; a debt which I can never sufficiently repay. So, go back little mother, accompanied by the Vidyâdharas and the Vidyâdharîs. Go, little mother!"

"O elder brother **Pûrṇavijaya!** I wish to practise asceticism with you. I will live and die with you. I cannot live far from you."—**Kusumagandhavatî** wept bitterly.

"**O Kusumagandhavatî,** my lass! it is absolutely forbidden that anyone who practises asceticism should take a woman with him. It is far from my thoughts to practise asceticism for long; after twelve years I shall return; go back now, little mother."

"O elder brother **Pûrṇavijaya,** I have not yet had my fill of loving you, elder brother **Pûrṇavijaya!**"

Thereupon **Kusumagandhavatî** went homewards, weeping all the way, and accompanied by the Vidyâdharas and Vidyâdharîs. Quickly! Away! Without lingering on the way she came to Indra's heaven, where she occupied herself in prayer and pious meditation.

When **Kusumagandhavatî** had departed, **Pûrṇavijaya** took leave of **the Lord:**— "O Lord and Master; I ask for permission to take leave, and, for a time, to practise asceticism," This was granted to him and was not refused. And he departed.

Presto! Gone! Without lingering on the way he came to the north-east foot of the holy **Mahâmêru**. There was no one else whom he met, except **Kuñjarakarṇa.** With shouts of joy, **Kuñjarakarṇa** greeted and entertained him. After that they went to make a hermitage, and, when it was fittingly arranged inside, they began their *Samâdhi* practices. How then did they practise asceticism? What was cold was made still colder; what was hot was made still hotter; a handful of rice; a drop of water; a pinch of salt, and in fact without allowing themselves to make it taste sweet. For some time they practised asceticism; and when the twelve years were ended, the grace of **the Lord** was granted them: **Pûrṇavijaya** and **Kuñjarakarṇa** became Siddhas, and returned to their heaven which was called **the Siddha-heaven.**

ORIGIN OF THE QORAN.

BY DR. HUBERT GRIMME.

(Translated by G. K. Nariman.)

ISLAM, like most of the great religions of the world, is based upon **a Sacred Book,** as a proof of the truth of its doctrines. But in its case the interdependence of the religion and the book is remarkably close, inasmuch as **its origin coincides with the appearance of Islamic teaching,** and thus between the two an indissoluble relation has naturally developed.

The common name of the holy book is **Qorân,** which means "reading."[1] It is one of the several designations used by Muhammad to denote the revelations communicated to him by God. And indeed with him each single revelation, as well as the whole course of inspiration, is *Qorân*. It must be, therefore, regarded as an act of fatal narrow-mindedness that later generations restricted the term to the tenets fixed in writing, and further discerned in the collection a unity designed by the Prophet. But we should act more in conformity with Muhammad's intentions, if we considered each of the 114 component sections of the *Qorân* as a whole, but the entire collection as a fragment of the Prophet's dogmas.

Muhammad commenced with religious discourses. To judge from the terse, obscure, and ill-balanced structure of these sections, it is impossible that the oldest *Sûras* should repeat the very words of the sermons. That the sermons could have been first written down before delivery is out of the question. He claimed indeed for his preachings divine verity and celestial origin, but not that they were delivered to man *verbatim* in God's words. When he had preached like this for a year, the necessity appeared to him of clothing on his own account, and in the interest of the faith, the essential parts of his discourses in a permanent form, taking care that the first happily turned periods were not lost in the process. The ultimate object of this **novel departure** was to make his precepts easier, as is attested by the *Qorân* in occasional phrases, which we have to look upon as the earliest testimony to the fixing and final determination of the texts of the revelations.

Sûra 57, 17. (Refrain.) We have made the *Qorân* (*i. e.*, our heavenly prelection) easy of inculcation. Would not then more people accept the preaching?

Sûra 44, 58. We have made it (the *Qorân*) easy in thy own tongue, only to this end that it may be preached.

Sûra 19, 97. We have made it easy in thy tongue so that thou mayest therewith announce joy to the God-fearing and warn the contumacious.

Sûra 73, 20. Recite, then, of the divine prelection what has been rendered easy.

By the significant expression "making easy" the Prophet could not but have meant the final determination of the wording of a number of didactic homilies. That **the fixing of the text** was

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1 [For the meaning of the term "Arabic Qorân," see Dr. Hirschfeld, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. p. 146. Palmer, *S. B. E.* Vol VI. lvii. —TR.]

not undertaken all at once, but was a process of gradual evolution, is indicated by the objection of Muhammad's opponent, to whom the fragmentary nature of the doctrines seemed to ill-accord with the dignity of heaven-sent communications.

Sûra 25, 34. The infidels say "Would the whole *Qorân* were revealed in one piece." No, it must be thus (as it is) to fortify thy heart.

Sûra 17, 107. We have sent it down as a "reading" and have divided it into sections that thou mayest recite it unto man on varying occasions.

In the same section, verse 80 shows that the official form was employed as the text for the daily prayers of the order.

Sûra 17, 80. Say the prayer from the setting of the sun till the darkening of the night, and the *Qorân* of daybreak (that is, the matins constructed out of verses from the *Qorân*), for at the time the witnesses are present (angels or God).

From the crystallization of the text to the committing of the same to writing was a small step, which Muhammad at all events took towards the close of his missionary efforts at Mecca. The sole reliable proof of this lies in the appearance of **the word Sûra to denote the Qoranic section.** A word of Hebrew origin, it primarily means a layer of bricks, then secondarily a line of writing, and lastly a piece of writing. It is in the last sense that Muhammad adopts it in the Meccan *Sûras* 11 and 10.

Sûra 11, 16. They say "he has fabricated it (the *Koran*)." Reply: "Then bring ten *Sûras* of this species of your own invention and call to your aid all accessible beings, save God, if ye be truthful."

Sûra 10, 38. This *Qorân* is not of the kind which could be composed but with the help of God, rather is it a confirmation of the foregoing drawn from the Book of the Lord of the worlds without deceit.

Sûra 10, 39. Or they say "Has he composed it himself?" Reply: "Then bring a *Sûra* of the like kind, etc."

Similarly, the *ante*-Medinian *Sûra*, 2, 21.

During the Medinian period **revelation and Sûra were convertible terms,** which led Muhammad at the time to have most of the fresh revelations written down as they came. And this is corroborated by the traditions which assert that the Prophet had employed **several amanuenses** for taking down the inspirations, namely, Abdullah ibn Sa'ad bin Abisarh, Zaid bin Thabit, also Hanthala bin Rebia, to whom he dictated the verses. Whether he had recourse to extraneous assistance in Mecca, too, is not recorded. **Hence it is possible that at that time Muhammad was his own scribe. I cannot share the view repeatedly advanced that he was unversed in reading and writing.** Universal consideration, allusions in the *Qorân*, and the report of tradition point to the contrary. As an inhabitant of a city which participated in the commerce of the world, himself a tradesman, whom business often took to the civilized countries of the North, Muhammad, without a knowledge of writing, would have been an exception among his class of Arabs, who can be proved to have reached this stage of culture centuries before.[2] And it must be borne in mind that the Prophet, immediately after he had immigrated to Medina, a city lower than Mecca in the scale of civilization, established a school for writing and carried on his diplomatic intercourse, internal and foreign, in writing by preference.[3]

[2] J. Euting: *Ginaitische Inscriften, Einleitung*, XII.

[3] [Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, discusses the question: "Was Muhammed able to write?" Dr. Wellhausen has published the correspondence of the Prophet in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, IV. "Though himself delighting in the title of the 'illiterate Prophet,' and abstaining, whether from inability or design, from the use of penmanship, he by no means looked with a jealous eye upon the art. The poorer captives taken at Bedr were offered their release on condition that they taught a certain number of Medina citizens to write. And although the people of Medina were not so generally educated as the people of Mecca, yet many are noticed as having been able to write before Islam." — Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, XVIII. — TR.]

Had not a certain practice in inditing awakened the Prophet to a sense of the importance of the art of writing, his official documents could not have been so abundant, much less could they have assumed the practical form which we perceive in the papers preserved to us. In a few places the *Qorân* attests the fact that its author was not illiterate. At least they demonstrate the subordination of the written to the recited *Qorân*.

Sûra 69, 44-46. In case he (Mahomed) had fabricated foolish things about us, we had seized him by the right hand, then cut through his vein.

Here the idea of catching hold of the right hand can have no other sense, but that it should be done with a view to restraining the activity exercised by the organ, or, in other words, to disable him for writing. Verse 47 of *Sûra* 29, "Thou was not wont to recite a *kitâb* before, nor to transcribe one with thy right hand," confirms, on the one hand, the phases in the development of the *Qorân* mentioned above, first open-air oral simple discourses, then transcription of the same, and on the other indicates the Prophet's ability to write and the employment of the same for the purposes of his doctrinal disquisitions.

Lastly, the traditions specify a succession of instances of the use of the pen by the Prophet.[4] If some of them do not stand the test of careful scrutiny, collectively they present one more argument to support the theory we have advanced; while not one valid evidence bears out his imputed illiteracy.

It is wholly arbitrary to force into the epithet of *Ummi*, which Muhammad applies to himself sometimes in the Medinite *Sûras*, the meaning of ignorance of reading and writing. For assuredly the sobriquet was designed to imply nothing beyond this that he was theologically unschooled, had not studied the usual Jewish Scriptures, and by consequence was untaught.

"Ummi" is merely the Arabic rendering of the Hebrew *Amm Haares*,[5] people of the earth (or worldly-minded people as contra-distinguished from the religiously erudite Rabbi). We may therefore take it for certain that the Prophet was acquainted with the art of writing, and that he practised it himself in his simple environments of Mecca, but that in Medina, owing to the increasing pressure of work, he availed himself of extraneous aid to transcribe Qoranic Sections and his decrees.

Practical considerations induced Muhammad to have the *Qorân* committed to writing, as he had previously fixed its text. In this written form the verses served either as prayers or didactic axioms for public and private uses to the Islamic fraternity.[6]

But it was not requisite for God's Word to be in writing in order to prove itself a heavenly errand. The *Qorân* tells us that no written revelation, which as such was palpable or comprehensible, could have convinced the Meccans, so that he delivered side by side sermons and *al-fresco* harangues. But as time went on, it did not escape Muhammad that the written form was much the most adapted to whatever required the utmost precision, — regulations, ritual ordinances, decisions of questions propounded, or proclamations, — and thus he turned the *Sûras* into a species of official organ for announcing important events. Nevertheless it is

[4] Nöldeke's *Gesch. d. Qorans*, 8 *seq.* The written order to fight with which Muhammad despatched Abdallah bin Jahsh and seven more of his adherents to the valley of Nakhla must at all events have been drawn up by him or signed, for else these eight men could scarcely have ventured to profane the holy month by bloodshed.

[5] Nöldeke, *ibid.* p. 10, is on the right tract explaining that *ummi* signifies that Muhammad was not versed in the holy books and that he knew the truth only through inspiration; but he does not see the close connection with *amm haares*. By "people of the earth" were not designated the heathens (Gojim), but such Jews whose learning was not adequate for them to know and observe the law with the rabbinical commentaries; or as Muhammad expresses it: Among them are Ummi who do not know the book except in a subjective sense (*Sûra* 2, 73). The *Qorân* at first (16, 121) translates *amm haares* correctly by putting people for *umm*, later on it forms from it the convenient adjective *ummi*. [Akbar is called *ummi* by Jahângîr in his *Wâqi'ât-i-Jahângîrî*. Dawson in a note says that Ummi means "one who can neither read nor write, an idiot." — *History of India*, by H. Elliot, VI., 290. — TR.]

[6] See *Sûra* 33, 34.

not improbable that what he had inscribed had already previously, on the occasion of Friday sermons, been delivered and perhaps also usually greatly amplified by him. What was once inscribed could not evanesce into naught. It permeated, one after another, all the strata of the fraternity. And we are enabled by it to comprehend the various moods in which the enthusiastic and the luke-warm believers received the appearance of a fresh revelation.

Sûra 47, 22. The believers say, "Would that a *Sûra* were sent down," but when a peremptory *Sûra* is revealed in which war is enjoined, thou seest the feeble of faith looking towards you as if death had already overtaken them.

Sûra 9, 65. The waverers are afraid lest a *Sûra* should be revealed against them, reflecting the thoughts of their hearts.

The motive of the earlier *Sûras* was to affect the faithful in a religious way. In Medina this motive was superseded by unmixed secular aspirations. Many a Muslim was sensible, and painfully so, to the lack of the didactic element.

Sûra 9, 125. When a *Sûra* is revealed many believers say, "Which of you has it confirmed in his faith?"

To which Muhammad replied somewhat thus:—It works on the genuine believers in different ways from vacillators, adding to the faith of the former, and to the infidelity of the latter. Notwithstanding the importance which attaches to the written *Sûras* of Muhammad's mission, it were bold to assume that the dogmas orally inculcated did not pass for the Word of God. The system of Muhammadan tenets, as embodied in the written sections of the *Qorân*, can be constructed only by a combination of widely scattered and mutually dispersed reflections. It is not laid down in a compact shape on one page, which argues that they were written only as occasion required. Besides, it would seem that the *Qorân* does not repeat without gaps the entire teaching of Islâm. To give one instance, the injunction of circumcision is nowhere mentioned. Finally, the high estimation in which the traditions, which presumably represent the Prophet's instructions delivered by word of mouth, are held, and which, from the times of the oldest Khalîfas downwards, are considered as religious law, indicates that oral and inscribed dogmas passed current almost without distinction as communications from God.[7] It may be imagined that once the bulk of the revelations were crystallized in definite wording, it was impossible to the Prophet to tamper them with alterations or erasures. And yet this has occurred often enough, as is conspicuous from the text itself of our *Qorân*. No change, indeed, could have equalized the inequality of single Sections. Nor could it have wholly eliminated the peculiarity of the *Qorân*, which in a manner simultaneously exhibits flower and fruit. But where the gaps in the seams between two views, distant from each other in time, were too widely yawning, or where a second or subsequent thought had usurped the place of a preceding imperfect one, a not always happy emendation was made, which we can trace to none other than Muhammad.

The commencement of this revision took place in the Meccan period. The Prophet had here sufficient temerity to simply expunge from his *Sûras* untenable propositions and to substitute corrections instead. Thus he burked verses out of the *Sûras* 53 and 21, which gave token of his inclination towards the ancient Arabian idol worship.[8]

Both tradition and this present form of the verse confess the change. Nor can this have been a solitary case. In excuse or justification of such procedure, which doubtless made his adherents

[7] [In fact, the *Sunna* was held at the close of the first century and thereafter to be superior even to the *Qorân*: *Al Sunna Kadiya ala-l-Qoran wa laysa al-Qoran bikadin ala-l-Sunna*, *i. e.*, the Sunna is the judge over the *Qorân* and not *vice versâ*. See Goldziher's brilliant *Entwickelung der Hadith*, pp. 19-20, where authorities are quoted who advocate the abrogation of Qoranic commandments in favour of principles espoused by the Sunna: *Wa nasakha al Kitab bil-Sunna, etc.* — TR.]

[8] [For a temporary compromise with Al-Huzza, Allat, and Manat, the most important heathen deities, and his subsequent emphatic recantation, attributing the lapse to suggestion of Satan, see Palmer, *op. cit.* XXVII. — TR.]

sceptical of the verity of God's Word, the blame of the erroneous reading of the verse was imputed to Satan.

Sûra 22, 51. We never sent thee an apostle or Prophet, but in whose thought, as he meditated, Satan infused something. But God erases what is traceable to Satan and produces a communication in its true shape.

If this quotation proves alterations in the oral teachings, we can cite another which establishes the same of verses out of the written *Sûras* with tolerable certainty.

Sûra 16, 103. When we change one communication (verse) for another — and God must know best what He sends down — they say "Thou art an impostor. But most of them do not understand anything of it."

At Medina, in view of the numerous innovations in the domain of religion which Muhammad inaugurated, the necessity to modify earlier injunctions was urgent, but much more difficult was it to justify it, for the critical eyes of the Jews were directed towards all the Prophet's doings. He could no longer own that he annulled his former principles, because they were wrong (wrong through Satan's insidious suggestions) — but he pleaded that God, Who was beyond control, had elected to exchange one beneficent gift for another, equally good or superior.

Sûra 2, 100. When we (God) cancel a written revelation or forget (an oral one) we bring instead a better or its like. Knowest thou not that God can do everything.

Thus he gave himself the warrant to insert as much new and improved matter into the old *Sûras* as he wished, and, unless we are greatly deceived, about this time there arose the class of **mixed** *Sûras*, semi-Meccan, semi-Medinian, whose genesis has long been attributed to what is called the first redaction of the *Qorân*.[9] We may mention some examples which betray obvious marks of **later emendations.** Such are all the verses treating of Abraham's relations with Mecca and Qa'aba; such also are all passages relating to the explanation and defence of the strange phrase "Nineteen are set over the fire of Hell."

Smaller *addenda* are recognizable by the circumscribing particle *illa*, except, which is prefixed to them. These supplementary postscripts are joined on to what, without them, were too sweeping assertions. To give an illustration or two.

Sûra 81, 27-29. This is only an exhortation to the worlds, to him who would conduct himself aright — but your wish will avail you nothing, **except when Allah, the Lord of the Worlds, so wills it.**

Sûra 76, 29-31. This is an admonition. Let him hold on who will to the path leading to his Lord, but your wish will avail you nothing, **except when Allah so wills it.** He the knowing, He leads into His mercy whom He pleases, and for the miscreants an agonizing chastisement has He prepared.

The additions tagged on to these two passages were, as will be pointed out further on, the outcome of **the doctrine of pre-destination** preached subsequent to the original verses.

Sûra 87, 6-7. We will cause thee to read so that thou wilt forget nothing — **except what God wills**, for He knows the apparent and the hidden.

Here the reservation must have been supplied at the same time with verse 100 of *Sûra* 2.

Sûra 26, 224-228. It is the poets whom the erring follow. Dost thou not see them roaming about every valley and speaking things which they practise not themselves — **save those who believe, perform righteous deeds, and oft remember God;** they are succoured when they have unjustly suffered. But they who treat them unjustly shall know how ill it will fare with them.

[9] M. Klamroth: 50 *Älteste Suren*, 1.

The exemption in favour of virtuous poets from the general rebuke was appended to the *Sûra* as a piece of courtesy towards Hassan ibn Thabit and Kab ibn Malik,[10] who acted as panegyrists of the Prophet in Medina.

Muhammad bethought him of a similar course when **he added a note to the text, in order to lighten the duties previously imposed** or to curtail too comprehensive statements. He had enjoined on his disciples, for instance, in *Sûra* 73, prolonged vigils. But when in Medina he wanted no longer to bring up ascetics but warriors, he added a lengthy verse by way of conclusion, which attenuated the grinding obligation to a minimum. At another juncture it was promised to the brotherhood, with a view to stimulating their belligerent spirit, that twenty of them would slay two hundred infidels, a hundred of them a thousand. Doubtless as a result of mortifying experience, presently verse 67 was disclosed, according to which, in future, a hundred of the faithful were to vanquish only twice as many, a thousand only two thousand of the opponents. This was what God meant by lightening his revelations.

When Muhammad himself became undisputable master of Medina and was disposed to account for his doings to none, the call for **revoking or modifying older enactments** in favour of new sat lightly on his heart. His will was for the moment law, and it was tacitly assumed that the earlier had no validity in the face of the more recent decrees. What God ordained was simply indisputable. So long as the Prophet lived with unlimited authority and domineered over the thoughts and acts of his order, this state of things endured. But when, after his demise, the next generations addressed themselves to solve philosophically the problem bequeathed to them by the Prophet, then were sprung upon them so many contradictions in the Islamic verities that they seized upon the most desperate means to stifle them. The most conspicuous of them is **the theory of abrogator and the abrogated, Nassikh and Mansukh,** which was pursued to the extreme.

The *exegetes* originally began with the rational principle that when a later passage affirmed the contrary of what an earlier one inculcated, the latter had no more validity and was therefore abrogated. But then there was the article of belief to be reckoned with, agreeably to which the *Qorân* contained divine and consistent truth. They had therefore to steer between these Scylla and Charybdis of Moslem theology. All sorts of secondary meanings were read into the Qoranic *nasakha* (2, 100, *seq.*), such as **to alter, to transpose, to annul,** and hence arose the possibility **to rescind** a text at pleasure. This procedure, invented by the sophistical Ibn Abbas, was employed in a variety of ways by the theological authorities, who came after him. Some held that a Qoranic passage was invalid, if the tradition taught its contrary; others conceded the invalidity only when the discrepancy was in the *Qorân* itself; a third set would limit the abrogations to passages embodying command or prohibition — they would not admit of them in cases of promise or threat. Many maintained that the abrogated sentences were confined to the Medina *Sûras* against those who would have them scattered over the whole *Qorân*. We can cite several other theories to which the investigation of the question has given rise (see *Itkân*, II. 21). They place in a suspicious light the vaunted harmony of the *Qorân*. **To this day therefore the problem remains unsolved: how much of the Qorân has the force of undisputed validity**; though there is a general consensus as to the necessity of abrogation in 21 cases (*Itkân*, II. 23).[11] Since, however, the tradition demands that none shall interpret the Book of God, who has not previously ascertained the abrogating and the abrogated verses, it follows that properly no Moslim can address himself to the task of elucidating the *Qorân*.

In spite of the various *corrigenda*, the less Muhammad succeeded in ensuring a coherent unity to his *Sûras*, the more indifferent he grew to investing them with the external appearance of

[10] [Hassan, briefly noticed in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arab. Litteratur*. For Kab bin Malik, to be distinguished from Kab bin Zuhair, whom the Prophet presented with his mantle: see Muir (XVI.) — TR.]

[11] [See Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, and Hirschfeld, *loc. cit.* — TR.]

a well-arranged collection. The *Sûras* were indeed before him completely written, but, to follow the tradition, not in a uniform manner, some were on parchment, some on palm-leaves, a few on shoulder-blades.

Still we need not perhaps imagine that they were quite inscribed after such a primitive fashion; and some sort of method must have been observed as they were recited. We can infer the latter with tolerable probability from the **alphabetical symbols** affixed to the several *Sûras*. It is well nigh certain that they served as seals to mark groups of co-ordinate *Sûras*. All *Sûras* are, however, not so distinguished, which show that all were not so arranged. Taken as a whole it was not requisite that the *Sûras* should have a conclusion, for till shortly before Muhammad's decease the fount of revelations continued to usher something or other new into light. Hence, to be as it is in its present sense, the *Qorân* was devoid of a fixed sequence one after another of its *Sûrâs*, next it lacked redaction of its text on a consistent principle; two seemingly unimportant features, but which, as time wore on, became indispensable for the unalloyed perpetuation of the collection and its practical employment as a code of the genuine dogmas. The Khalîfa Abu Bakr supplied the first deficiency, the Khalîfa Othmân the second: that is the meaning of **the two so-called redactions.**

Zaid bin Thabit, the chief authority for the detailed circumstances touching the writing of the *Qorân*, reports (*Itkân*, I. 60): We (*i. e.*, he and another scribe) used to put together (Arabic, *allafa*) the fragments of the *Qorân*. That is to say, they put or strung together the separate revelations into *Sûras* a procedure which can still be easily recognized in the long Medina chapters. When the same Zaid says (*Itkân*, I. 60): "When the Prophet died, the *Qorân* was not yet combined or put together"; the verb *jamaa* here used can only signify the combining of individual *Sûras* into a whole. The *Itkân* accordingly very properly decides: "The *Qorân* was committed to writing even during the life-time of the Prophet, but was not yet unitedly put together as a whole in any single place, nor arranged (*murattab*) with reference to the order of the *Sûras*."

As for **the import of the symbols placed at the head of the Sûras,** various conjectures have been hazarded, both by native scholars and European investigators. We may leave out of account the Eastern glossators, since all probability is against them. Of European *savants*, Nöldeke in his *Geschichte des Qorâns* (p. 215, *seq.*) was of opinion that these letters did not originate with Muhammad, but were the marks by which the possessors of the copies used by Zaid had designated their own property — in a word, **monograms.**[12] In the *Orientalischen Skizzen* (p. 50, *seq.*) he replaces this theory by another, and according to which the characterizations are to be traced to the Prophet, who intended them to impart to his recitals a mysterious solemnity without bearing any special sense. I cannot concur in the view that Muhammad strove after effect in such strange fashion. It is probable that he employed these **signs to mark out the groups of chapters,** which were to stand together, thus introducing some sort of order in the sequence of the *Sûras*. And, in fact, as a rule, the *Sûras*, with a like symbol, are placed in a continuous series; such, for instance, are *Sûras* 10 to 15 bearing the distinguishing letters **aa-l-r**, *Sûras* 26 to 28 **t-s-m**, and *Sûras* 40 to 46 **h-m.** We perceive an example of exception or irregularity in two groups, *Sûras* 2-3 and 29-32, both with **aa-l-m**, which stand asunder. The oversight probably lies at the door of Zaid. The critical Suyuti[13] cannot refrain from surmising that it was Muhammad from whom the notations emanated (*Itkan*, I. 67). It is beyond our knowledge altogether whether the letters represent abbreviations of any names or ideas.[14] While these "**seals**" are always reckoned as part of the text of the chapters, the superscriptions or headings are regarded as later accretions. Nevertheless some of them at least might well date from Muhammad's day, *e. g.*, the Chapter of the Heifer,

12 [See also, *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 519. — ED.]

13 [One of the most prolific writers of Islam. Wüstenfeld (*Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, 506, gives more details of his interesting life than Brockelmann permits himself in his *History of Arabic Literature*. — TR.]

14 [Still Dr. Hirschfeld's endeavour to explain the cyphers is worthy of study. — TR.]

the denomination of the second *Sûra*. For so early as in the initial years of the reign of Abu Bakr, "O men of the *Sûra* of the Cow!" was the resounding *shibboleth* of the Muslims fighting against Musailima, the false prophet.[15]

We have the following account as to the occasion of Abu Bakr's endeavours to put together the *Qorân*. In the rebellions which broke out on the death of Muhammad almost throughout Arabia, but especially in the sanguinary struggle with Musailima, the religious and political leader of the Rebia Clan, the ranks of the old approved expounders of the *Qorân* were so thinned that Omar perceived in it a peril to the pure lore of Muhammadan teachings, and urged the Khalifa Abu Bakr to prepare **the collection of all the stray sections of the Qorân in one authentic compilation.** The Khalifa, of conservative proclivity, at first resisted the new-fangled notion, which exceeded what Muhammad himself had done in this direction. But on more pressure from Omar he commissioned the young and gifted Zaid ibn Thabit, Muhammad's last amanuensis, to undertake a complete compilation of the *Qorân*. The work he had to cope with was, looked at in modern light, not too heavy. We are told that the material was mostly ready to hand in the house the Prophet once occupied, and, in cases of doubtful readings, numerous other copies of the *Sûras* in the possession of the fraternity could be requisitioned for collation. (*Itkân*, I. 62.) When, however, he is alleged to have exclaimed, "If they had imposed upon me the task of moving a mountain from its position it would not have been heavier than what they commanded me," the utterance was not too extravagant in the mouth of one unaccustomed to philological research. Once Zaid set about the work, it did not take him long to transcribe the *Qorân* on separate pieces of parchment and to arrange the *Sûras* into one volume. When it was finished, Abu Bakr kept the compilation as his own property. At his death it came into Omar's hands, and next it passed into the possession of Hafsa, daughter of Omar and former wife to the Prophet.

We can do no more than conjecture at the method which guided Zaid in preparing the volume. Before every thing he must have striven after and attained completeness, for subsequent zealous investigations could hunt out not more than seven, some say nine, fragments, and these of trifling contents, which were proved to be Qoranic. Zaid put together the bulk of the *Sûras* from the standpoint of length, those of greatest extent first, then those of moderate compass, and finally the briefest ones. Since the last category comprised a larger number, to all appearance he attempted to arrange them chronologically, though with equivocal success, the short Medina *Sûras*, which are mostly combined in groups, being shoved in between the Meccan. Finally, he did not venture to displace the sections which the Prophet had already strung together by alphabetical marks.

As the tradition has it, the criterion he adopted for determining the genuineness of sections was to have each attested as such by two men of credit.[16] But it is very strange that this precaution is conspicuous by absence in any one of the traditions emanating from Zaid himself; nay, his own version is that he found the last *Sûra* with Abu Kohdaima and then inserted it in the volume. (*Itkan*, I. 60.) It would appear that **the tradition of two witnesses to a** *Sûra* was an imitation of the passage in *Qorân*, which speaks of keeping two witnesses in negotiating a loan.

Whatever fault we find with Zaid's execution of the work, it was the achievement of a man who was qualified for it as few others of the community were. To impute to him or even to Abu Bakr and Omar, as do De Sacy and Weil, dishonest intentions in the compilation is to translate without cogent reasons the theological perfidies in the times of the Omayyads and Abbassides to the infancy of Islâm, which was immune from partisan propensities.[17] Our *Qorân* betrays no personal tendencies beyond

[15] Beladhuri, *Liber expugnat*, p. 39.

[16] *Itkan*, I. 62 (tradition of el-Laith bin Saad).

[17] [The Shia sectarians accused Othman of having taken liberty with 500 words of the *Qorân* and in particular of having mutilated *Sûra* 25, verse 30. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II., iii; Nöldeke's *Gesch. de Korans*, pp. 216-220. As regards *Sûra* 25, verse 30, see Sale's *Koran*, p. 272, and the note there from Beidhami. — TR.]

what the Prophet himself avowed. There is in all conscience little in eulogy of his nearest acolytes, those political pillars, of Islâm. All the luminous rays which fall on earth converge about the image of the Prophet and him alone.[18]

Abu Bakr did not claim for his collection of the *Qorân* that it was prepared for universal currency in Islâm, rather was it, as Nöldeke[19] rightly points out, a matter of private concern. Under his and Omar's Khalîfate everyone was at liberty to use that one of *the variæ lectiones* of the *Qorân* with which he was familiar. Moreover, rival compilations, like those by Obay ibn Kab, Muad ibn Jebel, and Abu Zaid, were permitted to circulate unchecked.[20]

But with the accession of Othman to power, these conditions were reversed. When the combined Islamic forces of Syria and Babylonia marched upon Armenia, such serious difference in the ways of reciting the *Qorân* between the two divisions of the army was brought to light that Hodaifa ibn el Yaman informed the Khalifa of it and earnestly implored him to remedy the evil. Othman borrowed from Hâfsa Abu Bakr's copy of the *Qorân*, and gave it to a commission of four men, who knew at first-hand the Meccan as well as the Medina *Sûras*, charging them each to make one transcription in a book-form. The commission comprised the renowned Zaid bin Thabit of Medina and three Koreishites, Abdullah bin az-Zubair, Saad bin al-As, and Abdurrahmân ibn al-Hârith. Othmân enjoined on them to set down in the dialect of the Koreish those words about which they were not unanimous, for the *Qorân* was disclosed in the latter idiom. There were thus prepared **four copies of identical text.** Each one of them was deposited in Medina, Kufa, Basra, and Damascus, the four principal cities of the Empire, where they claimed canonical authority. By an edict of the Khalifa all other variants of the *Qorân* were to be given to the flames. Naturally the archtype of the four authentic transcripts, Abu Bakr's compilation, was not included in the order. Hafsa took it back into her possession.

The old accounts about the so-called **second redaction** are so perfectly clear that it is difficult to understand the divergent opinions on the subject. Nöldeke, for instance, states[21] that Zaid ibn Thabit collected all the copies[22] of the *Qorân* and brought out his new redaction accordingly, after which all the material made use of by Zaid, except Abu Bakr's *Qorân*, was destroyed. But no writer of credit declares that the four commissioners consulted other texts besides that of Abu Bakr.

Properly speaking, they should be called not redactors, but transcribers. The mandate to consume[23] all the *Qorâns* with a dissimilar reading could by no possibility have resulted in such utter annihilation that none of the earlier *Sûras* could survive. For indubitably there must have remained many in the hands of the Muslims, which either already represented the same wording with the Othmanic text or were subsequently altered to tally with it.

It is impossible that the difference between the redaction of Abu Bakr and that of Othmân was anything more than the difference between a less careful manuscript text and a critical edition. The collaboration of Zaid precluded any considerable change in the text. The same individual was scarcely in a position, much less could he acquiesce in it, to issue two widely varying redactions. Finally, it is only thus that we can comprehend the remarkable fact that not a solitary voice was raised against the *Qorân* of the abhorred Khalîfa, whose political measures made him enemies on all hands. But it was the copy of the most revered Abu Bakr which he carefully examined and to which he gave the most extensive currency.

It has been a time-honored belief in the East, and one still more familiarly known in Europe, that **Othmân's services to the Qôran** surpass that of Abu Bakr. From what has been discussed above it will appear that the two Khalifas are made to exchange parts. The collector, or the

18 If deception was intended, it were easy to fill in the palpable gaps in the *Qorân* and to have determined the succession after the Prophet's demise by the interpolation of a few lines.

19 *Gesch. des Qorâns*, p. 203.

20 Bukhari, II. 286.

21 *Gesch. des Qorâns*, p. 205.

22 In his *Orientalischen Skizzen*, p. 53, he adds: "which they (the four copyists) could get at."

23 "Tear to pieces," according to a various reading.

compiler, Abu Bakr, must take precedence of the copyist Othmân, as is likewise opined by al Hârith al Mahâsibi.[24] "Othmân is," al Hârith says, "commonly credited with the collection of the *Qorân*. But it is not so. Othmân merely guided the people to the acceptance of a uniform reading, which was selected by him in co-operation with old companions about him, because he was afraid of possible schisms between the Babylonian and the Syrian, on account of the divers readings of the vowels. But Abu Bakr merits pre-eminence as the compiler of the Qoranic Sections which were current.

The rest of the history of Qoranic text is briefly told. Its early compilation, its character as the most sacred heirloom from God and Muhammad, of necessity led to such anxious assiduity bestowed on its immaculate perpetuation as has been devoted to few other books in the world. Every zeal was shown for Othmân's canonic redaction, the unrivalled excellence of which asserted itself without any undue extraneous compulsion. If in private redactions one or two *variæ lectiones* kept their ground for a time, before the first century of Islam was out they disappeared for want of public interest. The editions of Obay ibn Kab and that of Ibn Masûd would appear to have lingered the longest.

At least the *exegetes* still notice their sequence of *Sûras* and other textual peculiarities.[25] But soon Othmân's redaction came into universal vogue and the readings of this family of manuscripts alone commanded respect. Out of it was evolved **the art of reading the Qorân**, the principal representatives of which lived at the close of the first and the commencement of the second century after the Flight.[26]

In the third century men set themselves to glean the prescription and commandments, and with this presage of methodic treatment of the Holy Writ were joined, in interminable succession, the works of commentators, starting with the fundamental production of Tabari,[27] who mainly kept in view the elucidation of the text, and continued with more formal grammatical explanation by Zamakshâri, in whose wake the erudite of the Orient move on to this day.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 96.)

1796. — No. XIV.

Fort William the 10th October 1796. Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in Council of the 3rd October in the Secret Department.

Agreed that an Order be issued in favor of the Marine Paymaster for Sicca Rupees 5500 to enable him to discharge the Freight of the Ship Peggy.

1797. — No. I.

Fort William, 6th January 1797. Secretary Marine Board, 2nd January. To G. Barlow Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I am directed to transmit you the accompanying Copys of Letters from the Owner and Commander of the Brig Peggy stationed at the Andamans, and as she is at present taken up

[24] *Itkân*, I. 63. [25] *Itkân*, I. 69. [26] For details, see *Gesch. des Qorâns*, p. 287 *seq.*

[27] [It is interesting to notice incidentally that this great exegete and historian, like the best exponents of all other sciences of the Arabs, was of *Iranian* descent. The superiority of the Aryan to the Semite is nowhere more emphatically proved than in the history of the so-called Arab civilization — *Cf.* Prof. Browne, *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 49; also Horn's *History of Persian Literature*. — TR.]

for Six Months, from the 1st of August past, the Board request the Orders of the Governor General in Council respecting her.

I am &c.

(Signed) **G. Taswell** Secretary Marine Board.

Fort William **2nd January 1797.**

Enclosure No. 1.

To G. Taswell Esqr. Secretary to the Marine Board.

Sir, — I take the liberty to enclose you a Letter just received from **Captain Carey of the Brig Peggy**, and if you have any orders in behalf of the Honble. Company that you wish I should communicate to him, I shall punctually make him acquainted with them, on being favored with your instructions.

I am &c.

(Signed) **William Mordaunt.**

Calcutta, 2nd. Jan. 1797.

Enclosure No. 2.

W. Mordaunt Esqr.

Sir, — I suppose long before this you have heard of my disagreeable Situation since I left Calcutta, and since I wrote to you, all my officers and people died, except two, and one of them I don't expect to live, I left **Port Cornwallis** with one Man and myself, and after being ten days out, spoke **the ship Caesar from Penang**, who left [let] me have two Topases with three Men. It cannot be perceivable to you what I have undergone before my Departure, and after; in 18 days I was in Ballasore Roads in 7 fathoms Water, but coming to blow I stood to the Eastward and not having hands to take in sail, drove to the Southward, and out of sounding, before I could get them put to rights, I was in the latitude of 19.56 N. I stood to the Eastward of Point Palmiras one hundred miles, hoping to fetch the Board, but found I was dessaved, the wind being too far to the Northward; on the 20th made the land to the Southward of the point — at 10 P. M. saw a ship on a wind, which bore away to speak us, but not like us in appearance or minurvaris [manœuvres]. I thought it more prudent, not having water on board for two days, and the people not able to stand it any longer, not having any sort of refreshment for seven Months, to bear away for Gangam, the ship continued in chase till Dark, when I altered my Course from N. N. W. to W. S. W. for three hours, and at day light saw no sign of her as it will take 9 or 10 days to get some more hands I will thank you to send me an order on some body at Ganjam for three hundred Rupees as I have not money sufficient to pay or outfit with me, and know no body at Ganjam.

I will thank you to acquaint Mrs. Carey I will write to-morrow post.

I am &c.

(Signed) **Andrew Carey.**

Gangam **27th December 1796.**

Ordered that the Marine Board be directed to report what means they may deem necessary to afford assistance to the Brig Peggy.

1797. — No. II.

Fort William 10th February 1797. Marine Board. To the Honble. **Sir John Shore Baronet** Governor General in Council.

Honble. Sir, — We beg leave to lay before you a Letter addressed to us by the Commander of **the Brig Peggy**, which has been in the Service of Government at Port Cornwallis and to refer to you the Circumstances stated by the Commander, in his Justification for having left the place without orders, as well as to ground his hopes of some consideration for the misfortunes he has Suffered.

There appears from Captain Carey's Account to have been a necessity for leaving the Andamans and of course, no blame or breach of Engagement, should, in our Opinion, be imputed to him for having done so, In respect to Compensation, as in the agreement for the Peggy it was stipulated that every Expence should be defrayed by the Owners, and the Company liable to no Claims whatever, on Account of the Brig, except for his *(sic)* monthly hire, nothing else (and no part of that is due to the end of January 1797) can be demanded, but if your Honble. Board should desire from motives of liberality to Shew attention to his case, we would propose that the relief should be given in either of two ways — one is by paying to the Owners without using the Vessel, the two Months hire that would be due to complete the Term of your Engagement ending on the 31st of March 1797, and Certainly we cannot recommend that She should be ordered to the Andamans to go and return that period, or, if you still be of Opinion a Vessel should be Stationed there that you give Captain Carey a Preference by renewing the engagement for the Brig for Six Months from this Time, at the present rate. We cannot in all events recommend that any encrease of that rate Should be allowed.

We have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) **John Bristow, John Haldane.**

Fort William the **3rd February 1797.**

Enclosure.

Gentlemen, I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you with the arrival of **the Brig Peggy** from the Andamans station and as I left that place without orders from Government I think it necessary to explain to you the cause of my having done so.

When I had been some time at the Island my Ships Crew became very sickly and the Malady encreased so fast that I lost every soul except two Europeans one of whom with myself were attacked with the same Disorder, in this distressed Situation I determined to make an attempt to gain some Board where I could get more people and also to inform you of my having left the Island for that purpose as had I remained longer it would have been at the hazard of my own life and that of the other two Surviving Men.

I with much difficulty effected my departure from **Port Cornwallis** and steered for **the Island of Norcondum** off which I lay in hopes of falling in with some of the China Ships to get assistance, I luckily spoke **the Ship Caesar**, the Captain upon hearing my distress gave me two Men, with this reinforcement I steered for Calcutta but after having arrived off **the Sand Heads**, a Violent Gale of Wind came on, which blew away all my Sails and for the Preservation of the Vessel, I was obliged to scud before it to Gangam.

At the Board I used every effort to get a Crew and return to my Station, but I found there was not a Man to be had that would accompany me back, indeed all the people at the place refused to go on board my Vessel until I previously gave them Security for my proceeding direct to Bengal.

Thus situated I judged it most expedient to proceed to Bengal for the purpose of getting a Ships Crew and to acquaint you of my proceedings. My misfortunes did not end here, for the Day after I left Gangam, I was **boarded by a French Privateer** and plundered of every thing moveable in the Vessel, even to my own Cloths, they also hove overboard all my Guns and Ammunition and Cut away the only good Anchor and Cable I had remaining to my Bows, and then sent me a drift which I beg you will take into your benign Consideration.

Should you wish to peruse my Journal I shall send it to corroborate the aforesaid relation.

I hope Gentlemen you will take into consideration the many hardships I have suffered during the time I have been in your Service, and should you think proper to employ the Peggy again on the Same Station for Six Nine or Twelve Months, she will be ready to proceed in the course of a few days — should I be again employed I intend to take more Men with me and I hope you will not

think it unreasonable my asking a small encrease of allowance to enable me to provide them and that you will order the full Amount of the Stipulated time for which I was engaged to be paid me.

I am &c.

(Signed) A. Carey.

Calcutta **30th January 1797.**

Ordered the Marine Board be informed that Government Admit Captain Carey's Justification of his conduct for leaving the Andamans without orders and of the Alternative submitted by the Board in the last Paragraph of their Letter. Government adopt the first Suggestion, and Authorize the payment of the two Months hire to the owners of the Peggy, without requiring the fulfillment of their engagement. **The Board resolve to postpone for the present the taking up another Vessel to be stationed at the Andamans.**

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 47.)

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES ON THE KAMARS OF THE RAIPUR DISTRICT.

A SMALL tribe, whose numbers, all told, probably do not exceed seven thousand, calling themselves **Kamârs**, are to be found scattered through the forests lying in the south-eastern corner of the Raipur district. What their ethnological position is, it is difficult to say. To some extent they resemble the Gonds, and their origin, though this is perhaps legendary, points in this direction; but their language, mixed up as it is with much Marâthî and some Urdû, bears no resemblance to Gôndî.

In the *Census Report* of 1891, the Kamârs, who are placed under the heading "Aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpûr and the Urya Country," are said to have been workers in metals, and to have subsequently taken to jungle pursuits. This is undoubtedly a mistake; they are able to fashion their own arrow-heads, but this many jungle tribes can do, and beyond this they know nothing of metal-working, and none of the traditions in any way connect them with such work.

Physically, the Kamârs are a dark, slight, and usually ugly people, who lead a typically jungle life. Occasionally they cultivate a small patch of ground by "jhuming," growing tuberous plants and more rarely millets, but as many of the tribe live in Government forests, where this form of cultivation is no longer allowed, their chief means of support are the collection of such jungle products as lac, myrabolams, *mâhwâ* wax, honey and edible roots, which they barter for salt and grain, and in addition they manage to shoot with their bows and arrows a few peafowl, hare, antelope, and deer. In some respects they are superior to many jungle tribes. They do not eat vermin, monkeys or domestic cattle, and the women (this restriction not extending to the men) do not eat fowl. Nor do the women drink anything stronger than water, while the men are ready to drink the strongest spirits they can obtain, and as much of it as possible. The young girls are allowed an occasional sip of the native-made *mâhwâ* liquor, but why they may drink it and their mothers may not, it is difficult to say.

The religion of the Kamârs, as with almost all jungle tribes, is a propitiatory one. On the whole, they cannot be called a religious tribe; they look up to a Supreme God, to whom on rare occasions sacrifice and prayer are offered, but they do not people every big tree or root with a demon.

The tribe is sub-divided into two portions, one of which is called **Nâg** and the other **Netam**, the former deriving its supposed origin from a cobra and the latter from a tortoise. The story of their origin is that the sea, lying far to the west of the country now occupied by the tribe, gave birth, first to a Gond, then to a *nâg* (cobra), and then a *netam* (tortoise). For this reason they consider the Gonds their superiors, though closely related to them, and they are the only people with whom the men will eat — the women will eat only with Kamârs.

It is an absolute rule that a *nâg* must marry a *netam*. And marriage between two *nâgs* or two *netams* — between brother and sister they consider it — entails expulsion from the tribe.

As has been noted, the Kamârs are not a religious people, and the Hindu *pûjâ* finds very little place in their lives. At a time of sickness, at a betrothal, and at a marriage, a goat may be sacrificed, the office of priest being hereditary and known as *jhâkur*. Perhaps 30 per cent. of the Kamâr men are *jhâkurs*, and this is a necessary condition, as rarely more than two or three families live together within easy reach of one another. The *jhâkur* in no way differs from his fellow-Kamârs in the mode of obtaining his livelihood or in his dress, and but for the fact that the sacrifice must be made by him and the few words of prayer spoken by him, no one outside the tribe would distinguish him. One religious ceremony, known as *dûmâ*, or the performance of funeral rites, is certainly worth remarking upon. After death the corpse is buried, and then as many of the tribe as can be quickly collected together, go to the nearest water — it may be a stream, a pond, flowing or still water — and into this they wade. Then they all grope about for any living animal matter (frogs, fish, prawns, etc.) that they can catch hold of, and when a fair quantity has been collected, the animals are carried back to the house where the deceased lived and there thrown down upon the floor. It is supposed that the action of bringing life back to the house has drawn the soul of the deceased, which since death has been with the Supreme God, back to earth again, and that it will in course of time become a Kamâr, a tiger, a wild dog, or some other form of hunter, with which the tribe think their souls are associated.

G. F. D'PENHA.

THE CONNECTION OF ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE WITH INDIA.

BY W. R. PHILIPPS.

(*Concluded from page 15*)

III. — Some writings of doubtful date or antiquity which make mention of the connection of St. Thomas with India.

WE come now to some writings which have been frequently quoted as the genuine productions of the ancient authors whose names have been put upon them. They have been even quoted as genuine from the very volumes in which they are distinctly printed as "spurious," where, indeed, they have been inserted by way of warning to prevent persons being deceived by extracts and references they may find elsewhere. It is therefore necessary to say something about them. They are not entirely to be rejected because they have a wrong name attached to them; but, until we know their real dates, we cannot make much practical use of them.

1. — Pseudo-Hippolytus. The genuine Hippolytus is St. Hippolytus, bishop, who died about 239; he lived and wrote in Rome. There is a Greek work ascribed to him entitled "Hippolytus on the Twelve Apostles: where each of them died, and where he met his end."

It contains the following passage:—

"And Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and "Margians,[1] and was thrust through in the four members of his body with a pine spear[2] at "Calamene,[3] the city of India (ἐν πόλει Καλαμήνῃ, τῆς Ἰνδικῆς) and was buried there.

"[1] Μάργοις. Combefisius proposes Μάρδοις. Jerome [should be Pseudo-Jerome] has 'Magis.'

"[2] The text is ἐλακήδη ἐλογχιάσβη, ἐλακήδη being probably for ἐλάτῃ.

"[3] Καλαμήνῃ. Steph. le Moyne reads Καραμήνῃ."

The above translation and notes are from S. D. F. Salmond: *The Writings of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus*, Vol. 2, Edinburgh, 1869, p. 131. The translation has been verified by reference to the Greek text in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 10, Paris, 1857. Salmond apparently took his notes from Migne.

On reference to several authors who treat of St. Hippolytus and his works, — Cardinal Wiseman (1853), Combefis (1648), Wetzer and Welte (1861), Bunsen (1854), Ceillier (1858), etc., — I find no opinion as to the real date of the doubtful work "On the Twelve Apostles." The point seemed important in view of the mention of Calamene or Caramene. As regards the "Margians," Combefis proposed Μάρδοις, as the Mardi were a Hyrcanian people.

This Pseudo-Hippolytus affords an example of the misuse of such writings. In 1892, the Rev. George Milne Rae, Fellow of the University of Madras, published at Edinburgh a book entitled "The Syrian Church in India," — a subject which has lent itself to much foolish writing in England, India, and Germany during the last two hundred years or more. Mr. Rae referred to this passage from Pseudo-Hippolytus as if the work containing it were genuine, and he actually made use of Salmond's translation, overlooking the translator's warning.

2. — Pseudo-Dorotheus. A Greek writing exists under the title of "Ecclesiastical "History (σύγγραμμα ἐκκλησιαστικον) concerning the 70 Disciples of the Lord, by Dorotheus, "bishop of Tyre." It does not purport to be his actual writing; but it gives particulars of his life, and then records what he wrote about the Seventy Disciples and the Twelve Apostles "and the places where each of them preached Christ." The passage about St. Thomas is as follows:—

"And Thomas the apostle, having preached the gospel to the Parthians and Medes, and "Persians, and Germani, and Bactrians, and Magi, suffered martyrdom (τελειοῦται) in a city of "India called Calamita (Καλαμίτῃ)."

Dorotheus is stated to have been bishop of Tyre at the close of the 3rd century. If so, and if he wrote about the twelve apostles as above, the passage quoted would be valuable, as containing an early mention of the place of St. Thomas' martyrdom. But there seems to be no reason for ascribing it to him. "Germani" really means, I surmise, "Carmanians."

The passage is signalled here by way of warning, for it figures in books as an early testimony of St. Thomas' martyrdom in India. It was so used by the Abbé Huc, famous for his travels in Tibet, and in particular for his success in reaching Lhassa, where he and his colleague Gabet resided for some months in 1846. Manning (1811-12), Huc, and Gabet seem to have been the only Europeans who succeeded in reaching Lhassa in the nineteenth century. In 1857-8, Huc published at Paris four volumes entitled *Le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie et au Thibet*, — a work of which there are one or two English editions. In Vol. 1, p. 20, he brings forward the testimony of Dorotheus as to the martyrdom of St. Thomas at Calamina, and actually says it is contained in a fragment preserved in the Paschal Chronicle, "tom. ii, 198." The Paschal Chronicle is a Greek work written soon after 630, probably at Constantinople, and its chief value is said to consist in the fact that it contains the remains of older writings incorporated in it. Nevertheless, it contains no trace of the "fragment" in question. Dindorf, in 1832, published at Bonn an edition of the Paschal Chronicle in two volumes. In an appendix in the second volume, he printed the Syngramma, above mentioned, among "Selecta ad illustrationem Chronici Paschalis." He did so by way of illustrating a passage in the chronicle regarding the Seventy Disciples; the document has no connection with the Chronicle, and Dindorf pointed out it was not by Dorotheus, even if such a person existed in the 3rd century. Huc evidently had this edition in view, for he quotes volume and page correctly; but there his accuracy ends.

In 1877, the Rev. C. E. Kennet, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, published a small pamphlet at Madras, entitled *S. Thomas the Apostle of India; an Enquiry into the Evidence for his Mission to this Country*, — a pamphlet that is often quoted. Kennet makes no mention of Huc's book. But he evidently had it before him, as he repeats its error about Dorotheus and the Paschal Chronicle, and in other instances reproduces its mistakes, besides taking much of his matter from it. He, however, dates Dorotheus as being born 254, and gives a reference to "Cave's Historia literaria, pp. 107, 108. Colon, 1720."

The date to be ascribed to this writing of Pseudo-Dorotheus does not appear to be settled. Presumably it must be considered earlier than the Paschal Chronicle, earlier than 630.

It is interesting to note the form of the name of the place of martyrdom, — Calamita, not Calamina.

3. — Pseudo-Jerome or Pseudo-Sophronius. The following statement from the Greek has often been quoted, sometimes under the name of St. Jerome, who died 420, and sometimes under the name of his Greek friend Sophronius who translated some of his works : —

"Thomas the apostle, as has been handed down to us, preached the gospel of the Lord to "the Parthians and Medes and Persians and Carmanians and Hyrcanians and Bactrians and "the Magi. He slept in the city of Calamina which is in India."

Scholars are agreed that the document in which this statement appears was written neither by St. Jerome nor by Sophronius. St. Jerome wrote a work in 135 chapters entitled "De viris illustribus liber." This is in fact a misleading title, for the book is an account only of Christian writers up to his own time, and it is otherwise known as his book "de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis," "Catalogue of Church Writers," "Liber de auctoribus," etc. Sophronius translated this work into Greek, and we have his translation as well as St. Jerome's Latin original.

Erasmus published this translation at Bâle in 1539, and the Greek MS. which he used appears to have contained, in addition, the document from which the above passage is taken,—part inserted after chapter 1, and the rest after chapter 4. In Migne's *Patrologia*, Vol. 23, it is printed separately under the title "Appendix de Vitis Apostolorum," as it forms no part of the work either of St. Jerome or of Sophronius. It is, in fact, a short account of the apostles who left no writings, and who were therefore quite outside the scope of St. Jerome's work.

It is unnecessary to give here the reasons for regarding it as an altogether spurious addition. They may be found at length in R. Ceillier's *Histoire Générale des Auteurs Sacrés*, Paris, 1860, Vol. 6, p. 278; also in Migne's volume above mentioned, cols. 599 ff. These particulars may prevent people being misled, as many have been, by finding the above citation put forward in various books as a genuine statement by St. Jerome or by Sophronius.

The Abbé Huc, in the volume already mentioned, quotes the passage as written, if not by St. Jerome, then certainly by Sophronius; and he gives the apparently unmeaning reference "Sanctus Hier. Catal. script. eccl. I., 120." In fact such part of his book as refers to the introduction of Christianity in India is full of mistakes. The Rev. C. E. Kennet of Madras, who followed him blindly, though he never mentions his name, gave the same reference. He also said (really translating from Huc) that St. Jerome "speaks of the mission of St. Thomas to India as "a fact universally known and believed in his time." I cannot find that any such statement was made by St. Jerome in any of his writings.

General Sir Alexander Cunningham, writing of St. Thomas, has the following: — "The scene "of his death is said to have been the city of Calamina in India, Sophronius, c. viii., 'Dormivit in "civitate Calamina quae est Indiae.' "

Now, in early Christian history, we have to reckon with a considerable number of persons bearing the name of Sophronius. But there is only one really notable writer among them; and, when we speak of Sophronius simply, we mean him and no other, and the person we mean is St. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 633 to 637, a most voluminous Greek writer, many of whose works are very well known. And with a writer whose works, or rather only some of them, occupy several large volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, what are we to do with so vague a reference as "c. viii." ? It has no meaning for any Sophronius; not even for the comparatively insignificant friend of St. Jerome whose few little original works have all perished. It is also somewhat misleading to quote Greek writers as if they wrote in Latin.

The writing to which I am referring is General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. 5, Report for 1872-3, Calcutta, 1875, p. 60. There are other curious statements on the same page. For instance, in referring to the legends about St. Thomas, he speaks of "the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles written by Leucius and his copyist Abdias." This is a strange inversion: the Acts in question purport to have been written by Abdias, first bishop of Babylon in the first century; and they, or some of them, are supposed to have been really composed in later times by one Leucius, a Manichean. Certainly Abdias could not have been the copyist of Leucius.

On the same page, the Latin form of the name Mazdai,—a good old Persian name, as Mr. Burkitt calls it, — the name of the king who put St. Thomas to death, — is transformed from Mesdeus into Meodeus. A reference is given to Col. H. Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London, 1866, Vol. 2, p. 376. There the same mistake may be found, with several others. Col. Yule, not satisfied with writing "Meodeus," actually put "(Mahadeva?)" after it!

Another case of misquotation may be mentioned here. A passage has been given above from St. Gaudentius, Sermon 17, in which he states simply that St. Thomas is said to have been martyred "apud Indos." Huc (Vol. 1, p. 22) actually gives a reference to this Sermon, and says "Gaudence "comme Sophrone" states "qu'il mourut dans l'Inde, à Calamine." Kennet (p. 10) translated this, while affecting to be original: — "Gaudentius says, like Sophronius, that he died in India at the

"town of Calamina (Serm. 17)." As a matter of fact, St. Gaudentius makes no mention of Calamina, or of any city or town.

The form in which the three similar statements appear in the above three pseudographs, appears worthy of remark. St. Thomas is described as having preached to certain people mentioned by name, all of whom might, I think, be fairly regarded as elements of the Parthian empire of the time, with the doubtful exception of the Bactrians, who, however, might themselves have then been under a separate Parthian dynasty (that of Gondophares). The apostle is not mentioned as having preached to the "Indians," though all the passages end by saying he died in a city of India. We might take it, therefore, that the India of the writers must have been, or must have included, the country of one or more of the peoples named, *e. g.*, the country of the Bactrians, or perhaps any country beyond the limits of Parthia or Parthian rule, as a late writer might understand those limits.

There remains one more writing to be mentioned, not as a spurious work, but for other reasons. I refer to:—

The Apostolical Constitutions. — Scholars are, I believe, still divided as to the date of this work. Bunsen thought that, apart from a few interpolations, it belonged to the 2nd or 3rd century. F. J. A. Hort, however, says it apparently dates from the fourth century, though containing earlier elements. (*Notes introductory to the Study of the Clementine Recognitions*, London, 1901, p. 9.) Among the various Greek versions there are two Vienna MSS., which were first published in 1724. These Bunsen considered to be nearer the original than others, both in what they give and in what they omit.

In book 8, chapter 21 is headed "Constitution of Thomas regarding sub-deacons." In one of the Vienna MSS. alluded to, this heading is omitted, and in its place is the following:—

"Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Germanians (Γερμανοῖς probably should be Καρμάνοις), Hyrcanians, Bactrianians, Barsians (Βαρσοῖς), who also, having been a martyr, lies in Edessa of Osdronene (τῆς 'Οσδρονηνῆς)."

Βαρσοῖς should, I suppose, be Μαρδοῖς (the Mardi or Amardi, a tribe who dwelt on the south shore of the Caspian), or possibly Μαγοις, the Magi, as in Pseudo-Sophronius. Osdronene must be Osroëne.

The original may be seen in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1857, col. 1117. It is not, I think, to be supposed that the heading quoted is more than a copyist's addition. But in view of the importance of the manuscript containing it, we ought not to entirely reject it. Unfortunately, I have not been able to ascertain the date assigned to the manuscript itself.

IV. — Calamina.

We have now got together all, or nearly all, the early information at present available regarding the connection of St. Thomas with India. It remains to make a few remarks about **Calamina.** As has been shewn above, the statements made in modern works that St. Hippolytus (c. 239), Dorotheus (3rd cent.), St. Jerome and Sophronius his friend (c. 400), and St. Gaudentius (c. 410), assert that Calamina, a town or city in India, was the place of the apostle's martyrdom, all prove on examination to be untrue. No writer that we can name or date before the 7th century, if so early, makes mention of Calamina. We have only apparently later writings, of unknown authorship and apparently small value. We have yet to learn when the name first appeared in ecclesiastical history. This is a point that might be usefully taken up by some competent person. Some information might perhaps be obtained from the ancient martyrologies in Greek, Latin, Syriac, etc., upon the study of which several eminent scholars are engaged.

In these circumstances, it seems almost a waste of time to try to identify the place, or to discuss the various attempts at identification made by modern writers under the impression that Calamina had been mentioned in works of the first four centuries. Kalyân, near Bombay, the Calliana of

Cosmas (c. 535), has been suggested, but for no particular reason. Here it may be noted that Cunningham was inclined to identify the place with the *Min-nagar* of the *Periplus*, which he thought might have been called *Kara-Mina* or "Black Mina" to distinguish it from the older *Min* in Sakastene. He added that Calamina might also be *Kilak-Mina*, or the "Fort of Min," for, according to Rawlinson, the original Semitic word for 'fort' was *Kar*, corrupted early to *Kal* or *Khal*, as in Kalasar, Kalwâdeh, etc. (See *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. 2; Report for 1863-4, p. 60). There does not seem to be much in these suggestions. Gutschmid seems to have suggested Kalama, a village on the west of Gedrosia, opposite the island of Karbinê or Karmina.

We may, however, note **the various forms under which the name appears** in the Greek writings quoted above. In Pseudo-Jerome or Pseudo-Sophronius, it is Καλαμίνα or Calamina, the name that appears in the Roman Martyrology; in Pseudo-Dorotheus, it is Καλαμίτα; in Pseudo-Hippolytus it is Καλαμήνα or Καραμήνα.

The opinion has been expressed to me that the second form **Karamēna,** obtained from Pseudo-Hippolytus, is of considerable importance, because it at once suggests **Carmana** (**Karmāna**), the capital of the well-known ancient country Carmania (Karmānia) Propria.

Carmana either is the modern Karmân,— the 'Kerman' and 'Kirman' of maps, etc., — the chief town of the Karmân province of Persia, on the west of Seistân which is on the south-west frontier of Afghanistân, or else was some other city in the neighbourhood of Karmân, from which, on its becoming deserted, the ancient name was transferred to the modern Karmân. From a geographical, an ethnical, and indeed, as it seems to me, from every point of view, Carmana would, better than any part of India, fit the story of St. Thomas as told in the Acts; it would also harmonise with the good early evidence we have, which mentions the connection of St. Thomas with Parthia only, a geographical name which would include Carmania and possibly that part of "India citerior" which at the time seems to have been subject to a Parthian dynasty. As has already been pointed out, most of the names of the persons mentioned in the Acts in connection with the death of St. Thomas seem to be of Persian origin. They may, therefore, have been those of Carmanians, a people akin to the Persians. According to the Acts, St. Thomas came by sea to Sandarūk, went thence to the realm of King Gūdnafar or Gondophares, and afterwards to the realm of King Mazdai, where he was put to death. The numismatic evidence seems to shew that the dynasty of Gondophares was of Parthian origin, and that it ruled over Afghanistân and the Western Pañjâb; and there seems to be some reason for thinking that about that time, or not long after, the country at the mouth of the Indus was in the hands of Parthian rulers. (*Periplus*, c. 38.) We might take it that St. Thomas travelled up the valley of the Indus and afterwards went to Carmana. There is said to have been a well-known trade route through the Bolan Pass to Carmana.

All this is, of course, speculation. But it seems less fanciful than the theories which locate Calamina in Southern India. Such theories have been run on the supposition that St. Thomas was martyred near Madras, and that there is a tradition to that effect. There is nothing inherently improbable in such a supposition; still, it ought to be very plainly pointed out here that, not only is there no ancient written evidence to connect St. Thomas with Southern India, but there is no available evidence that there ever was even a tradition to that effect till we come to Marco Polo, who died in 1324. We cannot jump over thirteen centuries, and then say, as often has been said, that there has been a constant tradition that St. Thomas was martyred in Southern India. Even as regards Marco Polo, there is nothing to shew that he was ever near Mylapore; and the local tradition he records is that St. Thomas was not martyred at all, but met his death through an accident.

If we are to treat the Acts of St. Thomas as possessing some historical basis, and if we are to regard as serious writers the Fathers of the Church, whose works have been quoted above, then, I think, we must say that, though there may be nothing to absolutely exclude Southern India, yet all the indications point in another direction. I am not aware that the ecclesiastical

authorities at Rome have ever given any real support to the modern belief that St. Thomas was martyred near Madras, and buried at San Thomé or Mylapore: there may be documents in which the idea is mentioned, but never, I think, as a fact established; always with some qualifying phrase, so as to leave the question open. To judge from quotations, the Syriac liturgical books, which contain some details of the apostle's career, give no support to this modern supposition. The supposition may be correct; but it is still only a supposition. Marco Polo must have had something to go upon, and so must others who followed him, — Odoric, for instance, about 1322; but had they anything better than the current talk of the Nestorians then in India and China? The Indian Nestorians would naturally have easily come to the belief in the apostolic origin of their church, just as now some of their Catholic descendants pretend they never had any Nestorian ancestors, but were always Catholics, in communion with Rome. (See G. T. Mackenzie: *Christianity in Travancore:* Trivandrum, 1901.) Nevertheless, we know from history that they were Nestorians until the Catholic missionaries took them in hand in the 16th century and converted them.

Anyhow, when the Portuguese arrived in Southern India, they found among the Nestorians the story already known from mediæval travellers, that the tomb of St. Thomas was at Mylapore, or San Thomé, as the Portuguese afterwards called it, near Madras. The tomb was opened in 1521; some remains were found and were removed to Goa. These are the relics alluded to by Bickell, quoted above. They or part of them have, I understand, been since returned to Mylapore, and are enshrined in the cathedral built over the tomb.

Of the discovery, and of the translation to Goa, there must be or ought to be authentic acts in the archives of Goa or Portugal; for, no carelessness was likely to occur in matters of such religious interest and importance. I do not know at present if the documents have ever been published; and, unfortunately, the accounts of the discovery, repeated from book to book, are disfigured by an absurd story, which, if true, only shews the credulity of the Portuguese. A stone, with a cross and inscription in unknown characters cut upon it, was discovered about 1547 at St. Thomas' Mount near Madras; and a learned Brâhmaṇ was sent for, who interpreted the inscription into a long account confirmatory of St. Thomas' martyrdom in the locality. Another learned Brâhmaṇ was brought from a distant country; and, independently of the former one, he gave the same interpretation. It never occurs to the writers who repeat this story, that the stone is still at the Mount church, and that they may go and look at it, or look at the pictures that have been published of it, and see for themselves that the inscription, which these learned Brâhmaṇs are alleged to have read in such an extremely copious and satisfying way, consists only of a few words in the Pahlavî character. Dr. E. W. West, who has last dealt with the record, has interpreted these few words as most probably meaning:— "(*He*) whom "the suffering of the selfsame Messiah, the forgiving and upraising, (*has*) saved, (*is*) offering "the plea whose origin (*was*) the agony of this" (see his article on Inscriptions around Crosses in Southern India, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 4, 1896-97, p. 174 ff.). Dr. Burnell was inclined to refer the record to the 7th or 8th century (see his article on some Pahlavî Inscriptions in Southern India, in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 3, 1874, p. 308 ff.; see, also, Mr. Sewell's *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. 1, 1882, p. 176).

These discoveries near Madras do not, — it seems to me, — help us towards the identification of Calamina, though they have served to convince many persons, to their satisfaction, that Calamina and Mylapore are one and the same place. Huc (Vol. 1, p. 24), following the Abbé Rénaudot (1718), says that Mylapore in the middle ages was known to Arabic writers as "Bétama ou Beit Thoma, la maison, l'église de Thomas." Kennet copies Huc. But the place indicated, Batuma or Tanumah, was evidently not in India, but much further east; the name is perhaps an error for Natuma, the Natuma Islands, in the China Sea (see Yule: *Cathay, etc.*, Vol. 1, p. civ.). In any case, it is a wholly gratuitous assumption that the word has anything to do with any Thomas.

We have no evidence whatever of Christianity in Southern India or Ceylon till we come to Cosmas (about 535). And it seems to me that, by locating St. Thomas' tomb at Mylapore, we go out of our way to create difficulties. We have more or less to explain away or improve upon early Christian evidence, or to assume miracles of which there is no record.

Even what we learn from early sources about the relics of St. Thomas, seems out of harmony with the notion that the tomb of St. Thomas was in Southern India. The Acts, or some versions of them, tell us that the relics were carried away to the "West," an expression which would have been inappropriate if the starting-point had been Mylapore. The constant tradition of the Church seems to have been that the body was taken to Edessa. St. Ephraem (end of the 4th century), as quoted above, seems to imply that part of the body had been left in India; but that in no way implies Southern India. It is interesting, here, to note that the territory of which Edessa was the capital was in some sort of dependence on the Parthian empire till 216 A. D.; and so the Parthian connection of St. Thomas seems to run through everything. In the long account from an eyewitness, which St. Gregory of Tours (end of the 6th century) gives of a famous church in India at the unnamed place where St. Thomas was first buried, there is no suggestion of Southern India, and his description of the depth of the wells could hardly apply to Mylapore. We may note, also, that he says nothing about a part of the body being still there. The omission of so important a fact would be impossible in such a narrative, if we are to take it seriously. So, even if we assume him to mean Mylapore, we must conclude that the tomb was empty and that no relics were there.

The opinion of Asseman, mentioned by Bickell, as quoted above, is of great weight in such a matter as this. Asseman, who wrote at Rome early in the 18th century, was perfectly well informed; and no one could be more competent to pass judgment on the facts. He deemed these **Indian relics of St. Thomas a Nestorian fabrication.**

V. — General Conclusions.

The Right Rev. A. E. Medlycott, Bishop of Tricomia, formerly Vicar Apostolic of Trichur, has, I understand, a monograph on St. Thomas in preparation. It will, we may hope, afford us some fresh information, especially from recently explored Syriac sources. Meanwhile, **the results at which we have here arrived regarding St. Thomas,** may be summed up as follows :—

(1) — There is good early evidence that St. Thomas was the apostle of the Parthian empire; and also evidence that he was the apostle of "India" in some limited sense,—probably of an "India" which included the Indus valley, but nothing to the east or south of it.

(2) — According to the Acts, the scene of the martyrdom of St. Thomas was in the territory of a king named, according to the Syriac version, Mazdai, to which he had proceeded after a visit to the city of a king named, according to the same version, Gūdnaphar or Gūndaphar.

(3) — There is no evidence at all that the place where St. Thomas was martyred was in Southern India; and all the indications point in another direction.

(4) — We have no indication whatever, earlier than that given by Marco Polo, who died 1324, that there ever was even a tradition that St. Thomas was buried in Southern India.

VI. — Some remarks about Gondophares, and about the proposed identification of certain persons mentioned in connection with him.

It does not come within the scope of this paper to discuss what is known from other sources than the Acts of St. Thomas, about the **Gondophares** whose name has been mentioned in some of the preceding pages. The following statements, however, may be made:—

At Kâbul and Kandahâr in Afghanistân, and at various places in the Pañjâb, in Sindh, and in Seistân, there are obtained **certain coins** which have an Indian legend on one side and a Greek legend on the other. The Indian legend gives the name of a king in two forms, Gudaphara and

Gudapharna. Of the Greek legends, some present the name of the same king, in the genitive case, as Gondopharou and Gondapharou, and others present the genitive Undopherrou. The two Greek names are understood to denote one and the same person. And his name is habitually accepted as Gondophares. He is held to have been of Parthian extraction. And the *provenance* of the coins indicates that his rule extended at least over Afghanistân and the Western parts of the Pañjâb. In connection with the above-mentioned genitive Undopherrou, it is convenient to say here that Mr. Budge has a note in *The Contendings of the Apostles*, Vol. 2, p. 21, that the old Persian form of the name is Viñdafra.

Other coins, also having both Greek and Indian legends, present the names of Abdagases, who appears to be distinctly described on them as a son of a brother of Gudaphara, — of Orthagnes, who is supposed to be described on them as a brother of Gudaphara, — and of Sasa and some other persons.

Also, at Takht-i-Bahi in the Yusufzai country, near Peshâwar, there has been obtained **an inscription**, in Indian characters, which is dated in the 26th year of the reign of Gudaphara, and in the year 103 of an era not specified by name. And no hesitation has ever been felt, I believe, about identifying the king who is therein mentioned with the king whose name we have in various forms on the coins and in the tradition about St. Thomas.

It is held that the coins preclude us from referring the date of the inscription to the Saka era commencing A. D. 78, and from placing that record in A. D. 180; because the general style of them forbids us to place them as late as that, and one of them, which connects with the name of Gondophares a certain particular epithet, seems to have been struck not later than the middle of the first century A. D. It is also held that that period would suit the other coins. And it has been admitted, in some quarters at least, that a very appropriate synchronism between the coins and the inscription and the period of St. Thomas may be established, by referring the date of the inscription to an initial point quite close to that of the Vikrama era commencing B. C. 58, and so placing the record in about A. D. 45 and the commencement of the reign of Gudaphara-Gudapharna-Gondophares in about A. D. 20.

(Authorities: — A. Cunningham: *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. 2, Report for 1862-65, Calcutta, 1871, pp. 59, 60, and Vol. 5, Report for 1872-73, Calcutta, 1875, pp. 23, 58. A. von Sallet: in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 9, 1880, pp. 255-263. P. Gardner: *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, London, 1886. M. A. Stein: in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 17, 1888, pp. 89-98. A. Cunningham: *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*. London, 1890. G. Bühler: in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 25, 1896, p. 141.)

It has been suggested that **Orthagnes** is identical with the Gad of the Acts,— the brother of King Gūdnaphar. It is, however, doubtful whether Orthagnes was a brother of Gondophares. The supposition rests only on the supposed meaning of a word on the coins, the reading of which, proposed by Gen. Cunningham, is doubtful. Gardner (p. xlv.) can only say "the supposition has nothing improbable in it."

As to **Abdagases**: — In the Greek writing concerning "the Falling Asleep of the Holy Mother of God," which Tischendorf dated not later than the 4th century, there is the following passage, which I take from A. Walker's translation (*Apocryphal Gospels, etc.*, 1890, pp. 507-8): — "And "Thomas also answered and said: — And I, traversing the country of the Indians, when the preach- "ing was prevailing by the grace of Christ, and the King's sister's son, Labdanus by name, was "about to be sealed by me in the palace, on a sudden the Holy Spirit says to me, Do thou also, "Thomas, go to Bethlehem to salute the mother of thy Lord, because she is taking her departure "to the heavens." "Labdanus" should be "Labdanes." The original Greek may be seen in C. Tischendorf; *Apocalypses Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Johannis item Mariae dormitio, etc.*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 101. Regarding Syriac versions see supplementary note at the end of this paper.

We have no King's sister's son in the Acts; but we have the son of King Mazdai, Vīzān in the Syriac, who was baptised in his own house. In the Greek versions of the Acts, Vīzān, as shewn above, is Οὐαζάνης, 'Ιουζανής, 'Ιουαζάνης, and 'Αζάνης, and in the Latin Zuzanes, Zuzani, Zuzanius, Luzanis, and Oazanes. The allusion may be to the same person.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 9, 1880, pp. 255-263, there is a review of A. von Sallet's *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien,* Berlin, 1879, with translations of long extracts from the same. One of the extracts is as follows (p. 262 f.):—

"Abdagases, Nephew of Yndopheres. The passage communicated by Gutschmid from *Apocryph.* "*Evangelium Joannis de obitu Mariæ* is important. There the apostle Thomas says of his mission "to the king of India:— τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόματι Λαβδανοῦς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μέλλοντος "σφραγίζεσθαι ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ. Moreover, besides Gondophoros, his brother Gad, who was converted with "him, is mentioned; now Gutschmid justly compares ΒΑCΙLΕΥ ΑΒΑΔΑ ΓΥΝΔΙΦΕΡΟ ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕωΣ "with υἱός τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως. This is certainly the same person, and the notice again "demonstrates how well the first legend writers were informed about Gondophares and his family. "But from the former erroneous lection ΑΟΔΑΔ instead of ΑΒΑΔΑ fixed by the Berlin specimen which "I copied, the erroneous suppositions of Gutschmid follow, who considers βασιλευα[2] to be a barbarous "genitive of the name 'Οάδας = Gvâd, Gad,—the supposed brother of the king and perhaps = Labdanes "(Abdanes) and compares this supposed Oadas with ΟΑΔΟ, the wind-god of Kanerku.

"Now the more correct lections of these nephew-coins (Prinsep, *Essays*, Vol. II., p. 216), with the "distinct name Abdagasa in Aryan, which Gutschmid has not used in this instance, demonstrate the "erroneousness of these conjectures.

"The nephew of Gondophares, as we learn from his coins, was called Abdagases, in Aryan "always Abdagasa, or Avdagasa, in Greek sometimes corrupted to 'Αβαδά . . . , 'Αβαλάσου, etc. "The reading adduced by Gutschmid of υἱοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Λαβδανοῦς is certain and of "great value; this nephew and his name are certainly identical with the Abdagases, Abada . . . "Abalgases of the coins."

We seem hardly in a position to make such positive statements. If we make use of these "legends," we must interpret them one with another. There seems no sufficient reason to think that the king to whom St. Thomas is made to allude, in the passage given just above, is Gondophares: the allusion would seem to be a totally different king, namely, the Mazdai of the Syriac Acts, the Μισδαῖος of the Greek and Misdeus of the Latin, — the king who put St. Thomas to death. It may be that the "legend-writers" have confused them; but, then, how are we to say they were "well informed about Gondophares and his family"? This Labdanes may perhaps be the Vīzān or Οὐαζάνης of the Acts, the son of King Mazdai; but there seems no good reason to identify him with Abdagases, the nephew of Gondophares. It should be remarked also that, though the reading Λαβδανοῦς is probably certain, still one of Tischendorf's texts has Κλαυδανοὺς. Also the texts do not say that the apostle is speaking "of his mission to the king of India:" that is only Von Sallet's inference.

We know nothing about Gondophares and his family except what can be learnt, as detailed above, from coins, from one inscription, and from the Acts of St. Thomas. His date is not yet definitely fixed; his territories are still more or less undefined; and his race is still not certain.

But, according to Gutschmid, all had been settled. Gondophares reigned A. D. 7 to 29; he ruled over "Aria, Drangiana and Arachosia;" and he derived "his descent from a Parthian "dynasty." His investigations had also shewn "that the Acts of Thomas are really based on "a Buddhist work, containing the history of a conversion, the scene of which must have been

[2] There seems to be something wrong about this sentence, from the word "But" to "βασιλευα." I can only quote exactly what is before me in print.

"Arachosia, and its date the times of Gondophorus." (R. A. Lipsius: article "Acts of the "Apostles, Apocryphal," in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography, etc.*, Vol. 1, London, 1877.) Further, "Gutschmid shows that Gaspard, one of the three Kings of the "Christian legend, is identical with Gondophares" (quotation from Gardner, p. xliii.).

All this seems fanciful. And Lipsius' easy acceptance, in 1877 or before, of the positive statements made by Gutschmid in matters which were then and still are uncertain, must continue to diminish the value of the former's criticism of the Acts of St. Thomas. Lipsius appeared to ignore the existence of **the Syriac Version,** which must be our starting-point. These Acts of St. Thomas should also be treated as an independent work, complete in itself, as Mr. Burkitt has treated it; not merely as a chapter in a work dealing with all the apostles, as scholars were inclined to treat it when only the Latin version of Pseudo-Abdias was available. The publication of the Syriac has made some criticism obsolete. And if we are to use these "legends," we must go to the Acts of St. Thomas, in the Syriac version, first of all, and not, as Cunningham, Yule, and others have done, to Pseudo-Abdias and to so very late a compilation as the "Legenda Aurea" of Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230-1298), Archbishop of Genoa.

VII. — Note on the Legenda Aurea.

As mentioned just above, the **Legenda Aurea** has been quoted by some writers in dealing with Gondophares. It therefore seems desirable to say something about it, although it is too modern a work to be of much use for our purposes. It is one of the numerous works of the Dominican friar Jacobus a Voragine, or as we should say in English, Friar James of Varazze. Varazze or Voragine is a small seaport town in the Italian Riviera, and was the birthplace of the author, who ultimately became archbishop of Genoa, and died in 1298.

The work in question is an explanation of the offices celebrated by the Church during the ecclesiastical year, beginning with Advent. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, 1888, describes it, not correctly, as a collection of legendary lives of the greater saints of the mediæval church. It is a work which obtained a large circulation, and it was translated from the Latin into several languages. Caxton published three English versions, 1483, 1487, and 1493.

The Latin text may be seen in the edition published by Dr. Th. Graesse at Dresden and Leipzig in 1846 under the title "Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta." A new French translation has been published recently by the Abbé J. B. M. Roze : *La légende dorée de Jacques de Voragine nouvellement traduite:* Paris, 1902 : 3 volumes.

The festival of St. Thomas, 21st December, falling as it does in Advent, is dealt with in an early part of the work; and an account is there given of the life of the apostle, from which the following points of interest are extracted.

When St. Thomas was at Caesarea "rex Indiae Gundoferus misit praepositum Abbanem quaerere hominem architectoria arte eruditum . . . . ut romano opere sibi palatium construatur." The apostle consented to go; and our Lord, Who had appeared to him and to Abbanes, "tradidit ei Thomam . . . . Navigantes autem ad quandam civitatem venerunt, in qua rex filiae suae nuptias celebrabat." The name of the city is not given, but what took place there is described.

"Post haec autem apostolus et Abbanes ad regem Indiae pervenerunt," *i. e.*, to Gundoferus, though the name is only mentioned once, namely as above at the beginning of the narrative.

The king gave St. Thomas much treasure with which to build a palace, and went away to another province for two years. Meanwhile the apostle gave the money away, preached to the people, and made innumerable conversions. On his return, learning what had been done, the king imprisoned St. Thomas and Abbanes, intending to put them to death.

Then Gad, the king's brother, died, and came to life again on the fourth day, and told of the palace he had seen in heaven. Gad released St. Thomas from prison; and the king begged his pardon. Many conversions followed.

"Post hoc autem in superiorem Indiam abiit." There he converted: —

1. Sintice or Syntice (the name is spelt both ways), friend of Migdomia.
2. Migdomia or Migdonia (this name also is spelt in two ways), wife of Carisius, kinsman ("cognatus") of the king.
3. The wife of the king, sister of Migdomia.

The names of the king and queen are not given. The king would be the Mazdai of the Syriac Acts.

Finally, St. Thomas was put to death in the presence of the king and Carisius by the high priest of a temple, (" . . . . pontifex autem templi elevans gladium transverberavit"). His body was buried by the Christians.

"Post longum tempus scilicet circa annos domini CC. et XXX. corpus apostoli in Edessam civitatem, quae olim dicebatur Rages Medorum, translatum est, Alexandro imperatore ad Syrorum preces hoc faciente." The confusion of Edessa in Mesopotamia with Rhagae the great city of Media is curious.

Thus the **Legenda Aurea,** as far as it goes, agrees substantially with the Syriac and other Acts. But the version it follows most closely is the second of the two Latin ones given by Max Bonnet, namely, the version headed "Passio Sancti Thomae Apostoli." This version mentions "Sinthice," "Sintice," or "Sentice," friend of Migdonia, who is not mentioned in the other Latin version or in the Greek or Syriac. It likewise makes the statement, but without a date, that the remains of the apostle were removed to Edessa at the request of the Syrians through the instrumentality of the emperor Alexander, who sent "ad regulos Indorum" for them. It is also there stated that the Syrians made their petition "ab Alexandro imperatore romano veniente victore de Persidis proelio, Xerse rege devicto." The allusion appears to be to the emperor Alexander Severus, who in 232 A. D. undertook an expedition against Artaxerxes (Ardishir), king of Persia, and founder of the Sassanidan dynasty.

Some explanation may be suggested, of a statement made by General Cunningham that it is recorded in the "Saxon *Legenda Aurea*" that "king *Gundoferus*" put St. Thomas to death (*Archæol. Survey of India,* Report for 1872-73, Calcutta, 1875, p. 60). Probably, the General intended to refer, not to the *Legenda Aurea* just described, but to the Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Thomas written by Elfric or Aelfric in the tenth century, which life, according to Sharon Turner (*History of the Anglo-Saxons,* 6th edition, London, 1836, Vol. 2, p. 159), is an abridgment of the Latin one which passes under the name of Abdias. Cunningham, in fact, gives a reference to Turner's book. Anyhow, there is no such work as a "Saxon *Legenda Aurea.*" It is possible that the life written by Elfric is so abridged as to make it appear that "Gundoferus" was the king who put the apostle to death, which is not the case in the *Legenda Aurea.* Indeed, the quotation from it by Turner on p. 147, the page to which Cunningham refers, certainly implies that "Gundoferus" was the guilty person.

Again, in *Coins of the Indo-Scythians,* subdivision *Coins of the Sakas,* p. 16, London, 1890, Cunningham stated that "the *Legenda Aurea*" made "Gundofores" [*sic*] "King of Upper India, (Indiam superiorem)." In this case, he can only refer to the work of Jacobus a Voragine, who, however, speaks of "Gondoferus" as "rex Indiae" simply, and says that St. Thomas after leaving him "in superiorem Indiam abiit," and there converted Migdonia and others, and was put to death under an unnamed king. So, the only king mentioned in connection with "India superior" is not "Gundofores." The various texts of the *Legenda Aurea* are said to vary. But the three editions consulted agree in all that has been stated above.

VIII. — Postscript.

1. — **Ethiopic versions of the Acts of St. Thomas.** Since the above paper was written, there has been an opportunity of seeing the two works referred to on page 3 above. Malan's *Conflicts of the Apostles* is out of date. The translation was made from a faulty modern MS. as shewn by Mr. Budge. The other work, entitled *The Contendings of the Apostles, Gadla Ḥawâryât,* contains the Ethiopic texts in Vol. 1 edited by Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge from two MSS. formerly belonging to King Theodore of Abyssinia, and brought from Magdala in 1868. Vol. 2 contains a translation. The MSS. were probably written in the 15th and 17th century. The oldest MS. known is in Paris, and is dated 1379 A. D.

Lipsius writing in 1883, as appears from Mr. Budge's preface, was of opinion that these Ethiopic works were translated from the Coptic between 400 and 540. But Mr. Budge gives good reasons for concluding them to have been made from Arabic versions, probably during the early part of the 14th century. These Arabic versions would have taken the place of earlier ones in Sahidic Coptic, the dialect of Upper Egypt, when the one language had been superseded by the other. Some fragments of the Sahidic versions still exist. The Ethiopic versions of the Acts of St. Thomas would, therefore, appear to be of only small importance for our purposes. But we may note the proper names which appear in them, and a few other points.

The Ethiopic work contains **two separate accounts about St. Thomas.** The first, pp. 319-356 of the translation, has not much resemblance to the Syriac as a whole, and seems to be in a confused state. The second, pp. 404-465, entitled "The Acts of St. Thomas in India," is very like the Syriac as far as it goes; but it belongs to a part of the book, which Mr. Budge considers to consist of selections from less ancient works than the proper "Gadla-Ḥawâryât," which seems to end at p. 368.

To take **the second account** first; here are some passages: —

When St. Thomas was at Jerusalem "a certain merchant who was from the county [*sic*] of "India . . . . and his name was Abnês, and he was sent from the king of Gônâ."

After the apostle and the merchant leave, "they sailed on happily until they arrived in the "country of India, and came to the city of the king." Then the marriage feast is described, as usual.

In the 2nd Act: — "Now when the Apostle had entered into the country of India with 'Abnês, "the merchant, 'Abnês departed to salute Gondapôr the king." In the same Act "Gâdôn the "brother of the king" is mentioned.

There are no other proper names, and there is nothing else worth noting. This account does not go further than the 6th Act of the Syriac; so we do not reach the court of Mazdai.

As regards **the other account,** which is moreover the only one in Malan's book: it is in two sections. The first is "The Preaching of Saint Thomas in India." There we have, for the Ḥabbân and Gûdnaphar of the Syriac, "a certain officer of king Kanṭûḳôrôs," also "'Arbâsôs, an officer of "Ḳôntôṛôs, king of India." When the apostle reaches India, this king requires him to build a palace, and directs "Lûkîyânôs (Vecius) the governor," elsewhere "Lûkîyôs," to supply him with materials, after which we hear no more of the king. What follows about the governor's wife "'Arsônwâ (Arsenia)," has some resemblance to the story of Mygdonia in the Syriac; but that was in another king's country. Afterwards, St. Thomas is directed by our Lord to go to "a city in "the East, which is called Ḳantôryâ (Quantaria);" and he does so.

The next section is "The Martyrdom of Saint Thomas in India." It does not seem to join on naturally to the previous section. After establishing a church and clergy in India, "he departed "unto the city of Ḥakît, which is by Macedonia;" but the story is evidently corrupt, as what follows

implies that the apostle was still in India, or had returned there. For the Syriac Mazdai, we have in different passages "Mastyôs the king," "Maytewanyânôs," "Mastĕyôs" and "Mâtsĕyôs." We have "Tĕrtĕrbânî [elsewhere Ṭĕrṭĕrbânyâ] the wife of the king, and Marḥanâ his daughter," who seem to be the Tertia and Manashar (daughter-in-law) of the Syriac. After the burial of St. Thomas "in the sepulchre of the kings," it is stated: — "Now Seḳûrâ and Awĕsyâs did not come into the "city." Who they are, is not said; they have not been mentioned before. Mr. Budge identifies Seḳûrâ with the Ṣîfūr of the Syriac, and Awĕsyâs doubtfully with Vizān. Further on we have: — "Now Mastayôs, the king, and Zîrâyâsôs took their wives "Ṭĕrṭĕrbânyâ and 'Aṭbânâ and chastised them sorely," etc. This is the first mention of Zîrâyâsôs (lower down, Zerayâs) and of 'Aṭbânâ, presumably the Karīsh and Mygdonia of the Syriac; and they are not brought naturally into the story, which seems to be mangled in the Ethiopic. Lastly, there is "'Astayôs the king's son" who became possessed of a devil, and on whose account the king went to the tomb to obtain a relic. Mr. Budge's translation appears to imply that the body of the apostle was still there. The story ends in the conversion of the king; and "Awĕtyôs Kôrôs, the priest" of the Christians, is mentioned.

[With reference to the name Tĕrtĕrbânî in the preceding paragraph, it may be noted that among the "Festa immobilia ecclesiae Antiochenae Syrorum" under 6th October is "Coronatio Thomae Apostoli, et regis Indiae et Misadi ejusque filii Joannis et matris ejus *Tartariae*." See N. Nilles, S. J., *Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae Orientalis et Occidentalis*, Vol. 1, Innsbruck, 1896, p. 460.]

2. — "The Falling asleep of the Holy Mother of God." Syriac versions of this work were discovered or published about the same time that Tischendorf discovered the Greek. Wright published one in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Jan. and April, 1865, and two others, incomplete, in *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, London, 1865.

As scholars seem to be of opinion that the Syriac of this work is based on the Greek, the Syriac versions are not important; but the passage corresponding to what has been given on page 152 above is still of some interest. It is as follows: — "And Thomas said: I was informed in India, when "I had gone in to visit the nephew of Lūdān, the king of India, and as I was talking to him, the "Holy Spirit said to me: The time draws nigh for the mother of thy Lord to leave the world." This passage is only in the MS. published in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, a manuscript which Wright thought belonged to the second half of the 6th century. The passage is not in the other two MSS., which are incomplete.

There is, however, yet another passage connecting St. Thomas with India in the Greek and in all the Syriac versions. It precedes the one already quoted which is in chapter 20 of the Greek. This other passage is chapter 12. There we have the words: — Θωμᾶς ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐσωτέρων [variant ἐνδοτέρων]. The corresponding passages in the Syriac are: — (MS. in *Journ. Sac. Lit.*) "Thomas in India, who had gone in to visit the nephew of Lūdān [or Laudān] the king of "India;" and (MSS. in *Contributions, etc.*) "Thomas in India." Walker translates the Greek "Hither India."

There has been no opportunity of referring to the Syriac text published this year [1902] by Mrs. A. S. Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 11, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, Cambridge University Press. A review in the *Tablet*, 4th Oct., says it is edited from the underwriting of a palimpsest which Mrs. Lewis dates at latest the beginning of the 6th century. It is the complete text of one of the two versions of which Wright published fragments in *Contributions, etc.* The reviewer states that it is the most corrupt form of the story, and the most removed from the Greek, so freely rewritten, in fact, as to be in effect an original Syriac composition.

With reference to the opinion that these Syriac versions are based on Greek originals, it may not be out of place here to recall that, when Wright published the Syriac text of the Acts of

St. Thomas, he was almost certain that that work also was a Syriac version of a Greek text. But scholars seem subsequently to have come to the opinion that the Syriac is the original. It may be that further examination may shew that the work we are now considering was also Syriac in origin, in which case the reading "the nephew of Lūdān, [or Laudān] king of India" might be of importance. It seems to be held that apocryphal literature of this sort was generally of Semitic origin.

3. — **M. Sylvain Lévi on St. Thomas, Gondophares, and Mazdai.** My paper was unfortunately written without knowledge of M. Lévi's suggestive article entitled *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes, III., Saint Thomas, Gondopharès et Mazdeo*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-Feb. 1897.

Allusion has been made on page 154 above to the unsatisfactory manner in which the subject of this paper was treated by Gutschmid, whose views were adopted by Lipsius. It was not very willingly that a mere compiler like myself would presume to criticise scholars of such eminence; but when, under the authority of these great names, uncertainties had been given as positive facts in such a standard work as Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography, etc.*, it seemed necessary to say something. It is, therefore, satisfactory to observe that M. Lévi also found the time had come for shewing that **Gutschmid's theories** about St. Thomas were obsolete or rested on false data. It is unnecessary to detail them here. But something may be said about the route followed by the apostle.

Gutschmid considered that **Andrapolis**, the Sandarūk or Sanadrūk of the Syriac, the port at which St. Thomas disembarked, indicated a town of the Andhras in the Koṅkaṇ coast where the Andhra-Sâtakarṇi dynasty ruled in the first century of our era; and on this he assumed that the account of the apostle's subsequent mission to Gondophares and Mazdai was only the stolen story of a Buddhist missionary, perhaps Nâgârjuna, who went from the Dekkan to propagate his religion among the Yavanas and Pahlavas. M. Lévi shews that Gutschmid had to do violence to the texts of the Acts in order to develop his theory. But in doing so, he himself seems to fall into an error of some importance. He states that the various versions of the Acts are unanimous in making St. Thomas travel to the East after leaving Gondophares. That is not the case, as has been shewn on page 6 above. The Greek and the Syriac say simply he preached throughout all India. The first Latin version says nothing; and the second, the "Passio," — from which M. Lévi says "il prend le chemin de l' Inde Ultérieure," — states "profectus est ad Indiam superiorem," which is not the same thing. It is necessary to point this out, as the error affects the force of M. Lévi's suggested identification of **Mazdai** with Vâsudêva. It is, however, true that the Ethiopic account (see above) says the apostle went to "a city in the East which is called Kantôryâ;" and in this name, Quantaria in Malan's now obsolete translation, the only one available in 1897, M. Lévi thinks Gandhâra may be recognisel, which place, he states, was occupied by the 'Sakas, Kushans, and Parthians at different times.

As regards **Andrapolis**, M. Lévi shews it may really be the same word as Sandarūk, the initial sibilant being dropped in the Greek, as in Andracottus, a form employed as well as Sandracottus.

M. Lévi considers that the Acts clearly indicate that St. Thomas and Ḥabbān followed **the ordinary trade route** between the Syrian coast and the Pañjâb, as detailed by Pliny (*Hist. natur.* vi, 26, 103) and in the Periplus (38, 39), that is to say, down the Red Sea, and on past Cape Syagros in Arabia to Patala or Barbarikon at the mouth of the Indus. There the ships used to anchor; and the merchandise went up the river to Minnagar, described in the Periplus as the metropolis of Scythia, governed by Parthians, always fighting among themselves. If the country was not safe, the ships would go on to Barygaza (Broach), whence there was a trade route *viâ* Ozēnē (Ujjain) to Proklais (Puṣkalâvatî) on the borders of Bactriana.

M. Lévi says a tradition, constant among the Greek Fathers from the 5th century, designates the town at which St. Thomas was martyred as "**Kalaminê.**" This appears to be an erroneous statement, though often made, as has been shewn above.

An unpublished Armenian version of the Acts of St. Thomas in the Berlin Library is mentioned, the text of which appears to be identical with the Syriac. M. Lévi has made some use of the **Armenian forms of proper names** contained therein.

The most important and suggestive part of the article is that which relates to **the proposed identification of Mazdai with Vâsudêva.** But it is impossible to deal with that properly here ; and the reader must go to the article itself. A few points may, however, be taken up, mostly in further elucidation of the proper names occurring in the Acts and in "The Falling asleep of the Holy Mother of God."

M. Lévi appears to hold, with Von Sallet, that **Labdanes** and **Abdagases** are the same person. He suggests that the initial lambda results from dittography, [Λ]ΑΒΔΑΝΗC. Hypocoristic forms are found among Parthian names, and *gas* means 'beautiful.'

On coins, the names of **Vâsudêva** appears in Greek as ΒΑΖΟΔΗΟ and ΒΑΖΔΗΟ. Coming into Iranian territory, the name would fall under **Mazdian influences,** and become **Mazdeo;** moreover, he remarks, the two labials are constantly confused, as for instance in Mumba turned by the Portuguese into Bombay, and Minnagar in the Periplus made into Binnagar by Ptolemy. (Compare what has been said above by Mr. Burkitt that Mazdai is a good old Persian name.) M. Lévi gives the further information that the name is Mstēh in the Armenian Acts, Smidaios in the Menaea [liturgical books of the Greek Church, containing short histories of the saints], and Smindaios in Nicephorus (presumably N. Callistus Xanthopulus, 14th century). These forms may be added to those already given.

As regards **Vīzān** (Vizan in the Armenian according to M. Lévi) son of Mazdai, Gutschmid and Marquart considered the name to be the same as the Pahlavi Wîjén, Persian Bîjén. This does not harmonise with the Greek and Latin forms, and further, though admissible if we locate Mazdai in Iranian territory, it is not at all so, if we make St. Thomas go into India, to Vâsudêva, as suggested. M. Lévi thinks the compiler of the Acts was too well informed about India to give to an Indian prince the name of a secondary hero of the Iranian epic, the name in fact of Bezhan, son of Gêv, son of Gudarz. Be that as it may, M. Lévi thinks that, though the remembrance of this personage may very well have influenced the Syriac and Armenian transcriptions, the Greek and Latin forms exclude the identity of the two names. The Greek Ouzanes, etc., and Latin Zuzanis, etc., all lead back to an original *ouzan* or rather *gouzan*. The change of *vi* into *gu*, which had been definitely accomplished by the time of the Sassanidans, was in progress soon after the Christian era, and facilitated the substitution of one syllable for the other; and, at the same epoch, on the confines of India and Iran, the pronunciation oscillated between initial *u* and *gu*. This is confirmed by the forms "Gondopharou," "Induphrru," and "Undopherrou," in Greek, on coins, being all equivalent to the "Gudaphara," "Gudupharna," and "Gondopharna" of the Indian legends on the same. (I quote the names as printed in the article, but they do not all seem correct.)

Thus, — M. Lévi concludes, — **Ouzanes** would seem to be equivalent to Gushaṇa. The forms Iouzanes in Greek, and Zuzanes and Luzanes in Latin perhaps preserve the trace of a initial lost in Ouzanes, and Γουζανης in writing might easily become Ιουζανης. Hence and for other reasons given, M. Lévi suggests that the *Mahârâja* Gushaṇa, who closely followed the Kushan Vâsudêva, was perhaps identical with Ouzanes or Vīzān, the son of the king Mazdai, who put St. Thomas to death.

4. — Syriac versions of the Acts of St. Thomas. As mentioned on page 3 above, Wright's translation from British Museum Add. MS. 14645, dated A. D. 936, has been followed. Allusion was made to two other MSS. of these Acts, one at Berlin in the Sachau collection, and the other at Cambridge. In answer to enquiries, Mr. F. C. Burkitt has kindly supplied some further information regarding these MSS.

The Berlin MS. (Sachau 222) was written in Alķôsh in 1881, and contains 38 Acta, beginning, like the British Museum MS., with the Acts of St. Thomas. The readings of this MS. are to be found in P. Bedjan's *Acta Sanctorum et Martyrum*, Vol. 3, Paris, 1892. Bedjan made use of Sachau's MS., and, whenever he gives a reading in text or notes which differs from Wright's text, it agrees with the Cambridge MS.

The Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 2822 was written in A. D. 1883, at Tel-Kēphē in the district of Mosul, and was acquired through Wright. Mr. Burkitt understands that it was copied for Wright after the Berlin MS. had been acquired by Sachau, but before it left the East. This Cambridge MS., though no doubt a faithful copy of its immediate archetype, is very inferior to Wright's MS. It omits many words, sentences and paragraphs, which undoubtedly belong to the old Acts. But it agrees with the Greek in having "Gundaphar" instead of "Gūdnaphar," the latter being, so Mr. Burkitt supposes, a mere perversion, and due to the scribe of the British Museum MS. Possibly the Cambridge MS. may be a cousin, and not a son of the Sachau MS.

As has been shewn on page 4 above, an important word is illegible in the British Museum MS. There we find "a certain merchant happened to come into the South country from . . . ." The Berlin and Cambridge MSS. give "a certain merchant came from the south country." Thus, the illegible word is omitted, and "from" is read instead of "into." Mr. Burkitt suspects that the lost word was only the Syriac for "Hindustan." He adds that Gundaphar is called "king of Hindu;" and that what Wright calls "the realm of India" (see page 4 above) is literally "Hindu City."

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WESTERN HINDÎ, INCLUDING HINDÔSTÂNÎ.

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(Continued from p. 76.)

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'Abdu 'l-Majīd, Hākim Maulavī, — See Kālī Krishṇa, Rājā.

Faqīr Chand, Lālā, (Vaish), — See Fallon, S. W.

Gilbertson, G. W., — See Lallū Lāl.

Benmohel, N. L., — See Shakespear, John.

Bertrand, l'Abbé, — See Garcin de Tassy, Joseph Héliodore.

Lancereau, E., — See Garcin de Tassy, Joseph Héliodore.

Parry, J. W., — See Temple, Captain R.

Smyth, W. Carmichael, — See Lallū Lāl.

Tariṇī-charaṇ Mitra, — See Price, Capt. William.

Section IV. — **TEXTS (alphabetically arranged under Authors' names).**

'Abdu 'l-lāh, Mīr, called Miskīn, — *Marciya ou Bhathial de Mir Abdulla Miskin, sur la Mort de Muslim et de ses deux Fils,* traduit de l'Hindoustani par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1845. See Ḥaidar Ba<u>kh</u>sh (Ḥaidarī).

„ „ See also Gilchrist, J. B., in Section II.

'Abdu 'l-lāh, Saiyid, — See Bahādur 'Alī ; Kāẓim 'Alī Jawān.

'Abdu 'l-<u>k</u>arim, Mun<u>sh</u>ī, — See Arabian Nights.

'Adālat <u>Kh</u>ān, — See Amman, Mīr ; Lallū Lāl.

Aḥmad <u>Kh</u>ān, Saiyid, C.S.I., — *Āṣāru 's-ṣanādīd.* Delhi, 1847. *Asar-oos-sunnadeed. A History of old and new Rules, or Governments, and of old and new Buildings, in the District of Delhi*; composed by Syud Ahmed Khan. Delhi, 1854 (A second edition of the preceding with much additional matter). *Description des Monuments de Dehli en 1852, d'après le Texte hindoustani de Saiyid Ahmad Khan,* par M. Garcin de Tassy. *Journal Asiatique,* V., xv. (1860), pp. 508 and ff. ; xvi. (1860), pp. 190 and ff. ; pp. 392 and ff. ; pp. 521 and ff. ; xvii. (1861), pp. 77 and ff. ; separate reprint.

Alexander, James Edward, — See I'tiṣāmu 'd-dīn.

Amānatu 'l-lāh, Maulavī, — *Hidayut ool Islam* (Hidāyatu 'l-islām), *compiled by Muoluwee Umanut Oollah, in Arabic and Hindoostanee. Translated under the superintendence of, and by J. Gilchrist.* (In two volumes, of which only Vol. I. was published.) Calcutta, 1804.

Ambikā Datt Byās, — See Bihārī Lāl.

Amman, Mīr, — باغ و بہار (*Bāgh o Bahār*). One hundred and two pages appeared in Gilchrist's and 'Abdu 'l-lāh Miskīn's *Hindee Manual or Casket of India.* Calcutta, 1802. See Section II.

Bagh o Buhar, a Translation into the Hindoostanee Tongue of the celebrated Persian Tale entitled "Qissui Chuhar Durwesh," by Meer Ummun, under the superintendence of J. Gilchrist. Calcutta, 1804. Second Edition by Ghoolam Ukbur, under the superintendence of Captain Thomas Roebuck. Calcutta, 1813. Third Edition, *ib.*, 1824. Other Editions: Cawnpore, 1832; Calcutta, 1834; Madras, 1840; Calcutta. (Title, باغ و بہار, *Tales of the Chahar Durvesh*), 1847; Cawnpore, 1860; Calcutta, 1863; Delhi (illustrated), 1876; Bombay (in Gujarātī character), 1877; Cawnpore, 1878; Delhi (illustrated), 1882, and many others. *Bāgh o Bahār; consisting of entertaining Tales in the Hindūstānī Language. By Mīr Amman of Dihli, one of the learned Natives formerly attached to the College of Fort William at Calcutta. A new Edition, carefully collated with original Manuscripts . . . To which is added a Vocabulary of all the Words occurring in the Work,* by D. Forbes. London, 1846. Second Edition of the same, London, 1849. Another edition of the same. *The Hindustānī Text carefully printed in the Roman Character. To which is added a Vocabulary of all the Words occurring in the Work,* by D. Forbes. London, 1859. *Bág-o-Bahár. The Hindústání Text of Mír Amman, edited in Roman Type, with Notes and an introductory Chapter on the Use of the Roman Character in Oriental Languages,* by M. Williams. London, 1859.

The Tale of the Four Darwesh; translated from the Oordoo Tongue of Meer Ummun . . . by L. F. Smith . . with Notes by the Translator. Madras, 1825. *Translation of the Bāgh o Bahār; or Tales of the Four Darwesh, from the Urdu Tongue of Mīr Ammaṅ of Dihli. By Lew. Ferd. Smith.* New Edition revised and corrected throughout by D. Forbes. London, 1851. Reprint (of first edition), Lucknow, 1870. *The Bāgh o Bahār, or the Garden and the Spring; being the Adventures of King Āzād Bakht, and the four Darweshes: literally translated from the Urdú of Mír Amman, of Delhi. With copious explanatory Notes, and an introductory Preface,* by E. B. Eastwick. Hertford, 1852. Another Edition, London, Hertford (printed), 1877. *Bāgh o Bahār; or Tales of the four Darweshes. Translated from the Hindūstānī of Mīr Amman of Dihli.* By Duncan Forbes. A new Edition, revised and corrected throughout. London, 1862.

'*The Adventures of the second Durwish, extracted from the Bagh of* (sic) *Buhar,*' in Vol. II. of Price's Hindee and Hindoostanee Selections, Calcutta, 1830. See Section III. *Selections from the History of India and Bāgh-o Bahār. Translated into literal English, with copious Notes on Etymology, History and Geography,* by 'Adālat Khān. Calcutta, 1877. *Selections from the Prem Sāgar and Bāgh-o Bahār. Translated into literal English with copious Notes.* Second Edition. By the same. Calcutta, 1881.

Translated into French by M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1878.

The Tale of the First Darwēsh is given in M. J. Vinson's *Manuel de la Langue hindoustani*, pp. 111 and ff. See Section II.

Note. — The original is a translation of the Chahār Darwēsh of Amīr Khusrau.

Anderson, Lieut. R. P., — See Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī).

Arabian Nights, — *Hikayautool Jaleelah, Translation of Alfalylattinolielah, called Arabian Nights; for the Use of the College at Fort St. George.* Translated by Moonshy Shumsooddeen Uhmed. Madras, 1836. (Contains only the first 200 Nights.)

Tarjuma Alf Laila kī. (The Translation is by Munshī 'Abdu 'l-Karīm, from the English of E. Forster.) Cawnpore, 1844; *ib.*, 1853; Bombay, 1860; Cawnpore, 1862-63; *ib.*, 1869; *ib.*, 1876: *ib.*, 1883-84; Delhi, 1890: *Tarjuma-i Alif Laila ba-zubán-i-Urdú.* (*Do Jild baharfát-i-Yūrop.*) Romanized under the superintendence of T. W. H. Tolbort . . . and edited by Frederic Pincott. (The first half, *i. e.*, Jilds I. and II. of 'Abdu'l-Karīm's Translation.) London, 1882. *Sahasra Rajanī Charitra.* ('Abdu 'l-Karīm's Version translated into Hindī by Paṇḍit Pyārē Lāl.) Lucknow, 1876.

Alf Laila Nau Manẓūm. (Translated into verse in four parts, by Muḥammad Asghar 'Alī Khān Nasīm; Ṭoṭārām Shāyān (Pts. II. and III.), and Munshī Shādī Lāl Chaman, respectively. Lucknow, 1861-68.

Hazār Dāstān. (A prose version by Ṭōṭārām Shāyān.) Lucknow, 1868.

Shabistān-e Surūr. (An abridged translation, by Mirzā Rajab 'Alī Bēg, Surūr.) Lucknow, 1886.

Alf Laila. (A translation by Muḥammad Ḥāmid 'Alī Khān, Ḥāmid.) Cawnpore, 1890.

Shabistān-e Ḥairat. (A translation in the form of a novel, by Mirzā Ḥairat of Delhi, illustrated.) Delhi, 1892.

Alf Laila-e Dunyāzād, also called Mashshāṭa-e Baghdād. (An imitation of the Arabian Nights, by Mirzā Ḥairat of Delhi). Delhi, 1892.

Ayōdhyā Siṅgh Upādhyāy, Paṇḍit, called Hari Audh, — *Ṭhēṭh Hindī kā Ṭhāṭh, or an original Indian story in pure Hindustani,* by Pandit Ayodhya Sinha Upadhya, (Hari Oudh) of Nizamabad, N.-W. P. Edition in Nāgarī characters, Bankipore, 1899. Edition in Persian characters, Bankipore and (printed) Allahabad, 1902.

(This, like the '*Kahānī Ṭhēṭh Hindī-mẽ*' of Inshā Allāh, is in pure Hindī, absolutely free from both Persianisation and Sanskritisation. Unlike the older work, the idiom is that of Hindī, rather than that of Urdū. This is most noticeable in the order of the words.)

'Azīzu 'd-dīn Aḥmad, — *Kanīz Fāṭima.* Lahore, 1895.

Bahâdur 'Alī, Mīr, — *Ukhlaqi Hindee or Indian Ethics, translated from a Persian Version of the Hitoopudes, or Salutary Counsel, by Meer Buhadoor Ulee, under the Superintendence of J. Gilchrist.* Calcutta, 1803. Other Editions: Madras, 1845; Bombay, 1875; Madras, 1879. *Akhlák i Hindí, or Indian Ethics. Translated into Urdú from a Persian Version of the Hitopadesa, by Mír Bahádur 'Alí . . . Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Syed Abdoolah.* London, 1868. Extracts from the book will be found in Price's Hindee and Hindoostanee Selections. See Section III.

„ „ See Ḥasan, Mīr.

Banerjea, K. M., — See Lallū Lāl.

Baness, J. F., — See Lallū Lāl.

Barker, W. B., — See Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Wilā.

Beames, J., — See Chand Bardāī.

Bell, C. W. Bowdler, — See Ḥasan, Mīr.

Benmohel, N. L., — See Shēr 'Alī Afsōs.

Bertrand, l'Abbé, — See Ḥaidar Bakhsh (Ḥaidarī) ; Shēr 'Alī Afsōs; Taḥsīnu 'd-dīn.

Bhairava-prasāda, — See Lallū Lāl.

Bihārī Lal, — *The Sutsuya of Biharee, with a Commentary entitled the Lalu Chundrika; by Shree Lulloo Lal Kuvi, Bhak'ha Moonshee, in the College of Fort William.* Calcutta, 1819. A revised edition issued from the Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, in 1896, by G. A. Grierson. It is entitled '*The Satsaiyā of Bihārī, with a Commentary entitled Lāla Candrikā, by Çrī Lallū Lāl Kavi.*' Several editions have been published by native presses, amongst which may be mentioned *Sṛiṅgāra-saptaśatī*, Benares, 1873. (This includes a Sanskrit metrical version and a Sanskrit commentary, both by Paramānanda Paṇḍit); *Srī-Bihārī Sat-saī saṭīk. Hari-prakāś Ṭīkā sahit*, Benares, 1892. (Has an excellent commentary by Hari Prakāś) ; *Bihārī-Bihār.* Benares, 1898. (Has an introduction, and a commentary in the Kuṇḍaliyā metre by Ambikā Datt Byās.)

Burton, Sir Richard F., — See Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Wilā.

Carmichael-Smyth, — See Smyth.

Chaman, — See Kāẓim 'Alī Jawān.

Chand Bardāī, — Only portions of the text have been printed. Parts have been edited by Mr. J. Beames, and by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, C.I.E., in the Bibliotheca Indica. The latter gentleman has also translated a section of the portion which he edited. Canto I. has also been edited in Benares by Paṇḍit Mōhanlāl Vishṇulāl Paṇḍyā, under the title of *M. V. Pandia's Manuscript of the Prithvíráj Rásáu of Chand Bardái, edited in the original old Hindi with critical Notes by Pandit, &c.* Benares, 1887, 1888. A continuation is now (1902) being issued in Benares by the Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā. The following are the principal works dealing with the poem :—

Tod, Col. James, — *Rajasthan*, passim. See especially, Vol. I., pp. 254, 614, 623. Also, *The Vow of Sanjogta* (a translation of an episode in the poem), *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXV., pp. 101-112, 197-211, 273-286.

Beames, J., — *On Chand's Poems. Proceedings*, Bengal Asiatic Society, 1868, p. 242.

„ *The Nineteenth Book of the Gestes of Prithirāj by Chand Bardai, entitled 'The Marriage of Padmavati,' literally translated from the old Hindi. Journal*, Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXVIII (1869), Pt. I., p. 145.

„ *Reply to Mr. Growse. Ib.*, p. 171.

„ *Translations of selected Portions of Book I. of Chand's Epic. Journal*, Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XLI (1872), Pt. I., p. 42.

Beames J., — *List of the Books contained in Chand's Poem, the Prithirāja Ráso. Ib.*, p. 204.

" *Letter* (on his edition of Chand). *Proceedings*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873, p. 122.

" *Studies in the Grammar of Chand Bardái. Journal*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLI (1873), Pt. I., p. 165.

" *Translation from the first Book of the Prithirája Rásau. By Kavi Chand Bardái. Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I (1872), p. 269.

Growse, F. S., — *The Poems of Chand Barday. Journal*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII (1868), Pt. I., p. 119.

" *Further Notes on the Prithirájráyasa. Ib.*, Vol. XXXVIII (1869), Pt. I., p. 1.

" *Translations from Chand. Ib.*, p. 161.

" *Rejoinder to Mr. Beames. Ib.*, Vol. XXXIX (1870), Pt. I., p. 52.

" *A Metrical Version of the opening Stanzas of Chand's Prithiráj Rásau. Ib.*, Vol. XII (1873), Pt. I., p. 329.

Syāmal Dās, Kavirāj, — *The Antiquity, Authenticity and Genuineness of the Epic called the Prithí Ráj Rásá, and commonly ascribed to Chand Bardai. Journal*, Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. LV (1886), Pt. I., p. 5.

Mōhanlāl Vishṇulāl Paṇḍyā, Paṇḍit, — *The Defence of Prithíráj Rásá*. Benares, 1887. This is a reply to the preceding.

Syâm Sundar Dâs, — *Arrangement of the Chapters of the Prithiráj-Ráso. Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXI (1902), p. 499.

See also '*Notice sur un poeme historique indien composé par Tchand, barde du xii^e siècle.*' *Journal Asiatique*, II., i. (1828), p. 150.

Clint, L., — See Inshā Allāh Khān, called Inshā.

Court, Major Henry, — See Muḥammad Rafī'; Sher 'Alī Afsōs.

Eastwick, E. D., — See Amman, Mīr; Ḥafīẓu 'd-dīn Aḥmad; Ikrām 'Alī; Lallū Lāl; Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Wilā.

Feer, L., — See Kāẓim 'Alī Jawān.

Forbes, Duncan, — See Amman, Mīr; Ḥaidar Bakhsh (Ḥaidarī); Ikrām 'Alī; Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Wilā.

Garcin de Tassy, Joseph Héliodore, — See 'Abdu 'l-lāh, Mīr, called Miskīn; Aḥmad Khān, Saiyid, C.S.I.; Amman, Mīr; Ikrām 'Alī; Muḥammad Taqī, Mīr; Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī); Taḥsīnu 'd-din; Walīu 'l-lāh, Shah.

Ghulām Akbar, — See Ḥafīẓu 'd-din Aḥmad.

Ghulām Ḥaidar, — See Ikrām 'Alī; Muḥammad Rafī'.

Ghulām Muḥammad, Munshī, — See Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Wilā.

Ghulām Qādir, — See Ḥafīẓu 'd-dīn Aḥmad.

Gilchrist, J. H. B., — See Amānatu 'l-lāh; Amman, Mīr; Bahādur 'Alī, Mīr; Ḥaidar Bakhsh (Ḥaidarī); Kāẓim 'Alī Jawān; Ḥasan, Mīr; Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī); Shēr 'Alī Afsōs.

Giridhar Gōswāmī, — See Sūr Dās.

Grierson, G. A., — See Bihārī Lāl.

Growse, F. S., C.I.E., — See Chand Bardāī.

Ḥafīẓu 'd-dīn Aḥmad, — *The Khirud Ufroz* (Khirad-afrōz), *or the Ayar Danish of Abool Fuzl, translated into Hindoostanee, by Muoluwee Shuekh Huffeez Ood-deen Ahmud.* Calcutta, 1805 or 1803 (Incomplete). *The Khirud Ufroz; originally translated into the Hindoostanee Language, by Muoluvee Hufeez ood-Deen Uhmud, from the Uyar Danish, written by the celebrated Shuekh Ubool Fuzl, Prime Minister to the Illustrious Ukbur, Emperor of Hindoostan. Revised, compared with the original Persian, and prepared for* the Press, by Captain Th. Roebuck with the Assistance of Moulavee Kazim Ulee and Moonshees Ghoolam Ukbur, Mirzae Beg and Ghoolam Qadir. Calcutta, 1815. *Khirad-Afroz (the Illuminator of the Understanding) by Maulaví Ḥafíẓu'd-dín. A new Edition of the Hindústání Text, carefully revised, with Notes, critical and explanatory:* by Edward Eastwick, F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.A.S., Professor of Hindústání at Haileybury College. Hertford, 1857. *The Khirud-Ufroz: translated from the Oordoo into English, and followed by a Vocabulary of the difficult Words and Phrases occurring in the text,* by T. P. Manuel. (Only a portion of the Work has been translated.) Calcutta, 1861.

(*N.B.*—Abū'l Faẓl's Ayār-e Dānish is a simpler Persian version of Ḥusain ibn 'Alī al-Kāshifī's Anwār-e Suhailī.)

Ḥaidar Bakhsh (Ḥaidarī), Saiyid, — *Ārāish-e Maḥfil. Published by Munshī Qudratu 'l-lāh.* Calcutta, 1803. *Araesay Mehfeel. A translation into the Hindoostanee Tongue of the celebrated Persian Tale entitled Qussu,e Hatim Tai, executed under the direction of John Borthwick Gilchrist . . .* by Sueed Hydurbux Hydree. Bombay, 1845. Many other editions in India. Among them one in the Nāgarī character, (Calcutta, (?) 1845), and one in the Gujarātī character (Bombay, 1877).

(*N.B.*—There is another, altogether different, Ārāish-e Maḥfil, dealing with the history of India, by Shēr 'Alī Afsōs.)

" " *Tota Kuhanee. A Translation into the Hindoostanee Tongue of the popular Persian Tales entitled Tootee Numu, by Sueyud Hueder Bukhsh Hueduree. Under the Superintendence of J. Gilchrist.* Calcutta, 1804. (An edition of four pages of this work had previously appeared in 1802 in Gilchrist's *Hindee Manual.*) Other Editions: Calcutta, 1836; *ib.*, 1839; Bombay, 1840; Madras, 1841; Bombay, 1844; Delhi, 1859; Cawnpore, 1864; Bombay, 1870, and many others. *Totā Kahānī; or Tales of a Parrot, in the Hindūstānī Language. Translated by Saiyid Ḥaidar Bakhsh, surnamed Ḥaidarī . . . a new Edition with . . . a Vocabulary of all the words occurring in the Text,* by D. Forbes. London, 1852.

The Totā Kahānī; or Tales of a Parrot, translated from Saiyid Ḥaidar Bakhsh's Hindūstānī Version of Muḥammad Qāsim's Persian Abridgment of Nakhshabī's Ṭūṭī Nāma, by G. Small. London, 1875.

Ḥaidar Bakhsh (Ḥaidarī), Saiyid, — *Gooli Mughfirut; or the Flower of Forgiveness, being an Account . . . of those Moosulmans called Shoohuda or Martyrs, from the Time of Moohummud, to the Death of Hoosuen at Kurbula.* By Meer Huedur Bukhsh Hueduree. Calcutta, 1812.

Les Séances de Haidarī, récits historiques et élégiaques sur la Vie et la Mort des principaux Martyrs musulmanes, Ouvrage traduit de l'Hindoustani, par M. l'Abbé Bertrand, . . . suivi de *l'Élégie de Miskin, traduite de la même Langue*, par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1845.

,, ,, See Shēr 'Alī Afsōs.

Ḥairat, Mirzā, — See Arabian Nights.

Hall, F. E., — See Lallū Lāl.

Hari Prakāś, — See Bihārī Lāl.

Hariśchandra, — See Sūr Dās.

Ḥasan, Mīr, — *Sihr-ool-buyan* (Siḥru 'l-bayān) *or Musnuwee of Meer Husun, being a History of the Prince Benuzeer, in Hindoostanee Verse.* Published under the patronage of the College of Fort William in Bengal. Calcutta, 1805. Many other editions, such as Cawnpore, 1862, 1874; Meerut, 1876; Cawnpore, 1878. *Nusri Benuzeer (Naṣr-e Bēnaẓīr), or a prose Version* by Meer Buhadoor Ulee, *of the Sihr ool buyan, an enchanting Fairy Tale in Hindoostanee Verse, by Meer Husun; composed for the use of the Hindoostanee Students in the College of Fort William*, under the superintendence of John Gilchrist. Calcutta, 1803. *The Nasr-i Be-nazīr. An Eastern Fairy Tale, translated from the Urdū* by C. W. Bowdler Bell. Calcutta, Hull (printed), 1871.

,, ,, See also Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī).

Herklots, — See Ja'far Sharīf.

Hoernle, A. F. R., C.I.E., — See Chand Bardāī.

Hollings, Capt. W., — See Lallū Lāl; Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Wilā.

Ikrām 'Alī, — *Ikhwānu 's-ṣafā. Translated from the Arabic by Maulavī I. 'A.* Calcutta, 1811. Other editions, Madras, 1840; Bombay, 1844; second edition, edited by Ghulām Ḥaidar, Calcutta, 1846; Lucknow, 1848; Delhi, 1851; Lahore, (?) 1855; Lucknow, 1862; Madras, 1862; Lahore, 1868; Bombay, 1870; Bangalore, 1872; Madras, 1872; Madras, 1879; Bulandshahr, 1882; and others. *Intikhāb-i Ikhwānu 's-ṣafā* (Selections from the I. Ṣ.). Edited by J. Michael, London, 1829. *Ikhwānu-ṣ-ṣafā. Translated from the Arabic into Hindūstānī, by Maulawī Ikrām 'Alī. A new Edition, revised and corrected*, by Duncan Forbes . . . and Dr. Charles Rieu. London, 1862. *The Ikhwan-us-safa . . . Third Edition, revised and corrected* by W. Nassau Lees. Calcutta, 1862.

A complete Vocabulary to the Ikhwan-oos-suffa; with etymological Illustrations of . . . difficult Words. By T. P. Manuel. Calcutta, 1862.

An English Translation of the Akhwa-noos-safa, by Moonshee Syed Hoossain. Madras, 1855. *The Ikhwan-oos-suffa, translated from the original Oordoo into English Prose, and followed by a Vocabulary of the difficult Words . . . occurring in the Text*, by T. P. Manuel. Calcutta, 1860. *Ikhwānu-ṣ-ṣafā ; or Brothers of Purity. Translated from the Hindūstānī of Maulavī Ikrām 'Alī*, by John Platts, Esq., — Carried through the Press by Edward B. Eastwick. London, 1869.

Les Animaux, extrait du Tuhfat Ikhwan ussafa . . . traduit d'après la Version hindoustanie par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1864.

Inshā Allāh Khān, called Inshā, — *Kulliyāt-e Inshā Allāh Khān.* The complete works. Delhi, 1855 ; Lucknow, 1876.

A Tale by Inshā Allah Khān. Communicated and translated by L. Clint, Esq. *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXI (1852), pp. 1 and ff. Continuation, translated by the Rev. S. Slater. Vol. XXIV (1855), pp. 79 and ff. (This is the celebrated tale commonly called '*Kahānī ṭhēṭh Hindī-mē̃*,' which has frequently appeared in Indian School-books such as '*Guṭ^aka*.' Its value consists in its style, which, though pure and elegant Urdū and fully intelligible to the Musalmāns of Delhi and Lucknow, does not contain a single Persian word. On the other hand, it is equally free from the Sanskritisms of Paṇḍits. The idiom (including the order of the words) is distinctly that of Urdū, not of Hindī. In this last respect, it differs from the work of Ayōdhyā Siṅgh Upādhyāy, in which the order of words is that usual in Hindī.

„ „ See also Section II.

I'tiṣāmu 'd-dīn, — *Shigurf nāma-e Wilāyat, or Excellent Intelligence concerning Europe; being the Travels of Mirza Itesa Modeen in Great Britain and France. Translated from the original Persian Manuscript into Hindoostanee, with an English Version and Notes*, by James Edward Alexander. London, 1827.

Ja'far Sharīf, — *Qanoon-e-Islam, or the Customs of the Moosulmans of India ; comprising a full and exact Account of their various Rites and Ceremonies . . . By Jaffur Shurreef, composed under the Direction of, and translated* by G. A. Herklots. London, 1832.

Jarrett, Capt. H. S., — See Muḥammad Rafī'.

Kālī Kṛishṇa, Rājā, — See Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Wilā.

Kāẓim 'Alī Jawān (Mīrzā) and Lallū Lāl, — *Sing,hasun Butteesee, or Anecdotes of the celebrated Bikramajeet, . . . translated into Hindoostanee from the Brij-B,hak,ha of Soondur Kubeeshwur*, by Meerza Kazim Ulee Juwan, and Shree Lulloo Lal Kub. Calcutta, 1805. Second Edition, Calcutta, 1816. Other Editions: Calcutta, 1839 ; Agra, 1843 ; Bombay, 1854 ; Lucknow, 1862 ; Benares, 1865 ; Lucknow, 1870 ; *ib.* same date ; Delhi, 1875 ; Lucknow, 1877 ; Meerut, 1882. All the above are in the Nāgarī character. In the Gurmukhī character, Lahore, 1876. In the Persian character, Agra, (?) 1866 ; Lucknow, (?) 1868.

Singhāsan Battīsī manẓūm (a metrical version), by Raṅg Lāl, *alias* Chaman. Cawnpore, 1869 ; *ib.*, 1871.

Selections (in the Nāgarī character) in Vol. II. of Shakespear's *Muntakhabāt-i-Hindī*. See Section III.

Singhāsan Battīsī . . . translated into Hindī, from the Sanskrit, by Lallūjī Lal Kabi . . . A new edition . . . with copious Notes by Syed Abdoollah. London, 1869.

A Throne of Thirty-two Images, or the Buttris Shinghashun. (Translated into English.) Calcutta, 1888.

Contes indiens. Les trente-deux Récits de Trône (Batris-Siṅhasan) ou les Merveilleux Exploits de Vikramaditya, traduits . . . par L. Feer. (Collections de Chansons et de Contes populaires, Vol. VI.) Paris, 1881.

(Extracts from the S. B. in J. Vinson's *Manuel de la Langue Hindoustani*, pp. 150 and ff.) See Section II.

Kāẓim 'Alī Jawān (Mīrzā), — *Sukoontula Natuk; being an Appendix to the English and Hindoostanee Dialogues* [by J. B. Gilchrist], *in the Universal Character.* London, 1826. Another Edition, Lucknow, 1875. See Section II.

" " See Ḥafīẓu 'd-dīn Aḥmad; Muḥammad Rafī', commonly called Saudā; Muḥammad Taqī, Mīr.

Kempson, M., — See Naẕīr Aḥmad.

Lakshmaṇ Siṅgh, Rājā, — *Sakuntala or the Lost Ring; a Sanskrit Drama of Kalidas, translated into Prose and Verse, with notes* by Kuñwar [Rājā] Lachman Sinha, Deputy Collector, N.-W. P. [pp. 95-175 of Siva Prasād's Hindi Selections (1867).] Another Edition, Benares, 1897.

The Sakuntalá in Hindí. The Text of Kaṅvar Lachhman Siṅh critically edited, with grammatical, idiomatical, and exegetical Notes, by F. Pincott. London, 1876.

Lallū Lāl, — *Prēm Sāgar; or the History of Krishnu, translated into Hindee, by Shree Lulloo Lal Kub.* Calcutta, 1803, 1805, 1810, 1825 (with Vocabulary), 1831, (edited by *Yogadhyan Misra*), 1842, and many other editions in India. In the Gujarātī character, Bombay, 1854, (illustrated) 1862. *The Prem Ságar; or the Ocean of Love, being a History of Kṛishṇ, according to the tenth Chapter of the Bhágavat of Vyásadev, translated into Hindí from the Braj Bhákhá of Chaturbhuj Misr, by Lallú Lál, late Bhákhá Múnshí of the College of Fort William. A new edition with a Vocabulary,* by Edward B. Eastwick, M.R.A.S. Hertford, 1851. *Selections from the Prem Ságar . . . The Hindí Text printed in the Roman Character, with a complete Vocabulary to the entire work.* By J. F. Baness. Calcutta, 1875. Second Edition, 1880.

Translations. *The Prem Sagur. Translated into English,* by Capt. W. Hollings. Calcutta, 1848. Second Edition, 1867. Another, Allahabad, 1900. *Prem Ságar; or the Ocean of Love. Literally translated from the Hindí of Shrí Lallú Lál Kab into English.* By Edward B. Eastwick, C.B., F.R.S., M.R.A.S. London, 1867.

Selections from the Prem Sāgar and Bāgh-o Bahār. Translated into literal English, with copious Notes. By 'Adālat Khān. Second Edition, Calcutta, 1881.

Lallū Lāl, — *Rajneeti: or Tales exhibiting the moral Doctrines, and the civil and military Policy of the Hindoos. Translated from the original Sunscrit of Narayun Pundit into Braj B,hak,ha.* By Shree Lulloo Lal Kub. Calcutta, 1809. Other Editions, *ib.* 1827; Agra, 1843. *Rája-níti, a Collection of Hindu Apologues, with a Preface, Notes, and supplementary Glossary.* By F. E. H[all]. Allahabad, 1854. Other Editions: Lucknow, 1873; Calcutta, 1878. Third Edition, revised and published for the use of the Board of Examiners. By the Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjea and Lt.-Col. A. C. Toker. Calcutta, 1883.

Rājanīti yā Pañchōpākhyān. A Hindī Version, by Bhairava-prasāda, of the Braj-Bhākhā Text of L. L. Bombay, 1854. Another Edition, Bombay, 1866.

The Rájníti; or Tales exhibiting . . . . . Hindoos. Translated literally from the Hindi of Shrí Lallú Lal Kab, into English, by J. R. A. S. Lowe. Calcutta, 1853.

Analysis et Extraits du Radj-niti. By M. Éd. Lancereau. *Journal Asiatique*, IV., xiii. (1849), p. 71.

" " *Madho Bilas; Tale of Madho and Sulochan, in poetry (done into Hindī from the Sanscrit)*, by Lallu Ji Lall Kabi. Agra, 1846. Other Editions: Calcutta, 1868; Calcutta, (?) 1870. I have been unable to trace the earlier editions.

" " See Bihārī Lāl; Kāẓim 'Ali Jawān; Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Wilā; Muḥammad Taqī.

Lāl Kavi, — *The Ch,hutru Prukash, a Biographical Account of Ch,hutru Sal, Raja of Boondelkhund, by Lal Kuvi.* Edited by Captain W. Price, Professor of Hindee and Hindoostanee in the College of Fort William. Published under the authority of the General Committee of Public Instruction. Calcutta, 1829.

History of the Boondelas, by W. R. Pogson. Calcutta, 1828. (A translation of the Chhatra Prakāś.)

Lancereau, E., — See Lallū Lāl; Maẓhar 'Ali Khān Wilā.

Lees, W. Nassau, — See Ikrām 'Alī; Shēr 'Alī Afsōs.

Lowe, J. R. A. S., — See Lallū Lāl.

Mahdī 'Alī Khān, — See Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī).

Manuel, T. P., — See Ḥafiẓu 'd-dīn Aḥmad; Ikrām 'Alī.

Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Wilā, and Lallū Lāl, — *Buetal Pucheesee; being a Collection of twenty-five Stories, related by the Demon Buetal to the Raja Bicrumajeet, translated into Hindoostanee from the Brujb,hak,ha of Soorut Kubeeshwur*, by Muzhur Ulee Khani Vila, and Shree Lulloo Lal Kub. Calcutta, 1805. Other editions, Calcutta, 1809, 1834; Agra, 1843; Calcutta, 1849; Indore, 1849; Bombay, 1857; Calcutta, 1860; Calcutta, 1870; Benares, (illustrated) 1876; (?) Delhi, 1876. Also printed in Vol. I. of Price's *Hindee and Hindoostanee Selections*, 1830. See Section III. *The Baitál Pachísí; or Twenty-five Tales of a Demon. A new Edition of the Hindí Text,*

with each Word expressed in the Hindústání Character immediately under the corresponding Word in the Nágarí; and with a perfectly literal English interlinear Translation, accompanied by a free translation in English at the foot of each page, and, explanatory Notes, by W. B. Barker . . . Edited by E. B. Eastwick. Hertford, 1855. *Baitāl Pachchīsī. A new and corrected Edition, with a vocabulary of all the Words occurring in the Text,* by D. Forbes. London, 1857.

Bytal-Puchisi; or the Twenty-five Tales of Bytal, translated from the Brujbhakha into English by Rajah Kalee-Krishen Bahadur. Calcutta, 1834. *The Bytal Pucheesee: translated into English,* by W. Hollings. Calcutta, 1860. Another Edition, *ib.* 1866. Reprinted, Allahabad, 1900. *The Baital-Pachisi . . . translated from Dr. Forbes's new and corrected Edition,* by Ghulam Mohammad Munshi. Bombay, 1868. *Vikram and the Vampire, or Tales of Hindu Devilry.* Adapted (from the Baitāl Pachīsī) by Sir Richard F. Burton. London, 1870. *The Baitāl Pachīsī, or Twenty-five Tales of a Sprite.* Translated from the Hindī Text of D. Forbes by J. Platts. London, 1871.

Extraits du Bêtâl-patchîsî (traduits) par M. Éd. Lancereau. *Journal Asiatique,* IV., xviii., xix. (1851-52).

Bibliothek orientalischer Märchen und Erzählungen in deutscher Bearbeitung mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Nachweisen. I. Bandchen. Baitál Pachísí oder die fünfundzwanzig Erzählungen eines Dämon. In deutscher Bearbeitung, &c. By Hermann Oesterley. Leipzig, 1873.

Michael, J., — See Ikrām 'Alī.

Mirzā Bēg, — See Ḥāfiẓu 'd-dīn Aḥmad.

Mōhanlāl Vishṇulāl Paṇḍyā, Paṇḍit, — See Chand Bardāī.

Muḥammad Asghar 'Alī Khān Nasīm, — See Arabian Nights.

Muḥammad Aslām, — See Muḥammad Rafī'.

Muḥammad Faiẓ, — See Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī).

Muḥammad Ḥāmid 'Alī Khān, Ḥāmid, — See Arabian Nights.

Muḥammad Rafī', commonly called Saudā, — *Intikhāb-e Kullīyāt-e Saudā (spelt Intikabi Cooliyat Souda), or Selections from the poetical Works of Rufeeu oos Souda,* by Moulavee Muhammud Uslam and Kazim Ulee Juwan. Calcutta, 1810. Second Edition, revised and enlarged, by Moulowe Golam Hyder. Calcutta, 1847. *Muntakhab-i Musnawiyāt-i Saudā.* Revised Edition, by Captain H. S. Jarrett. Calcutta, 1875. *Selections from the Kulliyat or complete Works of Mirza Rafi-oos-Sauda . . .* literally translated by Major Henry Court. Simla, 1872. Editions of his complete works, — *Kulliyāt-e Saudā.* Poetical Works of Mirzā Muḥammad Rafī' (Saudā). Delhi, 1853. Cawnpore, 1872, 1888.

Muḥammad Ramaẓān, — See Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī).

Muḥammad Taqī Khan, called **Hawas,** — *Lailī Majnūn-e Hawas.* (The Story of the Loves of Lailī and Majnūn, in verse.) Cawnpore, 1844; Calcutta, 1846; Lucknow, *ib.*, 1862; 1869; Cawnpore, 1874; *ib.*, 1882; *ib.*, 1885.

Muḥammad Taqī, Mīr, — *Kooliyat Meer Tuqee; The poems of Meer Mohummud Tuqee, comprising the Whole of his numerous and celebrated Compositions in the Oordoo, or polished Language of Hindoostan,* edited by [Kāẓim 'Alī Jawān and other] learned Moonshees attached to the College of Fort William. Calcutta, 1811. *Shooulu,e ishq* (*Sho'la-e 'Ishq*) : *The Flame of Love: a Hindoostanee Poem, by Meer Mohummud Tuqee.* Edited by William Carmichael Smyth. London, 1820. (This poem will also be found in Lallū Lāl's Laṭāif-e Hindī. See Section III.) *Conseils aux mauvais Poëtes, Poëme de Mir Taki, traduit de l'hindoustani,* par M. Garcin de Tassy. *Journal Asiatique,* VII. (1825), pp. 300 and ff. Separate reprint, Paris, 1826. *Consigli ai cattivi poeti* (translation of foregoing into Italian by Pugliesi Pico), Palermo, 1891. The Hindōstānī text of this poem will be found on p. 124 of J. Vinson's *Manuel de la Langue Hindoustani.* Paris, 1899. See Section II. *Satire contre les Ignorants* (literal translation of original), by J. Vinson in *Revue de Linguistique,* XXIV (1891), pp. 101 and ff.

" " See Lallū Lāl.

Naẓīr, — See Walī Muḥammad.

Naẕīr Aḥmad, Khān Bahādur, — *Mir'ātu 'l-'arūs.* (A Hindōstānī Novel, especially intended for women.) Cawnpore, 1869; Lucknow, 1869; Cawnpore, 1875; Bareilly, 1880; Allahabad, 1885; Delhi, 1889. *The Bride's Mirror or Mir-atu l-Arus. Edited in the Roman Character with a Vocabulary and Notes by G. E. Ward. London,* 1899.

Banātu 'n-na'sh. (A Tale of Indian Life, — a sequel to the preceding.) Agra, 1868; *ib.,* 1872; Cawnpore, 1879; Agra, 1888; Cawnpore, 1882; *ib.,* 1888.

Taubatu 'n-naṣūḥ. (A novel on the importance of education and religious training.) Agra, 1874; Cawnpore, 1879; Allahabad, 1885; Delhi, 1889; Lahore, 1895. *The Taubatu-n-Nasûh (Repentance of Nussooh) of Maulvî Hâjî Hâfiz Nazîr Ahmed of Delhi . . . Edited with Notes and Index,* by M. Kempson. London, 1886. Second Edition of the first five chapters, with annotations and vocabulary by the same. London, 1890.

The Repentance of Nussooh. Translated from the original Hindustani by M. Kempson. London, 1884.

(Extract from the Taubatu 'n-naṣūḥ, in J. Vinson's *Manuel de la Langue Hindoustani,* pp. 120 and ff. See Section II.)

Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī) and Shēr 'Alī Afsōs, — (*Gul-e Bakāwalī,* also called *Maẕhab-e 'Ishq.*) *Gooli Bukawulee, a Tale translated from the Persian into Hindoostanee, by Moonshee Nihal Chund,* under the superintendence of J. Gilchrist. Calcutta, 1804. *Muzhubi Ishq, on the Gooli Bukawulee, written in the Oordoo Dialect, by Moonshee Nihal Chund . . . and afterwards revised* by Meer Sher Ulee Ufsos . . . Second Edition. Revised . . . by T. Roebuck. Calcutta, 1815. Another Edition, edited by Muḥammad Faiẓ and Muḥammad Ramaẓān, Calcutta, 1827; Another Edition, Calcutta, 1832. *Muzubai Ashk. A Translation into the Hindoostanee*

Tongue of the popular Persian Tales, entitled Goolai Bucawley, by Moonsey Neehalchund Lahoree, under the superintendent (*sic*) of John Gilchrist. Sixth Edition. Bombay, 1843. Other editions, Calcutta, 1846; Lucknow, 1848; Bombay, 1850 (in one volume with Mahdī 'Alī Khān's *Yūsuf Zulaikhā* and Mīr Ḥasan's *Siḥru 'l-bayān*); Cawnpore, 1851; Delhi, 1852; Cawnpore, 1859; *ib.*, 1869; Delhi, 1872 (in the Nāgarī character); *ib.*, 1873 (with illustrations); *ib.*, 1887 (Nāgarī character); Cawnpore, 1875; Lucknow, 1875; *ib.*, same year; Cawnpore, 1876; Delhi, 1876; Cawnpore, 1877 (illustrated); *ib.*, 1879; Delhi, 1879; Madras, 1879; Delhi, 1881 (illustrated); Benares, (?) 1887; Cawnpore, 1889.

Extracts from the Gooli Bukawullee are in Vol. II. of Price's *Hindee and Hindoostanee Selections.* See Section III.

A translation into English by Lieut. R. P. Anderson was published in Delhi in 1851. I have not seen it.

Abrêgé du Roman hindoustani intitulé La Rose de Bakawali. Journal Asiatique, II., xvi. (1835), pp. 193 and 338. Separate reprint, par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1835. *La Doctrine de l'Amour ou Taj-ulmuluk et Bakawali, Roman de Philosophie religiueuse, par Nihal Chand de Delhi* (*sic*), *traduit de l'Hindoustani,* par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris (in *Revue de l'Orient*), 1858.

Oesterly, Hermann, — See Maẓhar 'Ali Khān Wilā.

Paramānanda, Paṇḍit, — See Bihārī Lāl.

Pico, Pugliese, — See Muḥammad Taqī, Mīr.

Pincott, Frederic, — See Arabian Nights; Lakshmaṇ Siṅgh, Rājā.

Platts, John, — See Ikrām 'Alī; Maẓhar 'Ali Khān Wilā.

Pogson, W. R., — See Lāl Kavi.

Price, Capt. William, — See Amman, Mīr; Bahādur 'Alī, Mīr; Lāl Kavi; Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Wilā; Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī); Shēr 'Alī Afsōs.

Pyārē Lāl, Paṇḍit, — See Arabian Nights.

Rajab 'Alī Bēg, Surūr, Mirzā, — See Arabian Nights.

Raṅg Lāl (Chaman), — See Kāẓim 'Alī Jawān.

Rieu, Dr. Charles, — See Ikrām 'Alī.

Roebuck, Capt. Thomas, — See Amman, Mīr; Ḥafīẓu 'd-dīn Aḥmad; Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī).

Saiyid Ḥusain, Munshī, — See Ikrām 'Alī.

Sardār, — See Sūr Dās.

Saudā, — See Muḥammad Rafī'.

Shādī Lāl Chaman, — See Arabian Nights.

Shakespear, John, — See Kāẓim 'Alī Jawān; Shēr 'Alī Afsōs.

Shamsu 'd-din Aḥmad, Munshī, — See Arabian Nights.

Shēr 'Alī Afsōs, Mīr, — *Bāgh-e Urdū, The Rose Garden of Hindoostan; translated from Shykh Sadee's original Nursery or Persian Goolistan of Sheeraz*, by Meer Sher Ulee Ufsos . . . under the direction and superintendence of John Gilchrist. Calcutta, 1802. Other Editions, Calcutta, 1808; Madras, 1844; Bombay, 1846; Dehli, 1848; Bombay, 1851 (without prefatory matter).

" " *Araïsh-i muhfil, being a History in the Hindoostanee Language of the Hindoo Princes of Dihlee from Joodishtur to Pithoura. Compiled from the Khoolasut-ool-Hind [of Sujān Rāy] and other Authorities*, by Meer Sher Ulee Ufsos. Calcutta, 1808. Other Editions: Calcutta, 1848; Lahore, 1867; Lucknow, 1870. *The Araish-i-mahfil, printed for the use of the junior Members of Her Majesty's Indian Civil Services.* Third Edition, revised and corrected by W. Nassau Lees. Calcutta, 1863.

Selections from this work will be found in Shakespear's *Muntakhabāt-i-Hindi* (1817) and in Price's *Hindee and Hindoostanee Selections* (1830). See Section III.

The Araish-i-mahfil, or the Ornament of the Assembly, literally translated from the Oordoo by M. H. Court. Allahabad, 1871; Second Edition, Calcutta, 1882.

Arāish-e Mahfil or Assemblage of Ornament (sic). *Ten Sections of a Description of India, being the most interesting Portion of J. Shakespear's Muntakhabāt-i-Hindī . . . Translated from the Hindoostanee and accompanied with Notes, explanatory and grammatical*, by N. L. Benmohel. Dublin, 1847.

Quelque Lignes sur les Sciences des Indes, extraites de l'Araïch-i-Mahfil, de Mir Cher Aly Afsos, et traduites de l'Hindoustani, par M. Garcin de Tassy. *Journal Asiatique*, IX. (1826), pp. 97 and ff.

Quelque Lignes sur les Fruits et les Fleurs de l'Hindostan, extraites de l'Araïch-i-Mahfil, ou Statistique et Histoire de l'Hindostan, par Mir Cher-Aly-Afsos, et traduite de l'Hindoustani, par M. Garcin de Tassy. *Journal Asiatique*, XI. (1827), pp. 94 and ff.

Histoire du Règne des Pandavas dans l'Hindoustan, traduite du Texte hindoustani de l'Araïch-i Mahfil de Mīr Cher-i-Alī Afsos. Par M. l'Abbé Bertrand. *Journal Asiatique*, III., xiv., 1842, pp. 71 and ff.

Histoire des Rois de l'Hindoustan après les Pandavas, traduite du Texte Hindoustani de Mīr Cher-i Alī Afsos. By the same. *Ib.*, IV., iii., 1844, pp. 104 and ff.; 229 and ff.; 354 and ff.

Note. — There is another and altogether different Arāish-e Mahfil by Haidar Bakhsh Haidarī, which deals with the Story of Hātim Tāī. The two works have often been confounded.

" " See Haidar Bakhsh (Haidarī); Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī).

Slater, Rev. S.,— See Inshā Allāh Khān called Inshā.

Small, G.,— See Haidar Bakhsh (Haidarī).

Smith, L. F.,— See Amman, Mīr.

Smyth, William Carmichael, — See Muhammad Taqī, Mīr.

Sūr Dās, — *Sūr-sāgar*; Lucknow, 1864; Agra, 1876; Lucknow, 1880.

Drishṭikūṭ; Lucknow, 1890 (with the comm. of Sardār, called *Sāhityalaharī*); Benares, 1869 (with a comm. by Giridhar Gōswāmī); Patna, 1889 (with a comm. by Hariśchandra).

Many editions of portions of the *Sūr-sāgar* have appeared in India.

Syāmal Dās, Kavirāj, — See Chand Bardāī.

Taḥsīnu 'd-din, — *Qiṣṣa-e Kāmrūp ō Kalā. Les Aventures de Kamrup, par Tahcin-uddin, publiées en Hindoustani* par M. Garcin de Tassy . . . Paris, 1835.

Les Aventures de Kamrup, texte hindoustani romanisé, d'après l'Edition de M. Garcin de Tassy, par M. l'Abbé Bertrand. Paris, 1859.

Vocabulaire hindoustani-français pour le Texte des Aventures de Kamrup, par MM. Garcin de Tassy et l'Abbé Bertrand. Paris, 1857.

Les Aventures de Kamrup, par Tahcin-uddin; traduites de l'Hindoustani par M. Garcin de Tassy . . Paris, printed under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Committee of Great Britain and Ireland, 1834.

Tod, Col. James, — See Chand Bardāī.

Toker, Lt.-Col. A. C., — See Lallū Lāl.

Tolbort, T. W. H., — See Arabian Nights.

Ṭōṭārām Shāyān, — See Arabian Nights.

Vinson, J.,— See Amman, Mīr; Kāẓim 'Alī Jawān; Muḥammad Taqī, Mīr; Naẓīr Aḥmad.

Walī Muḥammad, usually known as **Naẓīr,** — *Kulliyāt, or Complete Works.* Lucknow, 1870; Delhi, 1877. *Banjāra Nāma* (contains two poems, viz., *Banjāra Nāma*, or the Story of the Grain Merchant, and *Āchār chūhō̃-kā*, or Pickled Rats). Lucknow, (?) 1860. *Banjāra Nāma*, and *Mōtī Nāma*, Lucknow, 1874. *Giri-band-e Naẓīr* (a collection of short poems, of which the principal is the *Jōgī Nāma*). Agra, (?) 1860. *Lailī Majnūn-e Naẓīr* (the Romance of Lailī and Majnūn in verse). Cawnpore, 1866; Delhi, 1873. *Muntakhab-e Naẓīr* (selections from his poems). Cawnpore, 1863; Bombay, 1880.

Walīu 'l lāh, Shāh, usually known as **Walī,** — *Dīwān-i Walī. Les Oeuvres de Wali, publiées en hindoustani* par M. Garcin de Tassy, Paris, 1834. Another edition, Lucknow, 1878. *Les Oeuvres de Wali. Traduction et Notes*, par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1836.

Ward, G. E., — See Naẓīr Aḥmad.

Wilā, — See Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Wilā.

Williams, Monier, — See Amman, Mīr.

Yōga-dhyān Miśra, — See Lallū Lāl.

SECTION IV.—APPENDIX.

Early Translations of the Scriptures.

Schultze, Benj., and Callenberg, J., — The first four Chapters of Genesis in Hindōstānī. Translated by Schultze and published by Callenberg. Halle, 1745-46. Daniel by the same, Halle, 1748.

Schultze, Benj., and Callenberg, J., — *Evangelium Lucae, in Linguam indostanicam translatum a viro plur. reverendo Benjam. Schultzio, evangelico in India Missionario, edidit D. Jo. Henr. Callenbergius.* Halae Saxonum, 1749. The same, 1758.

Acta Apostolorum, in Linguam, etc., Halae Sax. 1849.

Epistola Jacobi, in Linguam, etc. Halae Sax., 1750.

Marci Evangelium, in Linguam, etc. Halae Sax., 1758.

Evangelium Johannis, in Linguam, etc. Halae Sax., 1758.

Johannis Apocalypsis, in Linguam, etc. Halae, 1758.

Novum Testamentum, in Linguam, etc. Halae, 1758.

Hunter, Will., — *The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated into the Hindoostanee Language, by Mirza Mohummud Fitrut and other learned Natives of the College of Fort William, revised and compared with the Original Greek* by Will. Hunter. Calcutta, 1805.

Serampore Missionaries (Anon.), — *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; translated into the Hindoostanee Language from the Original Greek.* By the Missionaries of Serampore. Serampore, 1811. [This is rather Hindī.]

Dharm-kī Pōthī (the whole Bible). Serampore, 1812, 1816, 1819, 5 Vols.

" " *The Gospels* . . . . translated into Braj Bhākhā. Serampore, 1822. The New Testament, 1827.

" " The New Testament translated into Kanaujī. Serampore, 1822.

Martyn, The Rev. H., — *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated into the Hindoostanee Language from the original Greek, by the Rev. H. Martyn, and afterwards carefully revised with the assistance of Mirza Fitrit and other learned Natives.* For the British and Foreign Bible Society. Serampore, 1814. Persian character.

The same. Nāgarī character. Calcutta, 1817.

The same. Persian character. London, 1819.

Chamberlain, J., — The four Gospels, translated into the Hindui Language. Serampore, 1820. Acts to I. Corinthians, 1823. All these in Nāgarī type. The four Gospels in Kaithī type. Serampore, 1823.

Thompson, Rev. J. T., — The four Gospels translated into Hindī; Serampore, 1826. Psalms, *ib.*, 1836. Both in Nāgarī.

Bowley, The Rev. William, — *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, altered from Martyn's Oordoo translation into the Hinduee language* by the Rev. William Bowley, under the patronage of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. Calcutta, First three Gospels, 1818-19; Fourth Gospel, 1820; Acts, 1822; Entire New Testament, 1826; an edition of the four Gospels, Calcutta, 1826, in the Kaithī character.

(To be continued.)

MÂHÂRÂSHṬRÎ AND MARAṬHÎ.

BY STEN KONOW, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY.

MÂHÂRÂSHṬRÎ is the principal of the so-called Prâkrit languages. Daṇḍin, in his Kâvyâdarśa, I. 35, states that it was based on the language spoken in Mahârâshṭra, — *Mahârâshṭrâśrayâm bhâshâm prakṛshtam Prâkṛtaṃ viduḥ*.

Mahârâshṭra broadly corresponds to the country between the Vindhyas and the Kistna. According to the Bâlarâmâyaṇa, X., 73[1] (p. 302, 18 ff. in the edition by Gôvinda Dêva Śâstrî), it comprised Vidarbha and Kuntala; in other words, almost the whole territory within which the modern Marâṭhî is spoken.

The oldest extant work in Mâhârâshṭrî, the Sattasaî of Hâla, was, according to tradition, compiled in Pratishṭhâna, then the capital of Mahârâshṭra, on the Godawari. Pratishṭhâna is the modern Paithan, the home of several well-known Marâṭhî poets. The tradition, according to which Hâla was a king of Mahârâshṭra, agrees with other occasional statements in Sanskrit literature. Another name of Hâla is Sâtavâhana or Śâlivâhaṇa, Sâlâhaṇa. Compare Hêmachandra, Abhidhânachintâmaṇi, VII., 12 ; Dêśînâmamâlâ, VII., 66 ; III., 7. According to the latter source, II., 36, Hâla was a Kuntala. A Kuntala Sâtakarṇin Sâtavâhana is mentioned in Vâtsyâyana's Kâmasûtra (p. 154), and the name of Sâtakaṇi of the Sâtavâhana family occurs in the Nasik cave inscriptions among the members of the Ândhrabhṛtya dynasty. Moreover, the king Sâtavâhana of Pratishṭhâna was, according to the Kathâsaritsâgara and the Bṛhatkathâmañjarî, the patron to whom Guṇâḍhya first presented his Bṛhatkathâ, a fact which should not be overlooked in fixing the original home of the Paiśâchî dialect of the Bṛhatkathâ.

It seems impossible to doubt that the Indian tradition connects Mâhârâshṭrî with the Marâṭha country, so that the conclusion would be justified that Mâhârâshṭrî and modern Marâṭhî are derived from the same base. This is also the opinion held by scholars such as Bhandarkar, Garrez, Jacobi, Kuhn, Pischel, and others. Dr. Hoernle, on the other hand, in his *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, London, 1880, pp. xviii and ff., gives a different explanation of the name Mâhârâshṭrî, incidentally used by the oldest Prâkrit grammarian Vararuchi to denote the principal Prâkrit dialect. He says, 'There are in reality two varieties of Prâkrit. One includes the Śaurasênî and the (so-called) Mâhârâshṭrî. These are said to be the prose and poetic phases of the same variety, and even this distinction is, probably, artificial. The other is the Mâgadhî.' Dr. Hoernle is of opinion that Vararuchi's Mâhârâshṭrî simply was "a laudatory or descriptive expression, meaning 'the Prâkrit of the great kingdom' (*i. e.*, of the famed country of the Doâb and Râjpûtânâ . . .) and therefore the principal Prâkrit." Mâhârâshṭrî is, he continues, 'not far from synonymous with what we now call Western Hindî.'

Dr. Grierson has also stated his opinion that the connection between Mâhârâshṭrî and Marâṭhî has not yet been proved, and has pointed out that the latter form of speech in important points agrees with eastern vernaculars. *Cf. ante*, Vol. XXX., 1901, pp. 553 and ff.

It will be seen that the arguments against the derivation of both languages from the same base are of two kinds. In the first place it is argued that Mâhârâshṭrî and Śaurasênî are two forms of the same dialect, it being admittedly impossible to derive Marâṭhî from the same old vernacular as Śaurasênî. On the other hand, attention is drawn to the fact that Marâṭhî in several points agrees with eastern forms of speech which have nothing to do with Mâhârâshṭrî. Both arguments are philological, and they are not weakened by the facts drawn attention to above which clearly show that Indian tradition holds Mâhârâshṭrî to be derived from the old vernacular of the Marâṭha country.

It will, therefore, be necessary to deal with the matter from a philological point of view. In the first place we shall have to state the mutual relationship between the various Prâkrit dialects. It will then be necessary to define the position of Marâṭhî among the modern vernaculars of India, and only then we shall be prepared to decide whether Mâhârâshṭrî and modern Marâṭhî are related in such a way as the names of the two dialects and Indian tradition would naturally lead us to believe. Before doing so it will, however, be of use to state what the meaning is of the word Prâkrit.

The so-called Prâkrits are literary languages based on the vernaculars of various parts of ancient India. They were at an early date described by the grammarians whose works became the sources from which later authors learned Prâkrit. In this way those dialects gradually ceased to be real vernaculars. Several rules laid down by the grammarians were probably only generalisations of tendencies in the spoken language so as to make them the common rule. On the other hand, one and the same Prâkrit may be influenced by more than one spoken dialect. This was due to the fact that the Prâkrits very early lost their character of local forms of speech and became the universal languages of various kinds of literature. Mâhârâshṭrî almost monopolised the lyrics and the Kâvya so far as this latter kind of literature was written in Prâkrit; Śaurasênî and Mâgadhî became the dialects used by various characters in the dramatic literature. It is clear that a language such as Mâhârâshṭrî, which was used by lyrical poets from all parts of India, would in course of time adopt words and perhaps also inflexional forms from other vernaculars than that which was its original base. On the other hand, it would naturally influence the spoken vernaculars. The language of lyrical poetry is, of course, more apt to exercise such an influence than that of any other branch of literature. Every Prâkrit, and especially Mâhârâshṭrî, should therefore be expected to be of a more or less mixed character. And this is also undeniably the case.

On the other hand, the Prâkrits were no mere grammatical fictions, and the more we learn about the linguistic conditions of old India, the more we see that the differences between the various Prâkrit dialects correspond to actual differences in the spoken vernaculars.

The principal Prâkrit dialects described by the old grammarians are as follows; —

1. Mâhârâshṭrî, according to tradition based on the vernacular of the Marâṭha country. It is the language of lyrics and the Kâvya, and, in the dramatical literature, it is used in songs by those persons who are represented to speak Śaurasêni in the prose passages.

2. Śaurasênî, based on the dialect of Śaurasêna, the country about Mathurâ. It is used as the prose dialect of certain categories of people in the plays.

3. Mâgadhî, based on the dialect of the Mâgadha country, and used in the plays as the dialect of certain lower classes, both in the prose passages and in the songs.

4. Ardhamâgadhî, the dialect in which the sacred books of the Jains are written, probably based on the old vernacular spoken about and to the east of the modern Allahabad.

Of these dialects, Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî are best known, less Śaurasênî, and Mâgadhî only very unsatisfactorily.

Śaurasênî is more closely related to classical Sanskrit than the other Prâkrit dialects. The vocabulary is essentially the same and free from the many provincial words which often makes the understanding of other Prâkrit dialects so difficult. The inflexional system also agrees with Sanskrit in its simplicity, while other dialects show the rich variety of various forms as the old Vedic dialects. The oldest Prâkrit grammarian, Vararuchi, was already aware of this close relation between Sanskrit and Śaurasênî, and he expressly states that the latter is based on the former.

In this respect Saurasênî differs widely from Mâhârâshṭrî, which in the rich system of inflexional forms and the frequent occurrence of provincial words agrees with eastern languages, especially with Ardhamâgadhî.

On the other hand, there is a certain relationship between Saurasênî and the so-called Mâgadhî. Vararuchi, XIII., 2, declares that the prakṛti or base of that latter dialect is Saurasênî, and similar statements are made by other grammarians. And in reality, both dialects often seem to agree very closely, in inflexional forms and in vocabulary. On the other hand, there are also important points in which they differ. These points would probably be more numerous if we knew a little more about Mâgadhî. Our knowledge of this dialect is, however, very limited. It seems certain that several vernaculars were considered to be related to Mâgadhî. We may perhaps assign the whole eastern part of India to that language, and it is probable that the particular dialect which was described as Mâgadhî by the Prâkrit grammarians was one of the westernmost which had been largely influenced by the language of the Doab. It should be remembered that the Brahmanical civilisation of Western India came very early to the Vidêha country, which is to this day a stronghold of Brahmanism, and Vidêha in early times formed part of the Mâgadha kingdom. Brahmanical civilisation early pervaded the whole of North-Eastern India. The prevalence of the Gauḍa-Rîtî is to a great extent due to the influence of an old civilisation which had been forced into narrow forms sanctioned by old tradition. The Vidarbha-Rîtî, on the other hand, is closely connected with the country of Mahârâshtra. It is, therefore, perhaps allowable to infer that the apparent connection between Saurasênî and Mâgadhî was due to the influence of Sanskrit in the East, and that the vernaculars of the people were different. The modern dialects of the Mâgadha and Vidêha countries seem to show that the old vernaculars of those districts were more closely connected with Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî.

This latter dialect may be described as a link between Mâhârâshṭrî and Mâgadhî, more closely connected with the former than with the latter.

It is very difficult to make a precise statement of the mutual relationship of the various Prâkrit dialects, the more so because all later Indian authors usually confound them. An author like Râjaśêkhara, for instance, who was a native of the Marâṭha country, freely mixes Mâhârâshṭrî forms and words in his Saurasênî. And some of the most striking differences between the various dialects are by no means local variations, but simply different stages in the same development.

Everyone who has the most superficial knowledge of the Prâkrits will remember that they apparently may be divided into two groups, Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî on one side, and Saurasênî and Mâgadhî on the other. Both groups are distinguished by the different treatment of single consonants between vowels, and by the different inflexional systems. I have already pointed out that the latter characteristic cannot be urged so long as our knowledge of Mâgadhî is so limited. With regard to the former the facts are as follows.

The Prâkrit grammarians teach that an unaspirated mute consonant, if not a cerebral, is generally dropped between vowels in all Prâkrit dialects, and a faintly sounded *y*, or, in the case of *p* and *b*, a *v*, is substituted for it. This *y* is not, however, written in other than Jaina manuscripts. It seems certain that this rule of the grammarians was a generalisation of stray occurrences or of a phonological tendency, and did not exactly represent the actual facts of the genuine vernaculars. The tendency to drop consonants in such positions must, however, have been rather strong, as we find its results largely prevalent in modern dialects. Compare Marâṭhî *kumbhâr*, Sanskrit *kumbha(k)âra*, a potter; *taḷẽ*, Sanskrit *taḍâ(g)a*, a tank; *sûy*, Sanskrit *sû(ch)î*, a needle; *nêṇaṇõ*, Sanskrit *na-(j)ânâmi*, I don't know; *bĩ*, Sanskrit *bî(j)a*, seed; *śam(bhar)*, Sanskrit *śa(t)aṁ*, hundred; *pây*, Sanskrit *pâ(d)a*, foot; *kêḷ*, Sanskrit *ka(d)alî*, a plantain, and so on.

The Prâkrit grammarians make one important exception from the rule. A *t* between vowels becomes *d* in Śaurasênî and Mâgadhî, but is dropped in other dialects. It will be remembered that this change of *t* to *d* and the corresponding one of *th* to *dh* in Śaurasênî and Mâgadhi is the most striking feature in which those dialects differ from Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî. Compare Sanskrit *jânâti*, Śaurasênî *jâṇâdi*; Mâgadhî *yâṇâdi*; Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî *jâṇâi*, he knows; Sanskrit *gata*, Śaurasênî and Mâgadhî *gada*, Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî *gaa* or *gaya*, gone, etc. In reality, however, this is not a difference of dialect but of time. the soft consonant being the intermediary step between the hard one and the dropping of the whole sound. To take a parallel from a distant language, every *d* between vowels is dropped in Norwegian. That language has been largely influenced by Danish, in which form of speech every *t* between vowels is softened to a *d*, while *t* in the same position remains in Norwegian. In such words, however, which have been borrowed in the Danish form, a *d* between vowels is dropped even when it represents an old *t*. Thus Danish *lade*, from *late*, to let, Norwegian *la*.

The change of *t* to *d* which is so characteristic of Śaurasênî and Mâgadhî is exactly analogous to the change of *k* to *g* in Ardhamâgadhî and Jaina Mâhârâshṭrî;[1] thus, *asôga*, aśôka. The grammarian Vararuchi (II. 7) also allows the change of *t* to *d* in Mâhârâshṭrî in some words. It thus follows that the different treatment of a *t* between vowels cannot be taken as the starting point of a classification of the old Prâkrits.

The common theory among English scholars seems to be that the Prâkrits can be divided into two groups, one western comprising Mâhârâshṭrî and Śaurasênî, and the other, the eastern. comprising Mâgadhî alone. Ardhamâgadhî is then considered as a link between these two groups. Compare Dr. Hoernle, *l. c.*, and Dr. Grierson, *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihârî Language*. Part I., Calcutta, 1883, p. 5, and in other later publications.

The principal points in which both groups differ are as follows :—

1. All *s*-sounds become *s* in the west and *ś* in the east; thus, Śaurasênî *kêsêsuṁ*, Mâgadhî *kêśêśu*, in the hairs.

2. Every *r* is changed to an *l* in the east; thus, Śaurasênî *rââ*, Mâgadhî *lââ*, a king.

3. Every initial *j* is changed to a *y* in the east, while the opposite change from *y* to *j* is the rule in the west. Thus, Śaurasênî *jâṇê*, I know; *jadhâ*, as; Mâgadhî *yâṇê*, I know; *yadhâ*, as. The manuscripts usually write *j* also in Mâgadhî.

4. The nominative singular of masculine *a*-bases ends in *ô* in the west and in *ê* in the east. Thus, Śaurasênî *purisô*, Mâgadhî *pulisê*, a man.

Ardhamâgadhî agrees with the western languages in the three first points, while in the fourth it usually has the eastern form. The nominative ending in *ô*, however, is also used in the oldest text.

It will be seen that the features on which this classification is based are mostly of a superficial kind. The different pronunciation of various sounds cannot properly be taken as the starting point for a philological classification. We should then, for instance, be justified in using the different pronunciation of an original *v* and the treatment of the old *ss* in the future in Gujarâtî and Western Hindî in order to prove that both languages belong to quite different groups of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. With regard to the treatment of *s*-sounds in the east we know that it differed in different localities. In Ḍhakkî, which shares some of the characteristic features of Mâgadhî and would certainly have to be classed as an eastern Prâkrit, we have two *s*-sounds, a dental *s* representing the dental and cerebral *s*-sounds in Sanskrit, and a palatal *ś* corresponding to Sanskrit *ś*. Thus, *pulisô*, a man; *daśa*, ten.

[1] Jaina Mâhârâshṭrî is the dialect of non-canonical literature of the Śvêtâmbara Jains. For our present purposes it may be considered as identical with ordinary Mâhârâshṭrî.

Ḍhakkî also shows that the substitution of *y* for *j* in Mâgadhî only was a local peculiarity. Ḍhakkî has *j*; thus, *jampidaṁ*, Sanskrit *jalpitum*, to talk. The state of affairs in the modern dialects of Mâgadha tends to show the same.

The Ḍhakkî form *pulisô*, a man, also shows that the nominative in *ê* was not used in the extreme east, and it cannot, therefore, be made the basis of a classification. The nominative in *ê* was probably a local form, which has, in later times, spread over a much wider area.

The common change of neuter *a*-bases to masculines in Mâgadhî is of a similar kind. The subsequent linguistic history of India shows how cautious we must be in using such features as the distinguishing marks between different groups. The classification of dialects is continually modified by new developments, which, originating within a small area, afterwards spread in all directions.

The division of the Prâkrits in a western and an eastern group should therefore be dropped as artificial and based on considerations which are not fundamentally important enough.

It would seem much more natural to divide the Prâkrits in a Northern and a Southern group, the former comprising Śaurasênî and Mâgadhî and the other Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî. The former would be distinguished by a greater simplicity in its inflexional system, and by the formation of its passive voice and conjunctive participle, in all which points it differs from the southern dialects. Such a classification cannot, however, be earnestly urged, Mâgadhî being, after all, so different from Śaurasênî that it is impossible to class both together.

The old classification was based on the theory that Śaurasênî and Mâhârâshṭrî were essentially the same dialect. It is not any more necessary to prove that this is not the case. The phonetical laws of both are quite different, the inflexional system of Mâhârâshṭrî is much more developed and much richer than is the case in Śaurasênî, and the vocabulary is full of popular words, while Śaurasênî in this respect hardly differs from classical Sanskrit. We may add the different form of the future, of the conjunctive participle, of the optative, of the passive, and of the emphatic particle (Mâhârâshṭrî *chêa*, Śaurasênî *jêva*). All these points are quite sufficient to make it necessary to distinguish both as different forms of speech.

It is a well-known fact that Mâhârâshṭrî in the characteristics just alluded to generally agrees with Ardhamâgadhî. This proves that Mâhârâshṭrî has a decided leaning towards the east, and must be quite separated from Śaurasênî. Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî are, on the other hand, quite distinct dialects, but they have much more in common than Mâhârâshṭrî and Śaurasênî. Moreover, there are certain indications which show that Mâgadhî was based on a dialect of the same kind as those which gave rise to Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî. As has already been mentioned, the principal distinguishing points with regard to the latter two dialects are the vocabulary and the free use of varied inflexional forms. In other words, they show the same relation to Śaurasênî as the Vedic dialects to classical Sanskrit. The different vocabulary is already sufficient to show that they are radically different forms of speech. And the same is the case with their declensions and conjugations. It does not matter for our present purposes whether or not classical Sanskrit and Śaurasênî are based on the vernacular of the same locality. It is sufficient to state that both seem to represent the more fixed form of the speech of the educated classes as opposed to the vernaculars of the masses. And in this connexion it is worth noting that low-caste people do not speak Śaurasênî in the plays.

With regard to Mâgadhî it is of course impossible to make a definite statement about its vocabulary. The materials available are too scanty. On the other hand, it seems to be certain that the dialect in question in several points agreed with Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî,

As regards phonology, we may note the change of *k* to *g* in Jaina Mâhârâshṭrî, Ardha Mâgadhî and Mâgadhî; thus, Ardhamâgadhî, Jaina Mâhârâshṭrî *sâvaga*, Mâgadhî *śâvaga*, a pupil. Compare, however, the remarks about *d*, *t*, above.

Though *s*-sounds in Mâgadhî generally become *ś*, we also find instances of the change of *ss* to *h*, which plays a great rôle in the formation of the future in Mâhârâshṭri and Ardhamâgadhî. Compare forms such as Mâgadhî *puttâha* and *puttaśśa*, of a son.

We may further note the cerebralising of dental sounds and the change of *ṭ* to *l* (*i. e*, *ḷ*) in Mâhârâshṭri, Ardhamâgadhî, and Mâgadhî. Compare Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, §§ 219, 239, 238.

Such changes also occur in Śaurasênî, but only sporadically.

If we turn to the inflexional system we find several indications that Mâgadhî is based on a dialect with the same rich variety of forms as Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî.

Thus Mâgadhî has, like the two last-mentioned dialects, preserved the old dative of *a*-bases, at least in verses. (Pischel, § 361.) It has two different forms of the genitive of the same bases, thus, *puttaśśa* and *puttâha*, of the son; two forms of the locative, thus, *muhê*, in the mouth, *kâvammi*, in the well. There is even a third form of this case, ending in *âhiṁ*, thus, *kulâhiṁ*, in the family. The genitive plural ends in *âṇaṁ* and *âhaṁ*, the vocative plural in *â* and *âhê*, etc.

Note also the form *tô*, therefore, in all dialects with the exception of Śaurasênî.

The Âtmanêpadam, which in Śaurasênî is only used in the first person singular, occurs also in other persons in Mâgadhî, not, however, so often as in Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî. Considering the scanty materials for our knowledge of Mâgadhî, this point is of importance.

Optatives such as *karejjâ*, I may do, do not occur in Śaurasênî, but are occasionally found in Mâgadhî and are the common forms in Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî. Forms such as *lahêaṁ* or *lahê*, I may take, which are the only ones used in Śaurasênî, on the other hand seldom occur in the other Prâkrits.

Verbal bases ending in a short *a* usually form their imperative in *a*; thus, *piva*, drink. In Mâhârâshṭrî, Ardhamâgadhî, and Mâgadhî, however, we also find forms such as *pivâhi*.

The suffix *illa*, which plays a great rôle in Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî, is related to *êlua* in Mâgadhî *gâmêlua*, Sanskrit *grâmya*, and the modern dialects spoken in the old Mâgadha country show that an *l*-suffix must have been common in Mâgadha Apabraṁśa.

Such indications seem to show that Mâgadhî was based on a vernacular which was much more closely related to Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî than to Śaurasênî. It should be remembered that it is used both in prose and in verses, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the Mâgadhî of the prose passages has been largely influenced by Śaurasênî, the principal prose Prâkrit of the plays.

Though the so-called Apabhraṁśas will not be dealt with in these pages, it may be noted that the Śaurasêna Apabhraṁśa (as also the so-called Jaina Śaurasênî) often differs from Śaurasênî Prâkrit and agrees with the other dialects. This may, at least partly, be explained by the fact that it is of a somewhat different origin. The Śaurasêna Apabhraṁśa is principally known from Hêmachandra's grammar, and it is a well-known fact that in many points it agrees with old Gujarâtî. Now Gujarat was conquered from Mathurâ, and old Gujarâtî was, therefore, a Śaurasêna Apabhraṁśa. It has, however, certainly been influenced by the speech of the former inhabitants. We do not know who these were. The many points of analogy between Gujarâtî and Koṅkaṇî, however, make it almost certain that their dialect was closely related to old Marâṭhî.

It seems therefore necessary to divide the Prâkrits in two groups, Śaurasênî on one side, and Mâhârâshṭrî, Ardhamâgadhî, and Mâgadhî on the other. The former agrees with classical Sanskrit in vocabulary and in its fixed inflexional system, while the latter contains many words which are unknown to classical Sanskrit, and approaches the old Vedic dialects in the rich variety of forms. On the other hand, it should be clearly understood that the dialects of the group differed from each other in many points, just as is the case with their representatives at the present day. Our knowledge of Mâgadhî is too limited to arrive at certain results with regard to that dialect. It may, however, be added that the position ascribed to it well agrees with the relationship of the modern vernaculars of the Mâgadha country. More definite results would be obtained if we would include the Mâgadhî of the inscriptions and Pâli in the scope of our inquiries. I cannot, however, now enter upon the many problems connected with those forms of speech.

The relation of Mâhârâshṭrî to the other Prâkrits must, therefore, be defined as follows.

In some characteristics, such as the formation of the nominative singular of masculine *a*-bases and in the pronunciation of some consonants, it agrees with Śaurasênî, and mainly with Ardhamâgadhî. Its whole character, however, shows it to be a dialect belonging to a group which comprised the vernaculars of the south and east.

The modern vernaculars of India have been classified in various ways. If we exclude the languages spoken on the north-western frontier, we may distinguish the following groups [2] :—

1. North-Western Group, *i. e.*, Kâśmîrî, Lahndâ and Sindhî.
2. Southern Group — Marâṭhî.
3. Western Group — Gujarâtî, Panjâbî, Râjasthânî, Western Hindî.
4. Northern Group — Western Pahârî, Central Pahârî, Naipâlî.
5. Mediate Group — Eastern Hindî.
6. Eastern Group, — Assamese, Bengalî, Bihârî, Oṛiyâ.

According to Dr. Grierson, the third and fourth group must be considered as mutually connected and as forming one distinct branch which he calls the inner family. The first, the second, and the sixth groups, on the other hand, have certain important characteristics in common, and should be classed together as the outer family. Eastern Hindî forms the link between both.

It will be seen that Dr. Grierson's classification of the modern vernaculars agrees with that proposed above for the Prâkrits.

If we abstract from the north-western languages which have nothing directly corresponding to them in the Prâkrits, we find two great divisions, one inner, corresponding to Śaurasênî Prâkrit, and one outer, corresponding to the southern and eastern Prâkrits. To these must be added the dialects sharing some of the characteristics of both, the Mediate Group.

It is clear that such a classification can only be a very rough one. There are numerous cross-divisions, so that it is often a very complicated matter to define precisely the position of a given language. We are, in this place, only concerned with Marâṭhî, and it will be necessary to go into some detail in order to illustrate the relationship of that language to other Indo-Aryan vernaculars.

Dr. Hoernle, *l. c.*, pp. xiv and ff., points out that Marâṭhî in some points agrees with the western (*i. e.*, inner) and in others with the eastern (*i. e.*, outer) languages. Moreover, it in

[2] See Dr. Grierson, *Census of India, 1901. Indexes of Languages.* London, 1901. The denomination of the various groups has been slightly altered so as to agree with the system adopted in the Linguistic Survey.

many respects differs from both. He therefore considers Marâṭhî to form a group by itself. The facts may be broadly laid down as follows :—

1. Agreement between Marâṭhî and inner languages.

The pronunciation is generally the same. Thus, *v* and *b* are distinguished as in Gujarâtî, Panjâbî, and partly in Râjasthânî. The short *a* is pronounced as the *u* in English 'nut,' etc. The fact that Marâṭhî has two *s*-sounds cannot be adduced to prove a nearer connexion with eastern languages The Bengalî *ś* must be compared with the corresponding sound in Mâgadhî Prâkrit, which was used in all cases instead of every old *s*-sound, without any attention being paid to the sound following it. The *ś* in Marâṭhî, on the other hand, is only used before *i*, *î*, and *ê*, in which cases it is due to the common pronunciation of a *y* before these vowels (compare *yêṇẽ*, *êṇẽ*, to come), a tendency which is hardly compatible with the phonetical laws prevailing in eastern languages which are averse to an initial *y* or *w*. The pronunciation of the palatals as, *ts*, *dz*, etc., is not an exclusively eastern peculiarity. It is not only common in Bengalî, but a similar pronunciation also prevails in some forms of Râjasthânî and Gujarâtî. Compare also Kâsmîrî. In Marâṭhî this pronunciation is not the only one, the true palatal sound being preserved in the same cases as those in which a dental *s* becomes a palatal. The Marâṭhî system is the same as that prevailing in Telugu, and it is also possible to think of Dravidian influence. On the whole there can be no doubt that the pronunciation of Marâṭhî, as stated by Dr. Hoernle, *l. c.*, mainly agrees with that of western languages of the inner family. It will be remembered that Mâhârâshṭrî phonology had the same relation to Śaurasênî, the inner Prâkrit.

The demonstrative and relative pronouns end in *ô* in the nominative singular masculine in Marâṭhî as in Western Hindî, while the Eastern dialects have forms ending in *ê*. Compare Marâṭhî *dzô*, Bihârî *jê*, who. In connection with this point it should be noted that the nominative singular of *a*-bases in old Marâṭhî ends in *u* or *ô*, which corresponds to *ô* in the western Prâkrits, and not to *ê* in the eastern. Thus old Marâṭhî *nandanu*, a son ; *râvô*, a king. The nominative of strong masculine bases ends in *â* in Marâṭhî. This *â* is, however, probably the direct development of an old *a-ô*. An *a-ê* or *a-a* would regularly become *ê* in modern Marâṭhî. It seems, on the whole, difficult to base any conclusions on the different forms of the nominative of these bases. Else we should be obliged to separate Marâṭhî from Koṅkaṇî, Gujârâtî and Râjasthânî from Panjâbî and some dialects of Western Hindî.

It will be seen from the preceding remarks that Marâṭhî agrees with the inner languages in the same points as those in which Mâhârâshṭrî marched with Śaurasênî, *viz.*, in pronunciation and in the *ô*-form of the nominative singular of masculine *a*-bases.

Marâṭhî also agrees with the inner languages in two other important points, in the regular use of a case of the agent and the consequent passive construction of the past tense of transitive verbs, and in forming the infinitive with an *n*-suffix.

With regard to the former of these two points, it does not seem to be of fundamental importance. The origin of the past tense from a past participle passive, and the corresponding use of the past participle in all Prâkrits as a passive form of the past, clearly show that the active construction of such tenses so often found in eastern vernaculars is a comparatively late development, and may thus be compared with the dropping of the neuter gender in most Indo-Aryan vernaculars. With regard to the second point, the formation of the infinitive by adding an *n*-suffix, it should be borne in mind that Marâṭhî also possesses a *v*-infinitive, corresponding to the *b*-forms in the east, and that this latter formation of the infinitive by no means is confined to the outer languages, but is quite common in Gujarâtî, a language which certainly belongs to the inner family.

We thus see that the most important points in which Marâṭhî agrees with the western (*i. e.*, inner) languages are the same which were common to Mâhârâshṭrî and Sauraśênî.

2. Agreement between Marâṭhî and the eastern languages of the outer circle.

It has already been pointed out that the similar pronunciation of the palatals in Marâṭhî and some eastern dialects cannot be urged as proving any closer relation. The same is the case with the broad pronunciation of a short *a* in Koṅkaṇî, which might be compared with the pronunciation of the same sound in Bengalî. A short *a* is pronounced in the same way in several dialects of Gujarâtî Bhîlî, and is due to causes which we cannot as yet account for. It is foreign to Marâṭhî proper, as are also the short *e* and *o* which are so characteristic of eastern languages and of Koṅkaṇî. *E* and *o* had a short as well as a long sound in all Prâkrits, and the abolishing or retaining of the short variety is due to phonetical developments within the single dialect.

The *â*-nominative of strong masculine bases has already been dealt with, and it does not seem safe to lay any stress on it.

In the same way I do not venture to make an argument out of the so-called pronominal suffixes which Dr. Grierson has shown are used in most languages of the outer family, because I have not been able to convince myself of their existence in Marâṭhî. Compare Dr. Grierson in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIV., Part I., 1895, pp. 336 and ff., pp. 352 and ff.

The *l*-future, which Marâṭhî shares with Râjasthânî and some northern dialects, has been compared with the *l*-present in Bihârî by Dr. Hoernle and others. Its existence in Râjasthânî, however, shows that it is not an exclusively eastern form, and I shall not, therefore, do more than mention it.

The principal points in which Marâṭhî agrees with eastern forms of speech, and which seem to be of fundamental importance, on the other hand, are the oblique form in *â* and the *l*-suffix of the past tense. These features pervade the whole inflexional system of the language, and are accordingly of sufficient importance to prove a closer connection.

With regard to the former point, the oblique base ending in *â*, it must be noted that this form is much more common in the east than has been recognised by the grammarians, and forms an essential feature of those languages. Compare Bihârî *pahar*, a guard, oblique *paharâ*. Marâṭhî, which is a much more conservative language than its neighbours towards the east, uses this form in all *a*-bases; thus, *bâp*, a father; *bâpâ-tsâ*, of the father. The form *bâpâ* cannot be separated from *bâpâs*, which is usually a dative, but is also, dialectically, used as an ordinary oblique base. Thus *bâpâs-na*, by the father, in the Konkan. Both forms must be derived from the old genitive; compare Mâhârâshṭrî *bappassa*, of the father.

The *l*-suffix of the past tense is a secondary suffix which was originally added to the past participle passive. It was not originally necessary, and even at the present day it is occasionally dispensed with, not only in the east, but also in Marâṭhî dialects. Thus Chitpâwanî *mâyarâ* and *mârîlâ*, it was struck.

The *l*-suffix must be derived from a Prâkrit form containing a double *ll*, it being an invariable rule in Marâṭhî that every single non-initial *l* becomes a cerebral *ḷ*, while a dental *l* in the some position goes back to a double *ll* in Prâkrit. Compare a paper by the present writer in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1902, pp. 417 and ff. The prototype of the *l*-suffix is, therefore, the suffix *illa* which plays a great rôle in Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî, and probably also in Mâgadhî, but is not used in Sauraśênî. The oldest instance of its use in the past tense is Ardhamâgadhî *âṇillia*, brought.

Marâṭhî thus agrees with western vernaculars in pronunciation, in the regular use of the case of the agent, and in a form of the nominative singular of *a*-bases which can be traced back to the old Mâhârâshṭrî form ending in *ô*. With eastern forms of speech it agrees in two fundamental points, the oblique base ending in *â*, and the past tense formed by adding an *l*-suffix. We may add that the inflexional system of Marâṭhî, at least to some extent, has the same richness of forms which characterises the eastern languages as opposed to the western ones.

The features in which Marâṭhî differs from the western as well as from the eastern languages do not concern us here. Compare Dr. Hoernle, *l. c.*

It will be seen that Marâṭhî occupies exactly the same position within the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars as Mâhârâshṭrî among the Prâkrits. The arguments adduced against the derivation of both languages from the same old vernacular have not proved valid, and we will have to adhere to the Indian tradition that Mâhârâshṭrî was based on the old vernacular of the Marâṭha country.

We are now prepared to turn our attention to some additional proofs which are furnished by occasional points of coincidence between both languages. It is unnecessary to aim at completeness in the enumeration of such facts, but it will be useful to select a few instances. For further details, we may refer the reader to two older papers, one by M. Garrez in the *Journal Asiatique*, VI., xx., Paris, 1872, pp. 203 and ff., the other by Professor Kuhn in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XXXIII. p. 478 f. M. Garrez's article must, however, be used with caution; compare Dr. Grierson, above, Vol. XXX. pp. 553 and ff.

It will be noted that many forms in which Marâṭhî will be shown to agree with Mâhârâshṭrî also are found in other modern vernaculars, especially in the east. This could not possibly be otherwise if the preceding remarks are correct. I have not, therefore, thought it necessary to note such instances, my present aim being to adduce additional proofs for the derivation of Marâṭhî and Mâhârâshṭrî from the same source, which seems to be necessarily inferred from the facts already adduced.

For our present purposes we must refrain from a comparison of the vocabulary of both languages, though considerable results might be derived in such a way. In the first place we know too little of Śaurasênî and Mâgadhî, and in the second place it would be unsafe to compare the vocabulary of modern vernaculars so long as we have not good dictionaries in all of them. Something in this direction has already been done by M. Garrez in the article just quoted. Compare, however, Dr. Grierson, *l. c.* We shall therefore only draw attention to a few points of phonology and inflexion where Marâṭhî seems to agree with Mâhârâshṭrî.

Vowels.— Long vowels are often shortened in Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî; thus, *kumara*, Sanskrit *kumâra*, a boy. This form does not occur in Śaurasênî, but must be compared with Marâṭhî *kumar*. *Haridrâ*, turmeric, often becomes *haladdî* or *haladdî* in Mâhârâshṭrî. Compare Marâṭhî *haḷad*, dative *haḷᵃdî-lâ*.

The Sanskrit vowel *ṛi* is sometimes differently treated in the old dialects. Thus, Sanskrit *kṛita*, done, becomes *kaa* in Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî (compare Mâgadhî and Ardhamâgadhî *kaḍa*), but usually *kida* in Śaurasênî. Similarly, we find Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî *ghaa*, Śaurasênî *ghida*, Sanskrit *ghṛita*, clarified butter. Compare Marâṭhî *kêlẽ*, *i. e.*, *kaa-illaaṁ*, done (but Hindî *kiyâ*, *i. e.*, *kidaa*), while *ghî*, clarified butter, which is derived from the form *ghida* and is quite common in Hindî, according to Molesworth is scarcely used in Marâṭhî and must be considered as a Hindî loan-word. In this connexion we may also mention Marâṭhî *bhâû*, Mâhârâshṭrî *bhâua*, Sanskrit *bhrâtṛika*, a brother. Also Śaurasênî has, however, *bhâdua*, but most modern vernaculars have *bhâî*, which represents a Prâkrit *bhâia*.

Consonants.— It has already been noted that one of the most striking features in which Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî differ from Śaurasênî (and Mâgadhî) is the treatment of

a Sanskrit *t* between vowels, which becomes *d* in the latter, and is dropped in the former group. Many verbal forms contain such a *t*, and this is the reason why the different treatment of it plays so conspicuous a rôle in the Prakrits. It has already been stated that no great importance can be attached to this point. Still it is of interest to note that modern Marâṭhî has dropped the *t* in all verbal forms, and there are no traces of participles such as Gujarâtî *kîdhô*, done; *lîdhô*, taken; *pîdhô*, drunk. Old Marâṭhî *khâdilâ*, eaten, is quite different, the *d*, which belongs to the base, having probably been re-introduced through the influence of the Sanskrit form.

Soft consonants are occasionally hardened in the Prâkrits. Thus, Mâhârâshṭrî *machchaï* for *majjaï*, Sanskrit *mâdyati*, he grows mad; *vachchaï* for *vajjaï*, Sanskrit *vrajati*, he walks. Compare Marâṭhî *matsaṇẽ*, to swell, to rise in force (Hindî *machanâ*); Koṅkaṇî *votsũ*, to go.

Consonants are occasionally aspirated. Compare Mâhârâshṭrî *bisî* and *bhisî*, Sanskrit *bṛisî*, Marâṭhî *bhisẽ* (Hindî *bhis*), stalk of the lotus.

The aspiration has apparently been thrown back in Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî *ghettuṁ*, Sanskrit *grahîtuṁ*, to seize. Compare Marâṭhî *ghêtalẽ*, taken. According to M. Garrez, this word is peculiar to Marâṭhî as the corresponding Prâkrit word was to Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî.

An initial dental *d* has become cerebralised in Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî in words such as *ḍasaï*, Sanskrit *daśati*, he bites; *ḍahaï*, Sanskrit *dahati*, he burns; *ḍôla* (probably from Sanskrit *dôla*, oscillating), an eye; *ḍollaï*, Sanskrit *dôlâyatê*, he swings; *ḍôhalaa*, Sanskrit *dôhalaka*, the longings of a pregnant woman; *ḍaraï*, Sanskrit *darati*, he fears, and so forth. Compare Marâṭhî *ḍasaṇẽ*, to bite; *ḍâhô* (poetical), heat; *ḍâdzaṇẽ*, to be hot; *ḍôḷâ*, an eye; *ḍôlaṇẽ*, to walk nodding; *ḍôhaḷâ*, longings of a pregnant woman; *ḍaraṇẽ*, to fear.

The interchange between cerebral and dental *n* in Marâṭhî has been shown by Bhandarkar to correspond to the state of affairs in Jaina Mâhârâshṭrî and late Ardhamâgadhî. Every initial *n* and every double *n* becomes a dental *n* in Marâṭhî, while every medial single *n* is cerebral and represented by a cerebral *ṇ* in Marâṭhî. Compare Bhandarkar in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII. 1889, p. 166.

We may add stray forms such as Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî *chhetta*, Sanskrit *kṣêtra*, Marâṭhî *śêt*, but Saurasênî *khetta*, Hindî *khêt*, a field; Mâhârâshṭrî *kira*, Marâṭhî *kir*, but Sanskrit and Saurasênî *kila*, forsooth; Sanskrit *gardabha*, Mâhârâshṭrî *gaḍḍaha*, Marâṭhî *gâḍhav*, but Saurasênî *gaddaha*, Hindî *gadhâ*, an ass; Mâhârâshṭrî *paṇṇâsaṁ*, Marâṭhî *pannâs*, fifty, and so forth.

All these instances show that Marâṭhî and Mâhârâshṭrî have many phonetical laws in common. When we find the same facts recurring in other modern vernaculars, it is quite natural that we should find them in the east. Ardhamâgadhî shows that the phonology of eastern Prâkrits was more closely connected with Mâhârâshṭrî than with Saurasênî. As regards the vernaculars derived from the same source as Saurasênî, the many instances where both differ cannot fail to show that the literary Saurasênî was based on the vernacular of a comparatively small area or of a definite class of people, and that the popular dialects of the Saurasêna country in many points differed, or have subsequently been largely influenced from other sources. We are still far from being able to trace all the elements which have contributed to the formation of the various dialects of Western Hindî, though we know enough to state definitely that their main base was a Saurasêna dialect.

Nouns and Pronouns.—It has already been pointed out that the nominative singular for masculine *a*-bases ends in *ô* in Mâhârâshṭrî (and Saurasênî), and that old Marâṭhî shows that the same was the case in the language of the Marâṭha country. It has also been mentioned that Mâgadhî shows a tendency to change neuter *a*-bases to masculine. This tendency does not

exist in Mâhârâshṭrî, and modern Marâṭhî here again agrees in preserving the neuter gender, while most modern vernaculars, with the exception of Gujarâtî and rural Western Hindi, have replaced it by the masculine.

The genitive of *i*-bases often ends in *issa* in Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî; thus, *aggissa*, Sanskrit *agnêḥ*, of the fire; but Saurasênî only *aggiṇô*. Bases ending in *in* have in the same dialects been confounded with them; thus *hatthissa*, Saurasênî *hatthiṇô*, Sanskrit *hastinaḥ*, of an elephant. The only *in*-base which has survived in Marâṭhî is *hâthî*, an elephant, and the dative of this word is *hâthîs* which is the direct descendant of *hatthissa*.

With regard to pronouns we may note that the typical Mâhârâshṭrî forms *majjha*, my, and *tujjha*, thy, have survived in Marâṭhî *mâdzhâ*, my; *tudzhâ*, thy.

Verbs. — With regard to the conjugation of verbs, it is of interest that Marâṭhî has preserved a good deal of the variety of different forms which characterised Mâhârâshṭrî. Marâṭhî here again proves to be a more conservative language than its neighbours. Thus we not only find the old present, future (see below), and imperative, but also some traces of the optative. Compare, —

> *Dêkhẽ indriyã âdhîna-hôijê taĩ sîtôshṇâ-tẽ pâvijê âṇi sukhaduḥkhĩ âkaḷijê âpaṇa-pẽ*;
>
> 'See, if a man is dependent on his senses, then he will suffer cold and heat, and tie himself to pleasure and sorrow.' — (*Jñânêśvarî*, II. 119.)

Such forms have usually been explained as passives used in an active sense. And there can be no doubt that passive forms are often so used. This seems, however, to be partly due to the fact that they were confounded with remnants of the old optative.

The old passive survives in forms, such as *lâbhaṇẽ*, to be got; *disaṇẽ*, to appear, and so on. In old poetry, however, a passive formed with the characteristic *j* is in common use. Thus, *vadhijatî*, they are killed; *kijê*, it is done. In modern Marâṭhî only the forms *mhaṇajê*, it is said, namely; and *pâhijê*, it is wanted, have survived.

It should be noted that such forms correspond to the Mâhârâshṭrî passive ending in *ijjai*, while Saurasênî has *îadi*. Jaina Saurasênî has forms ending in *ijjadi*. That dialect in many respects occupies a position intermediate between Saurasênî and Mâhârâshṭrî. Compare Gujarâtî and Râjasthânî.

The Marâṭhî future is now formed by adding an *l*-suffix, as is also the case in Râjasthânî and some northern dialects. In the first person singular *n* is in most dialects added instead, and in the first person plural no addition is made. The base of the future is identical with the old present, which is now used as a habitual past, but in poetry also has the functions of a present, a past, and a future. Thus, *uṭhẽ*, I used to rise; *uṭhên*, I shall rise.

It seems probable that the habitual past is not only derived from the old present, but also from the old future. For though the modern future usually agrees with it, there are instances in the dialects where both differ. Thus Nâgpurî *nidzô*, I used to sleep; but *nidzan*, I shall sleep. A confusion between the old present and the old future might easily take place, as both would often necessarily have assumed the same form. In Mâhârâshṭrî the future was formed by means of the suffix *iss*, which was often changed to *ih*. Thus, *hasihimi* and *hasissaṁ*, I shall laugh; *hasihisi* and *hasissasi*, thou wilt laugh; *hasihii* and *hasissai*, he will laugh. The forms *hasihimi* (or *hasihiṁ*), *hasihisi*, *hasihii*, would regularly become *hasĩ*, *hasîs*, *hasî*, in Marâṭhî, and it seems probable that they have contributed to the formation of the past habitual. This would account for the use of this tense in the formation of the future. In this connexion it should be noted that the difference in the formation of the future in the two conjugations in Marâṭhî seems to be artificial. In poetry and in the dialects both forms are used without any difference at all. Thus in the Marâṭhî dialect of Berar and the Central Provinces we find both *asîl* and *asal* (Standard *asêl*), he shall be. Forms, such as *uṭhẽ*, *uṭhês*, *uṭhê*, I used to rise, etc., would be the direct derivations of Mâhârâshṭrî *uṭṭhêmi*, *uṭṭhêsi*, *uṭṭhêi*, and it seems to be allowed to

conclude that the *ê*-form of the habitual past and the future is derived from the old present, the *î*-form from the old future. I may add that dialectically the *l*-suffix is dropped in the Marâṭhî future. Thus, Karhâḍî *mâr^aśî*, thou wilt strike, a form which seems directly to correspond to Mâhârâshṭrî *mârissasi* or *mârihisi*, when it is borne in mind that a short *i* in the penultimate is regularly dropped in that dialect.

Marâṭhî infinitives, such as *mârũ*, to strike; *uṭhũ*, to arise, etc., seem to be directly derived from Mâhârâshṭrî *mâriuṁ*, *uṭṭhium*. The participle of necessity ending in *avva* in Mâhârâshṭrî (Sanskrit *tavya*) is used in the same sense in modern Marâṭhî, while in other dialects it has become a future. Thus Marâṭhî *myâ karâvẽ*, Mâhârâshṭrî *maê kariavvaaṁ*, it should be done by me, I should do.

The conjunctive participle ends in *ûṇa* in Mâhârâshṭrî and often also in Ardhamâgadhî, but usually in *ia* in Śaurasênî and Mâgadhî. Jaina Mâhârâshṭrî also uses the form ending in *uṁ*; thus, *kahiuṁ*, having told. To such forms corresponds the Marâṭhî conjunctive participle ending in *ûn* from older *u-niã*, *i. e.*, *ũ-niã*, which contains the old *uṁ* (compare old forms such as *nirdaḷũ*, having destroyed) and a second suffix *niã* which must be compared with Gujârâtî *nê*. Thus *karûn*, old Marâṭhî *karuniã*, having done. The common *ō* in such forms (compare *karōnyiã* and *karunyiã*, having done) is due to the same reasons as Apabhraṁśa *lahauṁ*, to take, etc. It is of importance to note that the different formation of this participle is very marked in the old Prâkrits. Marâṭhî as usual agrees with Mâhârâshṭrî.

We may add correspondence in the syntax, such as the use of the neuter in adjectives qualifying words of different genders; the use of adjectives instead of adverbs; the use of the present participle as a conditional; the frequency with which an *l*-suffix, corresponding to an old *illa*, occurs; and, lastly, the use of the emphatic particle Mâhârâṣṭrî *chêa*, *chia*, *chcha*, Marâṭhî *chi*, *ts*. The particle *chêa*, etc., is only used in Mâhârâshṭrî and Ardhamâgadhî, the corresponding word in Śaurasênî being *jêva*. Both forms have survived, the former in Marâṭhî *ts*, *chi*, Chhattîsgaṛhî *êch*, the latter in Gujarâtî *j*.

Such instances of agreement would not prove much if they were isolated. Taken together, however, and considered in connection with the general reasons adduced in the preceding pages, they cannot fail to add strength to the conclusion that the Indian tradition is right in referring Marâṭhî and Mâhârâshṭrî to the same locality.

One immediate consequence of this result is that Khândêśî can no more be considered as a dialect of Marâṭhî. It would take us too far to enter upon this question in the present place. Suffice it to state that Khândêśî will in the Linguistic Survey be shown to be a dialect based on Gujarâtî and not on Marâṭhî.

It will be borne in mind that Mâhârâshṭrî, though decidedly showing a leaning towards the east, is a rather independent language, occupying a somewhat intermediary position. The same is the case with Marâṭhî. And the conservative tendencies of that language have, to a great extent, prevented it from being influenced by its neighbours. Nowhere do we find it dropping gradually into a neighbouring form of speech. The frontier line between Marâṭhî on one side and Râjasthânî and Gujarâtî on the other is a very marked one. Only in the west we see that Marâṭhî has largely influenced Khândêśî and some Bhil dialects which might be considered as links between Marâṭhî and Gujarâtî. They are not, however, in reality intermediate languages, but mixed forms of speech which have borrowed from Marâṭhî. The state of affairs in the east is similar. There is no link between Marâṭhî and Chhattîsgaṛhî or Marâṭhî and Oṛiyâ. The Hal^abî dialect, which has sometimes been described as a dialect of Chhattîsgaṛhî and sometimes of Marâṭhî, is in reality none of both. It is a mongrel form of speech adopted by a tribe of non-Aryan descent. The inner form of the dialect is Chhattîsgaṛhî and Oṛiyâ, Marâṭhî having contributed several suffixes which are added to the simple base and not to a form corresponding to the oblique base in Marâṭhî.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Concluded from p. 139.)

Appendix I.

Despatches to Bengal.

1790 — 1796.

Extracts with regard to the Settlement at the Andamans.

30th March 1791. We shall postpone giving you any directions relative to the **New Settlement on the Andamans,** until after the receipt of Captain Kyd's Survey and investigation and the Report of Commodore Cornwallis.

25th February 1793. We have referred to your Proceedings of the 6th and 29th July 1791, for information respecting the **Harbour to the North East of the Great Andaman Island,** and which, in the opinion of Commodore Cornwallis, is much superior, for a Fleet of Men of War, to Port Cornwallis [*i. e.* the modern Port Blair]; and direct that you transmit to Us a Copy of the Plan of this Harbour together with the former report of Commodore Cornwallis, the Surveys of Captain Kyd and Lieutenant Blair, with every other necessary material to enable us to come to a final decision respecting the fitness of this new Settlement over that which has been formed at Penang, or Prince of Wales Island.

15th April 1795. Andamans. In consequence of the decided opinion of Admiral Cornwallis in favor of the Harbour at the North East end of the Great Andaman Island, as a safe and convenient Port for a Squadron of Ships of War, we approve of your resolution for removing the Stores and every other part of the Establishment that was made **at the Harbour which has hitherto been called Port Cornwallis** [*i. e.* Port Blair], to the Harbour recommended by the Commodore.

We likewise approve of the measures that have been taken for effecting the New Settlement, and of the Allowances to the Officers and others employed in that service, as mentioned in your subsequent Dispatches, and the proceedings to which they refer.

We direct that you send us Copies of all the Plans and Surveys that have been or shall be taken of this new Harbour. We observe that several have already been taken, and that others are expected to be made, and we desire that a regular List thereof may be transmitted to us. We observe that Major Kyd, appointed temporary Commandant and Superintendant of the Works to be erected on **Chatham Island** [in the modern Port Cornwallis] has been directed to prepare a plan of Fortifications for its defence of the Port, whether in the absence of the Fleet, or for the protection of any number of ships blocked up in the Harbour by a superior force. You will of course furnish us with Major Kyd's report, and an Estimate of the expence of the proposed works, that we may be enabled to give you such directions upon the Subject, as the situation of affairs both in India and Europe shall appear to require; and no works but such as may be deemed necessary for immediate defence are to be commenced without our previous sanction.

It appears by your subsequent Dispatch of the 12th August 1793, that in consequence of Captain Blair's report therein referred to, a more minute investigation is to be made of the Soundings at **North East Harbour** [now Port Cornwallis], and that you are endeavoring to ascertain the cause of the late uncommon sickness among the Settlers. We have therefore no further Directions to give you upon this subject at present.

Your recommendation for establishing Courts of Justice at the Andamans will be taken into consideration.

We approve of **your determination that all Notorious Offenders sentenced to be confined for life shall be transported to the Andamans** to be employed in clearing the Lands or on Public Buildings or Works.

3rd July, 1795. We approve of your determination for sending a Number of **Convicts from the Nizamut Adawlut to the Andamans.**

For the reasons stated we approve of your having taken up **a** Vessel, built by **the late Colonel Kyd,** for the Service of the Andamans.

For the forcible reasons that have been urged, we approve of the addition which has been made to **Major Kyd's** Allowances as Superintendant of the Andamans.

5th January 1796. We have perused the very able and impartial Report part the first from Major Kyd, referred to in the 5th Paragraph of your Letter in this Department of the 20th March last, upon the comparative advantages of the two Settlements at Prince of Wales Island and the Andamans. But as you have declared your intention of communicating to us your Sentiments upon this subject by the next Ship and as we had previously desired your opinion thereon we shall not enter at this time into the consideration thereof.

27th July 1796. For the reasons stated we approve of your Request to the Bombay Government that **European Convicts should not in future be ordered to the Andamans.**

We approve of **the Snow Druid** having been freighted for carrying Supplies to the Andamans.

9th May 1797. From the information contained in the very able Report of Major Kyd, referred to in these 73rd & 75th Paras of your Letter, and for the reasons assigned in your subsequent Dispatch of the 7th March 1796, we approve of your Resolutions of the 8th February preceding, for **withdrawing the Settlement at the Andamans;** and we are pleased to find by the 14th Paragraph of your Letter of the 5th July last, that except the freight of a small Vessel stationed at the Andamans merely to keep possession, every expense on account of the Establishment had ceased.

Appendix II.

Among a series of MS. *Records* at the India Office known as E. I. Co. Home Series, Miscellaneous, are two of much interest in the present connection No. 434 giving **Mr La Beaume's remarks concerning the Andamans in 1790,** and No. 388 giving **Lieutenant Stokoe's 'Concise account of the Andamans,' with a plan of Port Cornwallis, dated 1793.** Through the courtesy of the authorities I am now able to publish them.

No. I.

E. I. Co., Home Series, Miscellaneous, 434 J. **Letters from Mr George Smith to Mr Dundas afterwards Viscount Melville** on various topics.

Extract from letter dated 10th January 1790 introducing Mr Melchior La Beaume, directed to William Cabell Esqr

"You will find him [Mr La Beaume] a sensible, Intelligent, and well informed Man, who is capable of giving useful information relative to India, & its Commerce and on that account, I introduce him to you, and should be glad that you would for the same reason present him to **Mr Dundass. To Mr La Beaume** is principally owing any **late Discoveries** which we may have made **at the Andyman Isles,** for to my knowledge, he proposed to undertake at his own Expence the Discovery of these Isles, and of placing a Colony there, if he succeeded in finding a proper Harbour, or Port for the reception of ships of war, and a proper place for planting a Colony, he then was to be paid such sum as might be agreed upon between him & Government, if he did not succeed, he was to receive no recompense, a proposition of this public spirited Tendency, did I do verily believe Spur Government to the Discovery of these Isles. what effects have attended it, I cannot -

the officer sent on that Expedition being tied down to Secrecy. Ports however there certainly are, and whatever advantages we may reap from a possession of these Isles, are in a great degree owing to **Mr La Beaume**, and this I say from knowledge, for I translated for him the **Memorial** which he delivered to **Colonel Rose for Lord Cornwallis** on the subject of the Andyman Isles, and the conquest of the kingdom of Pegu in their Vicinity."

Enclosed in the above letter is '**Observations on the present state of the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu and the means of joining them to the British dominions in India,**' by **Melchior La Baume.** In this paper occur the following remarks on the Andaman Islands: —

"The **two Islands Andaman opposite to Pegu** deserve in a particular degree the attention of the English Nation for they would belong of right to the People who would be generous enough to make themselves masters of them and civilize their inhabitants. A Foreign Captain who passed through the Channel which divides the two Islands has assured me that he had found an excellent Harbour in it and nowhere less than seven Fathoms.

If the Universe applauds the medal which England caused to be struck for the Duke of Bedford for having planted Oak what would not be the reward of the illustrious Governour and Supreme Council who should order the execution of so glorious an enterprise.

My humble opinion is that their names would be immortalized and that thousands of their Fellow creatures would bless them for ever.

However notwithstanding I consider the success of this project as morally certain its' importance should make me diffident of my own abilities, and I request that this memorial if found to have any merit may only be considered as an Essay, — offering my services and every good that can result from the experience of thirty five years residence in India, and the emulation I must naturally feel from my sincerest wishes to be an instrument in hastening its perfection and Execution.

N.B. Mr La Beaume in presenting the annexed Observations to my Lord Cornwallis offered to examine the Andamans at his sole expence, provided the informations were found to be unfavorable. The Success which those who afterwards explored it [met with] were Superior to the most Sanguine expectations.

Melchior La Beaume."

No. II.

E. I. Co. Home Series. Miscellaneous. No 388. **Letters from Sir John Murray to Mr Dundas** chiefly upon military and political topics.

In **Letter dated 15th May 1794.** Sir John Murray sends **four enclosures** to Mr. Dundas. He describes No 2 as follows — "No 2 is a **concise account of the Andamans. Mr Stokoe, of the Engineers**, furnished me with this paper, which is drawn up by himself: but he does not wish that public use should be made of it yet — as **Major Kyd** who commands on the Island, and is an intelligent able officer, deems another years residence there necessary before he delivers an official Report regarding it." Below I now give the "concise account."

A Concise Account of Port Cornwallis, Andamans, with a Sketch of the Plan of the Harbour.

Situation.

The Situation of the Andaman Islands are too well known to require a Particular explanation in this slight Memoir, it may be sufficient to observe, they are a Continuation of the Chain of small Islands extending **from Cape Nagrais to Atcheen Head,** What has usually been called **the Great Andaman** stretches from North Latitude 11°. 20m to 13° 38m, it is however separated by **Mac Phersons Straits**, the East entrance of which is in No Lat. 11°. 27m, and the West in 11°. 30m, and also by middle passage, the East entrance being in Latd 12°. 2m, and the West in

12°. 12m — Vessels drawing 2½ and 3 fathom water may go thro' either of these passages. At particular seasons of the year they occasion strong and dangerous Currents setting to Westward.

Chatham Island.

Chatham Island in Port Cornwallis, on the Eastern side of the Island on which the present Settlement is Established, is situated in N. Latd 13°. 20m and in East Longitude from Greenwich 92°. 55m. 55″. Its extreme Length, North & South, is a little more than 3000 yards. Its greatest Breadth at the North End is 900 yards; On this face the Colony is formed, the breadth varies inconsiderably, until it approaches the South end of the Island, where it terminates in a narrow spit, fordable at low Water to the Main, about 400 yards across.

Surface. The Surface is extremely irregular, being a perpetual succession of Ridges & Valleys in all directions, the former are not very high, the sides of most of them are abrupt, and cut into deep Gullies by the Periodical Rains; the latter are in general narrow and confined, with a Ravine or Watter Course in the Center of each. The whole Island is so thickly covered with Jungle, that it is difficult to calculate with accuracy the extent of level Land, judging from the few spots we have cleared, there can hardly be more, than an eighth part level, or of an easy inclination. The high grounds are cloathed with Timber Trees, some of them of an astonishing size their Trunks are mostly concealed from view by innumerable strong creepers, which greatly impede our progress in clearing, they being interwoven in such a manner, as to render it impracticable to drag them down, or to get rid of them, except by fire. The Valleys abound with the wild Beetle Nut, and various Trees of slight fibre, useless for the most part as Timber. The Shores of the Island, and all the neighbouring shores, are garnished with the Mangrove and other Aquatic Trees, some species of which afford good knees, and crooked Timbers for building boats and small vessels.

Soil. There is an artificial soil of rich black mould over the whole Island evidently formed by decayed leaves and other vegetable matter, it is seldom deeper than five or six inches, except around the Roots of the larger Trees, where it is often more than a foot deep; beneath this is the natural soil, apparently of a Stiff, fat, yellow loam, but experience has shewn us that when tilled for Cultivation, and exposed to the force of the Rains, it becomes a mere sand, and probably will not prove very Productive, as there is scarcely a Tree to be met with on the Island having a Tap Root, on the contrary the Roots extend to an incredible distance in search of the Artificial Soil, along the exterior Surface, and have so slight a hold of the ground that it is imprudent to leave single Trees standing as they usually fall the first Wind that blows. It is a question whether in clearing for the Purposes of Agreculture, we may not deprive the Lands of the source of their most Prolific Soil, and when turned for Cultivation, whether the good Soil will not be washed away, as has been the case in our Garden, at the expiration of the S. W. Monsoon, it was a mere bed of Sand, and we were under the necessity of collecting the Vegetable Mould from other places to restore its fertility. — The spot for this Garden was certainly ill chosen being at the foot of an extensive Ridge, and having a gradual slope to the Water edge; there are spots where we may reasonably expect a more favorable issue, one of which we have cleared, and put into cultivation, as an experiment the approaching Monsoon. A small quantity of Paddy planted, proved very productive, and some Manilla Indigo seed afforded a most luxuriant Crop, and was from five to six feet high, and much superior in appearance to any I ever saw, either in the Deccan, the Douab, Bengal, the Carnatic, or Mysore Country.

Trees. Of Trees useful to an Infant Colony for common purposes, there are many sorts, (Musters [samples] of which, with the Head Carpenters Account of them, accompanying have been sent to you) it does not appear that any of them are equal to Teak or Sissoo, and very few to Saule.

Creepers. There are an immense variety of Creepers, the wild Pawn has been an acquisition to the Native Settlers, and two or three different Species of Acetous Vines, have proved highly beneficial to the Scorbutic Patients, the Bamboo, Ground Rattan, &c. are all useful.

Water. There is great abundance of good fresh Water, the high Grounds are full of Springs, the neighbouring Shores afford plenty of Water, and as it every where ouzes from the Hills, it creates a Bason for itself at the foot of them, from whence, as it is still above high Water mark, it may be conveyed to the Casks, in the Boats, with great facility, either by a Trough, or Canvas Pipe.

Quadrupeds. The only Quadrupeds We have seen are Hogs, Rats, and the **Johncumon** [a "writer's error" for *ichneumon*], the two former commit constant depredations in our Garden and Granary; the **Guinna** [an error for *guiana*=*iguana*] a four footed Animal of Lizard Tribe destroys our Poultry &c.

Birds. There are many Birds of beautiful Plumage, in particular numerous Classes of Pigeons, Doves, Woodpickers, and Fly Catchers, there is neither Game or Wild Fowl of any kind ; The only Bird of Prey, we have observed is the Fish Hawk.

Reptiles. There are many Species of Snakes, Scorpions, Centipes, Spiders, Lizards, &c., several of the Labourers have been bit by Snakes, in no Instance has the bite proved Mortal, altho' the Patients were thrown into strong Convulsions. We have administered Eau de Luce and Ophaim, and the recovery has usually been accomplished in two hours.

Fish. In the North East Monsoon, Fish are caught in sufficient quantity to distribute twice a Week to the Settlers, of every discription, Cockup, Mullet, Rock Cod, Scate, and Soles are the best, there are a Variety of inferior sorts. The Torpedo and Seahorse, the horned, the parrot, the Monkey, and other curious Fish, have been occasionally caught, there are no Oyster beds, in the Harbour, and few adhering to the Rocks. Pearl, Pellucid, Hynge, & spondyle Oysters are sometimes found upon the Reefs, as well as Muscles, Cockles, Limpets, Clams, and a Variety of Gorgoneas, Madupores, spunges, Cowries, Whilks, Muree &c.

Ore. Iron Ore was once found and upon trial proved of a good Quality, it had evidently undergone the action of fire, but there is no accounting by what means, how it came where it was picked up, it has since been sought after in vain. I am inclined to believe the Hills contain Minerals, of some kind, for in places where the Water lodges at the foot of them after hard Rains, there is a Scum upon it of a bright Violet Colour, resembling the gloss on breaking a piece of fine Indigo, and which I have observed on stagnant Mineral Waters.

Stones. Granite, Iron, Free and Lime Stone, and Slate are to be met with, on several of the Emenencies.

Bricks. We have made good Bricks, the soil in the low grounds answering well for this purpose.

Lime. We have also made remarkable fine Lime of Madreporas and of Shells, they both burn pure, and with less fire than Stone Chunam can be made of and the former appears to be of as good a quality as the Sylhet Lime. There are sufficient Madreporas to afford Lime for the most extensive Works of Masonry. (a Paper of each, containing a small quantity of Quick Lime accompanies this Memoir.

Climate.

The Andamans are situated in a very tempestuous Latitude within the Range of the full force of the South West Monsoon, during the whole of which they are deluged with perpetual Rain, and enveloped with obstructed clouds. The last Monsoon, 1793, we had in May, Inches of Water 17 ,, 94, June 11 ,, 02, July 27 ,, 25, August 16 ,, 02, September 12 ,, 67, October 7 ,, 76, and November 5 ,, 79 ; in all 98 ,, 45. The Settlers were in general severely afflicted with the Scurvy during the dry weather, many of them were carried off in the worst Stages of this dreadful disorder. It was attributed to a privation of Vegetable diet, and subsequent events shewed this opinion to have been well founded ; soon after the Rains set in, several species of succulent and subacid Vines, and plants were discovered in the Jungle, and on being liberally distributed

to the Scorbutic Patients, they recovered their Health and strength sooner than could have been expected from the miserable situation in which they were : The Complaint resisted every effort of medical Treatment. The Rains brought with them Complaints equally alarming, but subject to fewer Casualties — these were Fevers and Agues, attended with Induration and considerable enlargement of the Spleen, Violent Pains in the Head and joints, a dizziness and the greatest depression of Spirits. The Fevers were slow, nervous and irregular, the Bark had no effect on them. Fevers and Agues have greatly prevailed the present N. E. Monsoon, these are more regular and intermittent than those before mentioned, and in general give way to the Bark. The Scurvy has again made its appearance, and would probably prove as fatal this year, as the last, if we did not take the precaution of sending all those in the slightest degree affected to Bengal. We have not had a drop of rain since November. In general we have had Clear Weather, with regular Land and Sea breezes, latterly the winds are remarkably variable and the Clouds seem collecting fast. The Thermometer has not exceeded 94° the medium may be taken at 91° the last three Months, and at 84° during the Rainy Season. From the preceding observations it will appear that the Settlers have been hitherto rather unhealthy, how far their Indisposition may be attributed to various exhalations arising from the thick Jungle, and of putrid & corrupt Vegitable matter during the humidity of the atmosphere occasioned by the long continuance of the Rains, remains to be ascertained. The Crews of the different Ships in the Harbour have for the most part enjoyed uninterrupted good health, with the exception of the **Sea Horse,** who from remaining three Months in Port, from September to December began to be afflicted with the Scurvy. We may reasonably expect the approaching Season will prove more healthy, as the Jungle has been much opened.

Harbour, Outer.

The Harbour is very capacious, its whole length from the S. E. Entrance to the N. W. extremity being upwards of 11,000 yards, 2,000 of which at the N. W. end are Shoal Water. The breadth of the entrance of the Outer Harbour from **Dundass point** to **Ross Island,** is 3000 yards. Its length from Ross Island to the Eastermost Point of the North End of **Chatham Island,** is 7,000 yards. Its extreme breadth N. E. & S. W. is 7,000 yards. The whole of the Harbour is well secured being Land locked from every wind that blows, in one part or the other. The general depth of Water is from 7 to 18 fathoms, there are Breakers round **St Georges Island,** and a Shoal with 6 fathoms on it off **Minerva Bay**; every other part has sufficient depth of Water for large Ships.

Harbour, Inner. The Entrance to the Inner Harbour from Chatham Island to **Perseverance Point,** is upwards of 1600 yards across, from the North face of Chatham Island, to the South Shore of the main, is 1,800 Yards, from the East side of **Pitt Island,** to the West Shore of the Main, is 2,000 Yards, and this constitutes the principal body of Water of the inner Harbour. There is a narrow Channel along the South face of Pitt Island, to the South face of **Wharf Island,** where are 7 and 8 fathoms close to the Shore, and which is remarkably **well calculated for a careening Wharf.**

Islands.

Chatham Island has already been mentioned, at ½ Flood, Boats drawing three foot water may pass up the passage at the South end. Pitt Island has a small Flat at the Northermost End, and a Valley across the Neck at the South end, and two or three level spaces towards the middle, with a rill of fresh Water. We have a Garden on this Island, our Live Stock is kept here, and half the Convicts are employed clearing it. Wharf Island has little level Land, being high irregular ground, without a natural supply of fresh water. **Ariel Island** is without fresh water, and has little level Land. **Mangrove Island** is overflowed at high Water.

Tides.

At full & change in the dry Season, the Tide rises 9 feet perpendicular, it is high Water a few Minutes before 10 O Clock. In the Rains the influx of the Freshes is so very considerable that the Neaps are scarcely discernable, and from the strength of the Outset, a Vessel seldom tends to the Flood.

Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants of the Andamans seem to be dispersed in very small Societies along the Shores of their Islands, and in the Archipelago, **their whole numbers it is probable do not exceed 2,500 or 3,000 Souls**; as their Subsistence is confined to the Fish left entangled amongst the Roots of the Mangrove, that they strike with a rude kind of Gig, or shoot with Bows and Arrows, and shell fish collected at low water on the Reefs, it may be presumed the interior parts of the Island contain few or no Inhabitants; during the Rainy season they have few opportunities of exploring the Reefs, and at that Season they are constantly seen in small parties patroling the Shores at night with lights of the Oil & Dammer Tree, in search of a Precarious Meal, the glare entices the fish to the surface, and those who follow the light, strike or shoot their prey. They must suffer exceedingly during the Rains, and from what has been observed in their huts by our working parties, we suppose them to live almost entirely on the fruit of the Mangrove, which has constantly been found in all their Habitations, either boiling on the fire, or macerating in fresh water, it is a very strong astringent, harsh and rough to the taste, and can afford but little Nutriment. Indeed their appearance sufficiently evinces the badness of their food. They are Caffres of a small stature, having most probably degenerated in successive Generations, as there is little cause to believe them Aborigines of these Islands, they being totally different in appearance and language, from every Race known in India. Their Arms, Thighs, and Legs are excessively thin, and they have all large protuberant, unsightly bellies, their Countenances depict Misery and famine in the extreme. They are absolutely in a State of Nature, having no other covering than Mud, which they cover themselves all over with, as a Preservation and defence against the bites and Stings of the Miriads of Insects swarming in the Jungles. They possess nothing that evinces strength in the formation of it, or ingenuity in the Contrivance. Their Canoes are contrived of a small sized Tree from 10 to 15 feet long, and from 8 to 14 Inches diameter, hollowed with fire, and prevented from oversetting by a spar fixed at a little distance as an outrigger. Their Bows which occasionally serve as Paddles, are the neatest performance among them. Some months ago we found a man and a child so reduced by famine, as to be incapable of moving, We brought them home, and nursed them, our endeavours to save the Man were ineffectual, the Child is a remarkable fine good tempered Boy, and has quite lost that Prominence of Belly, apparently occasioned by bad food. From the deplorable Scenes we witnessed of their distresses, We occasionally sent a few **Carnicobar Coconuts**, and a little Grain to their Huts in very bad weather, they retired till our our People returned to their Boats, when they eagerly seized what had been sent to them. They will not voluntarily come near us, and those we take, either escape, or are dismissed by ourselves, on observing their anxiety, with trifling Presents. They appear to be a harmless inoffensive Race, they will not eat raw food, or touch any thing tainted; a European belonging to a Vessel in distress, got into their Boat with some Lascars to seek for the Harbour, at night they put on Shore, and the Lascars ran away with the Boat, leaving the European asleep, he contrived to make his way thro' the Jungle, **the Caffres** took his Cloaths from him, but did him no further injury. The idea of their being Cannibals is I fancy quite erroneous.

General.

The necessity of an Harbour in the Bay of Bengal, or at some Eastern Port, where our Ships could occasionally retire to, and refit, is well known & generally admitted. **Port Cornwallis** has been Preferred to every other, yet discovered by so high an authority that it may be deemed excessive presumption in another person to speak of its Relative situation. It will be seen by inspection of the Plan annexed, and from preceding observations, that it largely

possesses those advantages most in Request with Naval Officers. Its situation in a centrical part of the Bay, promises a speedy communication at all seasons of the Year, with Bengal and the Coromandel Coast. The Harbour will contain the largest Fleet, which may work in and out with every Wind that blows. Wood and fresh water are to be had in the greatest abundance, and with the utmost facility. These advantages are conspicuous, and perhaps they are all a Seaman looks for, it may be presumed he expects Administration will make his Port secure, and supply it with every necessary and Refreshment he may eventually require. It remains for the wisdom of our Superiors to consider the Climate, the Scale of Defence necessary, and the Resources their Settlements possess for colonizing so extensive an acquisition, and whether a Proportion of Foreigners can be obtained for this purpose. The Climate must create the larger part of the expence of labour, for whether Men are incapable of labour one half of the Year from Indisposition, or the inclemency of the Weather, it must be carried to the account, the encreased Wages of Workmen as an inducement for them to quit their Native Country and their Subsistence for some years at the expence of their Employers, must also be considered, and it is a question whether in time to come, Sufficient Grain can be cultivated for a numerous population whose Principal diet it constitutes, in a Hilly Country, and a Soil exposed to such heavy torrents of Rain for so great a part of the year, a period when Cultivation and Agreculture are at a Stand throughout Hindostan. A careful examination of the Plan will shew its indefensible State, and that it cannot be made to afford protection to an inferior against a Superior Fleet, without an expence apparently disproportioned to the benefits to be derived. The outer Harbour must be abandoned unless a Scale of defence could be proportioned to its magnitude. The Entrance of the inner Harbour cannot be secured by any Works constructed on Chatham Island, and the fortifying Perseverance point, would at once require a double Establishment, as they must have every resource within themselves to make a separate resistance. A System of Fortification for this Port, therefore seems to be limited to Chatham Island, which possesses great choice of very strong Ground, and a small Fort well appointed would afford some protection to a few Ships, and certainly could not be taken, but by a regular Seige, in which the Opposers would have to encounter every disadvantage of Ground peculiar to a rugged Country.

It would be difficult to acquire a numerous Population for this Colony. The Carnatic is only recovering its Inhabitants since the Conclusion of the Mysorean War, the Northern Sircars, are comparatively speaking almost in a State of depopulation, and I believe Bengal can ill spare so large a portion of its Inhabitants as this place would require to succeed on a grand Scale. Foreigners must therefore be sought at the expence of Government, for the Andamans hold out no other inducements to attract Voluntary Settlers except exorbitant Wages, cheap living, a demand for Manufactures, and a Prospect of Commerce are wanting. This Position of the Colony, tho' at a first View favourable from its Centrical Situation, does not in reality hold forth a Prospect of becoming an Emporium, it lays out of the customary Track of all Trade. The Shores of these Islands have ever been considered replete with dangers to Navigators, and the Reefs and Shoals discovered during the Survey of the Island, have not I imagine tended to obliterate the idea of danger; they are in themselves sufficient to deter Vessels approaching this Harbour except in cases of distress of necessity. It is impossible to say what the experience of another year may produce, the Magnitude of the Port has engaged much of my attention, and was I certain it possessed every advantage of Climate, Soil, and situation; I should not be an Advocate for an extensive support of it. It is too far from Great Britain, and I cannot think it would prove advantagious to them, that their vast territorial possessions in India, should be so closely connected, as they would be, by the possession of an Harbour that would doubtless in those circumstances, become the Center of India Trade, and promote too large a Maratime force; this tho' a mere speculative idea may be worth the attention of Superior Wisdom. Should Port Cornwallis therefore be ultimately approved of, the Scale of

support may be limitted to a small but well appointed Establishment. Sufficient ground only should be cleared for the cultivation of Rice, Fruit, and Vegetables for the subsistence of the Settlers, and occasional Refreshment of the Sick of the Navy — there being so much high Ground we may reasonably expect pasturage would flourish exceedingly, and that Cattle, and Sheep, would thrive and increase, and might be kept up at a small expence, if purchased on the Coast of Arracan, for the use of the Fleet, an Hospital might be constructed for the Navy, sheds for the accommodation of their own Artificers and Workmen, while employed on their temporary repairs. The few Artificers of the Settlement, and every assistance it afforded would be given up to them for the time being. If so conducted, the expence cannot be great, and the Harbour may prove advantagious to the Company as affording temporary Relief and assistance to a Maratime force in case of Warfare, and this I conceive to have been their Original Object in countenancing the Marine Surveys some years back. It remains with them to decide, and before they do so, I sincerely hope, as an Officer much attached to his duty, and their Service, that they will maturely consider the Plans that have been sent home.

MISCELLANEA.

TRACES OF TOTEMISM IN THE PANJAB.

I.

The question whether totemism can be said to have left any traces in the Panjâb is not an easy one to answer. There are many names of tribes or sections of tribes which denote animals, etc., but these may be mere nick-names. However, it will be best to first give a list of such names and then discuss their possible origin.

Brâhmaṇs.—In Kâṅgṛâ there is a Nâg or 'Snake' section among the Nagarkôtiâ Brâhmaṇs, who rank highest of all, as well as among the Batêhrâ, a lower group, who have sections called:— (i) Kharappâ (or cobra) Nâg, a section of the Pakkâ or First grade Batêhrâ. (ii) Ghôslâ (a species of fish or ? grass-snake) Nâg, in the Kachchhâ or Second grade. Pundrik is, it appears, also a snake section of the Nagarkôtiâ. These snake sections are said to reverence the snake after which they are named and not to kill or injure it.

The Barârû (sometimes called Bhâṭs) are a Gaddî (hill-shepherd tribes) group, and hold the same position among the Gaddîs, as Brâhmaṇs do among Hindûs. The name seems to be connected with *barârî*, a thorny shrub.

In Hissâr there is a section of Brâhmaṇs, called Bhêḍâs or sheep. This is interesting, because on the Satluj, at least in Kulu Saraj, there is a small caste called Bhêḍâ, who are hereditary victims in the sacrificial riding of a rope down the cliffs to the river. Further details regarding the Bhêḍâ Brâhmaṇs would be of great interest.

Khatris.—We find among these Danthal, a kind of weapon; Handâ, a vessel; Chhûṛâ, a large knife; and Bêrî, from *bêr*, a tree. The Bêrî will not eat the fruit of the bêr (in T. Dipâlpûr: but in T. Gugêrâ this is said, however, not to be the case).

Further, in Gujrât, the following sections are noted:—

Pahrâ, panther.	Mohlâ, pestle.
Channan, sandal-wood.	Khajûrî, date-palm.
	Amb, mango.
Haran, deer.	Lasûrî, *lasûrâ* tree.
Aṛî, saw.	Billâ or Billî, cat.

Arôṛâs.—The section-names of this important caste require to be fully investigated, as they are full of interest. I note the localities in which each is so far known to be found:—

Kûkar, cock, in Montgomery, Multan and Hissâr.

Kukṛîchâ, cock, Dera Ismail Khan.

Gîdâr, jackal, Dera Ismail Khan and Multan.

Ghôṛû, horse, Dera Ismail Khan.

Nangiâl, snake, Dera Ismail Khan; Nangpal, Multan; Nag-pal, Montgomery.

Nangṛû is also given, but no meaning is assigned.

Siprâ, a serpent.

Ghîrâ, dove, Montgomery and Multan.

Gerâ, in Dera Ismail Khan, said to avoid the use of *gerû*, ochre.

Jandwânî, *jind* tree, Dera Ismail Khan.

Sêlânî (?), *pipal* tree, Dera Ismail Khan.

Châwalâ, rice, Dera Ismail Khan.

Mehndîrattâ, henna, Montgomery and Multan.

Kastûriâ, in Dera Ismail Khan, said to avoid the use of musk, *kastûrî*.

Chutânî, bat: a child was once attacked by bats, which, however, left him uninjured. The section worships bats' nests (*charu-chitti*) at marriages.

Mânak-tâliâ: a section which reverences the *tâlî*, or *shîsham*, tree.

Mungî, a kind of tree, Hissâr.

Galar, squirrel, Multan.

Pabrêjâ, a kind of plant, Multan.

Tanêjâ, *tirn*, a kind of grass, Multan and Montgomery.

Tareja, *tarri*, a gourd: their ancestor once had to conceal himself among gourds, and they do not eat gourds.

Katâriâ, *katâr*, dagger, Multan. This section has a legend that a dagger fell from a well amongst a number of children who were playing beneath it, but did not hurt them. Hence the section became known as Katâriâ, and worships the dagger, putting flowers before it at marriages.

Makar, locust, Gujrât.

Machhar, mosquito, Gujrât.

Hans, goose, Montgomery.

Lûmar, fox, Montgomery.

Mendâ (?), ram, Montgomery; *or* Mindhâ, long-haired, Montgomery.

Babbar, (?) Montgomery.

Kaṭhpâl, wood or timber, Montgomery.

Gâbâ (?), a calf.

With regard to the sections mentioned as existing in Dera Ismail Khan, it is distinctly said that each shows reverence to the animal or plant after which it is named, thinking it sacred. The animal is fed, and the plant not cut or injured. The Châwalâs, however, do not abstain from using rice, or show it any respect.

In Multan the Mehndîrattâ abstain from the use of henna. The Kûkaṛ will not eat fowls, but for the last 10 or 12 years the Mehndirattâ have also refused to eat them. The Tanêjâ abstain from eating gourds (? *tarlî*) in Multan, or at least their women do (Montgomery).

Bhaṭiâ.—Among this caste we find—(1) Dhagge, bullock. (2) Chabbak, called Billîkuṭ, or cat-killer.

Baniâs.—Here we find Bânsal, from *bâns*, bamboo. They never burn the bamboo: (*but the bamboo is an unlucky wood and not used in building generally*). Kânsal is from *kans*, a grass.

Râjpûts.—The Kâṅgṛâ Râjpûts have a sept or *âl* called Samakri, from *sami*, a tree which is worshipped, and never cut or injured by them. In Gujrât there is a Chûhâ section of the Râñjhâs. The name appears to mean 'rat.'

Jats.—The Bagri Jats of the South-East Panjâb have certain sections named:—

Karîr, a tree. Kohâr, a hatchet. Waihṛî, a young heifer. Bandâr, monkey. Gîdar, jackal. Also [1] Katâriâ, sword, and [1] Gan-dâsiâ, axe. Pîplâ, *pîpal*, and Jandiâ, *jand* tree, in Tahsîl Hansi.

The Jats and other tribes of the South-West Panjâb, now almost exclusively Muhammadans, which occupy much the same tract of country as the Hindu Aṛôrâs, have quite a remarkable number of totem septs:—

Guṛâhâ, horse, because they received as much land as a horse could compass in a day.

Khar, (Pers.) donkey; the name is accounted for by a story.

Kahal, *kahî* or *khail*, a weed: this tribe is found in Bahawalpur, and is an off-shoot of the religious sect or order of the Chishtis. The story is that a child was born to a Chishti by the Indus close to a place where *kahî* grew. This tribe is quite distinct from the Kihal.

Kihal, a tribe of fishermen, Imâm Shâfi Muhammadans, who eat alligators, etc., and derive their name from Sindhi *kehara*, lion.

Makora, a large ant. These Jats throw sesamum and sugar on the ground near the holes of these ants.

Rubâṛâ, wild-duck. *Multani Glossary*, page 146.

Khaggâ, a kind of fish so called because Jalâlu'd-din Khaggâ, their ancestor, saved a boat-load of people from drowning. This tribe cures hydrophobia by blowing on the patient.

Saihar, hare, in Dera Ghazi Khan: do not eat or injure the hare.

[1] Said to be Mâli sections also. Mr. J. G. Delmerick once found that a *mâli* refused to sow the *chichindâ* or snake-gourd because his *gôt* was Chichindâ.

Among the Jat tribes of the Panjâb generally there are several other tribes which seem to have totemistic names, such as :—

Chûng, a handful; Siprâ, from *sap*, a snake (also an Arôrâ section); Chhichhriâtâ, from *chhichhrâ* (*butea frondosa*), a sub-division of the Bajwâ Jats, so called because a Bajwâ lost all his sons and was told by an astrologer that only that child would live which was born under a *chhichhrâ* tree; for this the Bajwâ arranged, and the child lived. I may add Gorâyâ, said to mean *nîlgai* (*cf.* Gurâhâ above, however).

The **Labânas**, in the South-West Panjâb, have a curious legend. They say a Rathor Rajput had a son who was born with a moustache already grown, so he was called Labâna, or 'cricket,' an insect 'with formidable jaws,' which is tied round the neck of a child which has pimples (*pânî-wâtrâ*) to effect a cure. Labâna or Lobâna appears, however, to be derived from *lûn-bana*, and to mean 'salt-trader.'

Gûjars.—In Hissar (Tahsîl Tohana) there are sections called :— (1) Môr, peacock. (2) Bhainsâ, he-buffalo. (3) Katârî, dagger. (4) Dôî, ladle. Women of the Môr section veil themselves before a peacock. It is not killed or eaten by the section.

There are also in Gujrât :— (1) Tôpâ, a measure (2) Dhâlê, a shield. The Tôpâ section-name is explained by the story that their ancestor was so wealthy that he paid out money by the *tôpâ* or bushel. (3) Khatânâ, victorious. (4) Kharî, from *kharâ*, basket.

Ghirths have a large number of septs—said to amount to 360 in all. A great part of these are named after villages. Others are named after trades, occupations, etc, etc. A very few are possibly totemistic in origin.

Among the Ghirth sections occur the following names :—

A.—Names of animals or plants :—

(1) Dharê, fruit of the wild fig.
(2) Ghôrâ, horse.
(3) Khunlâ, a kind of bird.
(4) Gîdar, jackal.
(5) Gadôharî, a kind of bird.
(6) Garûrî, 'an animal like a small pig.'

B.—Names of occupations or nick-names :—

(1) Surangiâlâ, miner.
(2) Nandê, *nandhî*, dumb.
(3) Môrmâr, pea-fowl-hunter.
(4) Jôkhnû, weigh-man.
(5) Paniârî, *paniârâ*, waterman.
(6) Masand,[1] long-haired (said to be its meaning).
(7) Lakriâ, wood-man.
(8) Ghôrâ, jockey.
(9) Hariâlâ, born on the *Rihâlî* or 3rd Bhâdôn.[2]
(10) Sainî, vegetable-seller.
(11) Hutlâ, stammerer.
(12) Khângar, *khânsî*, a cough.
(13) Lahû, charred or burnt.
(14) Tôpâ bought for a *tôpâ* or 2 seers of grain.
(15) Kumhâr, potter.
(16) Nâul, *néolâ*.

C.—Names of colours :—

(17) Kâlâ, black.
(18) Kahrâ, red-brown.
(19) Nîlâ, blue.

The **Kanêts** of the Simla Hills appear to have some true totem septs, as, *e. g.*, Palâshî from *pahâsh*; Kanesh, from *kanash*; Pajaik, from *paja*, (all kinds of trees); Nagaik, from *nâga*, snake, and Madgar, mallet. Of these the first four worship the tree or snake *as an ancestor* of the sept.

Chhimbâs, the 'cotton-printers,' have the following sections :—Brâh, a pig ; Kaîr, a kind of tree; Khurpâ, a knife or trowel.

Bairâgis.—These have a *sect* or section called Nimbarkî, from the *nîm* tree, which they reverence and abstain from cutting as they believe their *dêotâ* lives in it. But the Bairâgî clad in a leopard's skin is himself the most interesting instance of totemistic worship, for he probably wears the skin as personating the Nar Singh, or tiger incarnation of Vishṇû.

Bishnôis.—Section Rôja, *nîlgâî*.

Pathâns.—There is one tribe of the Lodi Pathâns called Nahr or wolf, found in the South-West Panjâb (*Multani Glossary*, page 260).

The **Brahui**, or **Baloch**, have a Gurgani or wolf, a Sherzai or lion, and a Gulzai or rose sept.

Castes unknown.—There are a number of tribes or sections or septs (I cannot say which) mentioned in various notes received by me, which I cannot assign to their castes because the castes are not stated. Instances are :—

(1) Gadar, sheep. (4) Khandâ, sword. } Hissar,
(2) Kêsar, saffron. (5) Gandâs, halbert. } Tahsîl
(3) Dhâkâ, a tree. (6) Kohâr, axe. } Tohana.

[2] The significance of the date is not explained. Further instances (with explanations) of such names would be interesting.

(7) Sihrî, in Dera Ismail Khan, so called because they eat the bird. But another note explains that the ancestor of the tribe was born while his mother was crossing a stream (*sthar* = current).

(8) Jarârûs, in Kangra, from a bush called *jarârî*. Like the Râjpût Samakri and the (Brâhman or) Bhât Barârû, the tribe does not cut or burn the shrub after which it is named.

Pathâns.—In Dera Ismail Khan the Bûrê Khêl of Dattâ Khêl are also called Gîdar; a Jackal pursued by hunters took refuge in the house of Bûrâ, their ancestor.

Mîrâsîs are said to have a snake-totem *zât*.[3]

The Datlâ Lobânâs too appear to be a section which has the snake for its totem. It is probable that many more instances could be found.

It will be seen at once that many of the objects from which these names are taken are the subjects of ordinary *tabus*. Thus the peacock is sacred: the snake is often worshipped and it is unlucky to kill one: the *jand* tree is reverenced at marriages; there is a prejudice against eating fowls; and so on. Further, *gîdar, hans, lumrâ*, and many others may well be nick-names. So far indeed it can only be said that distinct relics of totem-sections are traceable among the Arôrâs and other tribes of the South-West Panjâb, but the information is far too imperfect as yet for any definite conclusions. Mr. Ibbetson 20 years ago noted that "some traces are still to be found" (*Karnal Gazetteer*, p. 111).

Obviously then the greatest care is required in discriminating between totems and tabus. Thus the Gaba Arôrâs, or at least their women, will not eat the egg-plant, but this is not their totem apparently, because at certain seasons the egg-plant is an unlucky food for Hindus generally. Before all things a precise note of the actual facts in each case is required, and the following points should be ascertained:—

1. Is any form of worship paid to the object? and

2. Is it unlucky or forbidden to cut, injure or use it in any way?

3. If so, what is the reason assigned for the worship or abstention from injury?

4. Is the rule confined to the section of the caste which worships the object or abstains from injuring or using it?

5. Or is that worship or abstention common to other sections, or to other castes? If so, to what sections and castes?

The enquiry into the existence of totemism is likely to throw much light on the origin of the exogamous units. In a large number of cases it appears that a new *gôt* originates with a portent, or some sign of special supernatural favour. When such a portent occurs the thing associated with it, a tree, or an animal, or whatever it may be, becomes the object of a special worship or in a manner a totem. The above notes are published in the hope that some reader of this *Journal* will take up the enquiry seriously.

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4th April 1902.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PENANG LAWYER.

As an addition to the information in Yule on the **Penang Lawyer** the following quotation is of much interest. In the Andamans I have heard the term applied to the long canes that festoon from tall trees in the jungles and are among the chief impeders of traffic. This application of the name arose, of course, under the old and false popular derivation thereof :—

"**1899**. At Penang there were a considerable number of Indian convicts on tickets-of-leave, who gained their livelihood in a variety of ways. Some of them were the first to discover the palm known to the Malays as *plas tikoos* and to botanists as the *limala acutifida*, a small palm ordinarily not higher than from five to six feet. From this palm, which grew mostly upon the Penang Hill, were constructed walking-sticks called **Penang Lawyers**." — McNair, *Prisoners their own Warders*, p. 24.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[3] *Panjâb Notes and Queries*, II. § 555.

A GRAMMAR AND SPECIMENS OF THE MIKIR LANGUAGE.

BY SIR C. J. LYALL, K.C.S.I.

(Concluded from p. 111.)

SPECIMEN I.

Īnut āmunit āsō-pinsō bàng-hinī do-lō. Ànsī lā ākibī-ābàng ā-pō-āphàn pu-lō.
One person child-male persons-two were. And the younger-person his-father-to said,
'O pō, mār nē kelòng-ji-àn āphārmān nē pī-nòn.' Ànsī lā ā-mār
'O father, property me come-to-will-whatever share me give.' And he his-property
lātum-bàng-nī thàk-dàk-lō. Lābàngsō pālòmsō āphi lā ākībī ābàng-kē ā-mār
(to)-them-persons-two divided. This a-little-while after that younger person-the his-property
kedo-àn pàngrum-pèt-sī ākāhēlō ādèt dàm-jui-lō, ànsī hādàk lā ākhàt-kāvē ākàm
all collected-having distant country went-away, and there he wicked (lit. shameless) deeds
klèm-sī ā-mār kedo-àn pī-vèr-dèt-lō. Ànsī lā ā-mār kedo-àn
doing his-property all caused-to-be-destroyed. And (when) he his-property all
pī-ik-dèt lō lābàngsō ādèt àn-kàngchir ākhin-pī thur-làm-lō, ànsī lā-tā
had-spent that country rice-hunger famine-great arose, and he-also
keduk-pàng-chèng-lō. Ànsī lābàngsō ādèt āsànghō īnut ālòng do chi-kidun-lō. Lā
in-want-to-be-began. And that country citizen one with staying himself-(he)-joined. He
phàk pī-bī-jī-sī ārit toi-jui-lō, ànsī lā phàk kechō āphèk-ē-pèn ā-pòk
pigs cause-to-put-to (to-tend) his field (-to) sent-away, and he pigs food husks-from his-belly
chi-pàngkràng ingtung-lō; bòntā pàk-tā pī-vàng-vē-dèt-lō. Ansī lā āmethàng āning
or-himself-(to)-fill desired; but anybody to-give-came-not. And he his-own mind (-in)
che-māthā-sī pu-lō, 'nē-pō ābàn-ātum tā ko-àn do, lātum chō-dòr-āpār āhim
reflected-having said, 'my-father's servants even how-many are, they eat-sufficient-very bread
tā, bòntā nē-kē lādàk àn-kàngchir-sī thī-pō. Nē thur-sī nē-pō-ālòng dàm-jī, ànsī
also, but I here rice-hunger-by dying-am. I arisen-having my-father-to will-go, and
lā-āphàn pu-dàm-jī, "O pō, nē Ārnàm àngnō tàngtē nàng kethèk tā pàp klèm-dèt-lō.
him-to say-will, "O father, I God before then thy sight (-in) also sin have-done.
Nē-kē nàng sō-pō pu kāteràm-ji ā-òt āvē-lō; nàng bàn īnut āsònlē nē bī-nòn."' Ànkē lā
I thy son saying be-called-to fit am-not; thy slave one like me place."' And he
thur-sī ā-pō ālòng che-vàng-lō. Bòntā lā hēlōving do-àk-pèn, ā-pō
arisen-having his-father near came. But he far-off being even-from, his-father
thèk-dàm-sī ingjinsō, kàt-vir-lō, ànkē ā-chethòk-ārbàk-chèt-sī ār-u-lèm-dèt-lō. Ànsī
seen-having compassion-had, ran-hastily, and his-neck embraced-having kissed-repeatedly. And
lā āphàn āsō-pō pu-lō, 'pō, nē Ārnàm àngnō tàngtē nàng kethèk tā pàp klèm-dèt-lō;
him to son-his said, 'father, I God before then thy sight also sin have-done;
āpòtkē nàng-sō-pō pu kipu ā-òt āvē-lō.' Bòntā lā ā-pō bàn-ātum āphàn pu-lō,
therefore thy-son saying to-say worthy am-not.' But his father slaves to said,
'kemēsī āpē vàn-rā nàng pindèng-nòn; tàngtē ā-ri ārnàn thòn-nòn, ākèng-tā kèng-up,
'best garment bringing here put-on (-him); then his-hand ring put-on, his-foot-also shoe
thòn-nòn; ànkē kāpàngtu-tàng āchainòng āsō lādàk vàn-nòn ànkē lā thu-nòn; ànkē chō-rā
put-on; and fatted cow child here bring and it slaughter; and eating
āròng chi-pī-lō-nàng; thàngbàk-mā lā nē sōpō thī-tàng-lòt tā, rèng-thu-èt-lō;
merriment mutually-make-let-us; because this my son died-completely even, alive-again-is;
ingbō-tàng-dèt tā, lòng-thu-lòk-lō.' Ànkē lātum āròng kāchipī chèng-lō.
lost-completely-was also, found-again-is.' And they merriment to-mutually-make began.

Lābàngsō āhut āsōpō āklèng-ābàng-kē rit-sī do-lō. Ànkē lā rit-pèn vàng-sī
That time son elder-person-the field-in was. And he field-from come-having

hèm-ādung nàng-lē-lō, kum-kiròt tàngtē kekàn ārkī nàng-ārju-lòng-lō. Ànsī bàn-ātum īnut
house-near arrived, fiddle-scraping and dancing noise there-to-hear-got. And slaves one
hàng-sī ārju-lō, 'ko-pī āpòtsī kum-kiròt tàngtē kekàn-lō?' Ànsī lā thàk-lō,
called-having asked, 'what for fiddle-scraping and dancing-is?' And he answered
'nàng-lī mu vàng-lō. Lā-sī nàng-lī pō kāpàngtu-tàng āchainòng
'your-Honour's younger-brother came. Therefore your-Honour's father fatted cow
āsō thu-pèt-lō, thàngbàk-mā lā sō-sō un-ē-sī lòng-lòk-lō.' Ànkē lā āning-thī-sī
child slaughtered-completely, because he sick-not (?) well got-again.' And he angry-being
hèm lut-dàm ingtung-tē-dèt-lō. Ànkē lā āpō ingtàn vàng-sī lā pe-dòk-lō. Ànkē
house (to-) enter wished-not. And his father out come-having him soothed. And
lā thàk-sī ā-pō āphàn pu-lō, 'làng-thā, lā-àn āningkàn nē kàm nàng-klèm-pī-bòm-lō,
he answering his-father to said, 'see, so-many years I work here-doing-continued,
bòntā nàng hukum kroi-krē-dèt āvèng-làng; tēbòntā nē jirpō-ātum pèn ning āròng
but thy commands obey-not (disobey) never-did; nevertheless my friends with mind merriment
chi-pī-jī-āphàn bī-sō ējòn nàt tā nē pī-pē-làng. Bòntā lābàngsō
mutually-make-in-order-to goat-child one single even me (-to) gavest-not. But this
nàng-sōpō ākhàt-kāvē ārlosō-ātum pèn nàng-mār chō-pī-īk-dèt ābàng vàng-phli,
thy-son shame-without women with thy-property ate (-and)-wasted person came-suddenly,
ànkē kāpàngtu-tàng āchainòng āsō tā lā-āphàn nàng thu-pèt-lō.' Ànsī lā
and fatted cow child also him-for thou slaughter-completely-didst.' And he
ā-sōpō āphàn pu-lō, 'pō, nàng-kē nē-lòng-sī kaitā do; tàngtē nē-mār nē-tār kedo-àn
his-son to said, 'son, thou me-with always art; therefore my-property my-goods whatever
tā nàng-mār; bòntā lā nàng-mu-kē thī-lòt tā, rèng-thu-èt-lō;
even thy-property; but this thy-younger-brother died-completely also, alive-again-is;
ingbō-dèt tā, lòng-thu-lòk-lō; āpòtkē ī-lī āròng kāchipī tàngtē āròng
lost-was also, found-again-is; therefore we merriment mutually-making and merriment
che-pe-do ā-òt.'
mutually-making is-fit.'

SPECIMEN II.

Sārpī sārbūrā pèn hijai ātomō.
Old-woman old-man and jackals' story.

Ārnisī sārpī pèn sārbūrā rit hèn ē-lō. Hèn ke-ē āhut hijai
One-day old-woman and old-man field(-in) arums were-planting. Arums planting time jackals
ēhur vàng-sī sārpī pèn sārbūrā āphàn nàng-ārju-lō, 'O phī pèn phu,
a-pack come-having old-woman and old-man to there-asked, 'O grandmother and grandfather,
nàng-tum hèn ākevēi tòng ke-ē mā?' Lā-tum thàk-dèt, 'ākevēi.' Ànsī
you arums raw(and) hastily planting (interrogative)?' They answered, 'raw.' Then
hijai-ātum pu-lō, 'ke-up-sī hèn ke-ē āpòt.' Sārbūrā hijai āphàn ārju-lō,
the-jackals said, 'boiled-having arums planting is-fitting.' Old-man jackals to asked,
'sākhit-mā?' Hijai pu-dèt, 'sākhit.' Ànsī sārbūrā sārpī hèn pī-up-lō;
'true-is-it?' Jackals said, 'it-is-true.' Then the-old-man the-old-woman arums caused-to-boil;
ālàng-kē ē-lō; lōsi-ni ki-up-tàng āhèn rit ējai ē-pèt-lō.
he planted (-them); all-day the boiled arums field (-in) whole (he)-planted-completely.
Ànsī ārni-kàngsàm-āpòr sārpī pèn sārbūrā hèm che-voi-lō.
Then day-cool-time (i.e., at evening) the-old-woman and the-old-man home their-own-(to-)returned.
Ànkē ārjō hijai ēhur vàng-pàk-sī rit. ējai āhèn chō-klip-inghoi-lō.
And (at)-night the-jackal pack come-together-having field whole(-of) arums eating-up-did.
Ànkē ādàp lā sārbūrā-pèngànsō rit nàng-che-làng-lō. Hèn chō-koi
Then (at-)morning that old-people-couple field there-their-own-saw. Arums eaten-up

nàng-che-thèk-lō. Ànsī lā-tum pu-lō, 'lā hijai-ātum ākàm; ālār hoi nàng-ji,'
there-their-own-saw. Then they said, 'this jackals' work(-is); revenge (to-)do necessary-will-be,'
pu-sī hèm che-voi-lō. Ànkē hèm lē-sī, sārbūrā sārpī-āphàn pu-lō,
saying home(-to) their-own-returned. Then house arrived-having, old-man old-woman-to said,
'ne kithī chi-plàng-pō hèm ārlo; pē chi-um-sī ī-joi-pō; nàng-kē
'I dead myself-make-will house within; cloth myself-wrapped-round-having lie-down-will; you
ingtàn lē jāsemèt chiru-nòn; ànkē hijai vàng-rā, "pi-āpòt nàng kā-chiru mā?"
outside going grievously weep; and jackals come-having, "what-for thou weepest?"
pu, nàng ārju-lō-tē, "sārbūrā thī-lòt-sī nē kā-chiru; āphu-thàk-tā
saying, thee ask-if, "old-man died-having I am weeping; head-upon-also (i.e., moreover),
phlòng-dàm ābàng āvē; putòng inghoi āpòt-lō-nē[7]?" pu-rā pu-nòn. Ànkē hijai
burning-coming person there-is-not; how doing is-it-possible?" saying say. Then the-jackals
"nē-tum chō-dèt-pō," pu nàng pu-lō-tē, "thō," pu-rā pu-nòn. Ànkē lā-tum nē kechō-jī
"we eat-(him)-will," saying thee(-to) say-if, "yes," saying say. Then they me eat-to
hèm ārlo nàng-lut-lō-tē, nàng chiru-pèt-àn-mu-chòt-rā pu-nòn, "ējòn nàng-lut-lō, sārbūrā;
house within there-enter-if, thou weeping-excessively say, "one there-entered, old-man;
jònī(*for* jòn-nī) nàng-lut-lō, sārbūrā; jòn-thòm nàng-lut-lō, sārbūrā; nàng-lut-pèt-lō;
two there-entered, old-man; three there-entered, old-man; there-entered-all-are;
kaibòng pārting-nòn."'
club whirl."'

Ànsī chō-dèt jun-dèt sārbūrā, tòn ārlo kaibòng
Then having-finished-eating having-finished-drinking old-man, basket within club
pātu-joi-sī, ī-lō. Sārpī-kē ingtàn vàng-sī chiru-pī-lèm-lō. Ànkē
hidden-quietly-having, lay-down. Old-woman outside come-having to-weep-pretended. Then
hijai-āhur vàng-sī nàng-ārju-lō, 'pi-āpòt-sī nàng kāchiru-lō, phī?'
the-jackal-pack come-having there-asked, 'what-for thou weeping-art-thou, grandmother?'
Sārpī thàk-dèt, 'sārbūrā thī-lòt-lō. Nē ri āvē, nē lòk āvē-sī
Old-woman answered, 'old-man died. I companions none (-having), I friend none-having
nē kāchiru. Āphu-thàk-tā ke-phlòng-dàm ābàng tā āvē.' Ànsī hijai
I weep. Moreover setting-fire-to-funeral-pile-coming person even is-not.' Then the-jackals
pu-lō, 'nē-tum chō-dèt-pō.' Sārpī tā kroi-dun-lō. Hijai-ātum ējòn-ējòn hèm lut-lō,
said, 'we eat-(him)-will.' Old-woman also consented. The-jackals one-by-one house entered,
ànkē sārpī chiru-pī-lèm-sī pu-lō, 'ējòn nàng-lut-lō, sārbūrā; jònī, jòn-thòm nàng-lut-lō;
and old-woman to-weep-pretending said, 'one there-entered, old-man; two, three there-entered;
kēdō-kāvē nàng-lut-pèt-lō; kaibòng pārting-nòn,' pu, sārpī inghàp
all there-entered-completely; club whirl,' saying, old-woman door
ingkir-dun-hèt-inghoi-lō; ànkē sārbūrā thur-sī kaibòng-pèn hijai-àtum chòk-ārbu-lō. Ànkē
having-shut-tight-made; and old-man arisen-having club-with the-jackals beat-severely. Then
hijai ābāhàk thī-lō, ābāhàk-kē ārpòng lèt-rai-rai-sī kàt-lō.
the-jackals some died, some the-wall pushed(-and)broken-having ran-away.

THE OLD WOMAN, THE OLD MAN AND THE JACKALS.

One day an old man and an old woman were planting arums (*kachu*, *colocasia*) in a field. While they were so engaged, a pack of jackals came up, and said to them, — 'Oh, granny and gaffer, are the arums you are planting raw or cooked?'

'Raw,' they answered. Then the jackals said, 'Arums ought to be boiled before being planted.'

'Is that true?' asked the old man.

[7] *Nē* is here an interrogative particle, probably borrowed from the Assamese *nā*, with the often observed change of *ā* to *ē*.

'Quite true,' said the jackals. Then the old man made his old woman boil the arums, while he himself planted them. All day long this went on till all the arums had been boiled, and the planting of the whole field finished. Then in the evening the old pair went home. Then during the night the jackals gathered together, and ate up the whole of the arums in the field. Next morning the old couple came to look at their (*che*) field and found that all the arums in it (*nàng*) had been eaten up. They said, 'This is the work of the jackals: we must be revenged upon them.' So they returned to their house. When they got there, the old man said to his wife, — 'I will feign to be dead inside the house. I will wrap myself (*chi*) up in a cloth and lie quite still. Do you go outside and weep bitterly. The jackals will come and ask why you are weeping. If they do so, say, "I am crying because my old man is dead — besides, there is no one to set a light to the funeral pile, what am I to do?" Then if the jackals say, "we will eat him up," agree to this. Then if the jackals come into the house to eat me, do you weep as hard as you can, and say, "One has gone in, old man! two have entered, old man! three have entered, old man! all have gone in! fall upon them with your club."'

Then after having eaten and drunk, the old man hid his club in a bamboo basket and lay down quite quiet, and the old woman went outside and pretended to cry. Then the pack of jackals came and asked her, 'Why are you crying, granny?' The old woman answered, 'My old man is dead. I have no companion, no friend; that is why I am crying; besides there is no one even to set a light to the funeral pile.' Then the jackals said, 'We will eat him up for you.' The old woman agreed, and the jackals one by one entered the house. Then the old woman, pretending to weep, cried 'one has gone in, old man! two, three have gone in! all of them have gone in! Whirl your club!' Then she shut the door tight and made it fast. So the old man rose up and belaboured the jackals with his club. And of the jackals some died, and others thrust themselves through the wall of the hut and ran away.

SPECIMEN III.

Tèntòn ātomō.
Tenton story.

Ārni-sī bāmòn-pō pèngànsō do. Āsō āvē, āsu āvē. Ànkē ārni-sī Tèntòn
Once Brahmans a-couple were. Son was-not, grandson was-not. Then day-one Tenton
nàng-chòngvir-sī bāmòn-pō āhèm vàng-lō. Ànkē bāmòn-pō Tèntòn āphàn
to-there-wandered-about-having the-Brahman's house came. And the-Brahman Tenton to
ārju-lō, 'nàng ko-pi kevàng?' Tèntòn thàk-dèt, 'nē nàng-kechòngvir.' 'Tàngtē nàng
asked, 'you why come?' Tenton answered, 'I to-here-wanderer(-am).' 'Then you
nētum-ālòng nē-do-dun-jī mā?' pu bāmòn-pō pu-lō. Tèntòn thàk-dèt, 'nàng-tum-lē nē
us-with to-us-companion-will-be?' saying Brahman said. Tenton replied, 'you-if me
ingjinsō-tē, nàng-do-dun-jī. Kedo-ādim kāvē-sī nē nàng-kechòngvir.'
have-compassion-on-if, to-you-companion-will-be. Abiding-place not-having I to-here-(-am-)a-wanderer.'
'Mē-òngchòt-lō; nē-tum nē-sō nē-su āvē, āpòt-kē rit hai kebai ālòng-tā
'Very-well-indeed; we our-son our-grandson not-is, therefore field(-in) plough driving place-also
mèk-bèr nē làng-ābàng āvē: nàng nē do-dun-tē rit-jai kedàm
eye-rubbish (i.e., mote) me looking-after-person is-not: you our companion-be-if field-to going
nē-ri-do-pō,' pu bāmòn-pō pu-lō. Tèntòn thàk-dèt, 'mē-òngchòt-lō, nàng
I-shall-have-company,' saying Brahman said. Tenton answered, 'very-good-indeed, you(-with)
do-dun-pō,' pu-sī do-dun-lō. Jō-nī jō-thòm ingthàng-lō, ànkē bāmòn-pō pu-lō,
(I)-stay-will,' saying stayed. Nights-two nights-three passed, then Brahman said,
'rit hai-bai dàm-lō-nàng.' Ànsī Tèntòn-tā dun-lō, ànkē
'field (for-)plough-driving let-us-go.' Then Tenton-also accompanied, and
hai-bai-mā-bai-sī, hai-kebai-i āchainòng āmoi inghàn vit-lō, ànkē,
plough-driven-a-certain-time-having, plough-driving-for bullock's back(-on) mud rubbed, and
'nē làng īt-dèt-lō, phu,' pu Tèntòn bāmòn-pō-āphàn pu-lō. Bāmòn-pō pu-dèt,
'I water thirst-after, grandfather,' saying Tenton Brahman-to said. Brahman said,

'hèm-lē dàm-rā jun-dàm-nòn.' 'Tàngtē nē-phī nē pī-pē-dèt-tē, ko-pu-lō?' pu Tèntòn
'house-to going drink-your-fill.' 'Then my-granny me give-not-if, how?' saying Tenton
pu-lō. 'Nàng pī-pē-tē, nē hàng-nòn,' pu bāmòn-pō pu-lō. Ānkē Tèntòn hèm dàm-sī
said. 'You give-not-if, me call,' saying Brahman said. Then Tenton house gone-having
sārpī-āphàn pu-dàm-lō, 'O phī, phī, nē phu kipu, dohòn ālàng-pòng tàng-hō:
old-woman-to said, 'O Granny, Granny, my grandfather says, money chunga I want:
chainòng kenàm-ji.' Sārpī pu-dèt, 'nē nàng pī-pē: chainòng dokòk-lē, ke-nàm-jī
bullock (I-) buy-will.' Old-woman said, 'I you give-not: bullock already-being, buy-will
mā?' Tèntòn pu-dèt, 'hā-lā hai-kebai-ālòng chainòng kelòk làng-thā.' Sārpī pu-dèt,
why?' Tenton said, 'that plough-driving-place bullock white look-at.' Old-woman said,
'nàng pī-thèk-thē.' Ànke Tèntòn, 'làng-pòng nē pī-pē,' pu bāmòn-pō-āphàn
'you give(-I-)cannot.' Then Tenton, 'the-chunga me (she-)gives-not,' saying Brahman-to
hàng-lō. Bāmòn-pō sārpī-āphàn, 'pī-nòn,' pu nàng-hàng-lō. Ànkē sārpī
called-out. Brahman old-woman-to, 'give,' saying there-called-out. And old-woman
dohòn-ālàng-pòng vàn-sī Tèntòn nàng-pī-lō. Ànkē Tèntòn dohòn-ālàng-pòng lòng-sī
the-money-chunga brought-having Tenton there-gave. Then Tenton the-money-chunga got-having
rit dàm-dē-dèt-sī kàt-jui-lō. Ànkē nērlō-chitīm àn-tā, Tèntòn rit vàng-vē-dèt-sī,
field gone-not-having ran-away. Then day-half (i.e., noon) about, Tenton field(-to) come-not-having,
bāmòn-pō hèm vàng-sī sārpī-āphàn nàng-ārju-lō, 'Tentòn ko-nàt-lō?' Sārpī thàk-dèt,
Brahman house come-having old-woman-to there-asked, 'Tenton where-is?' Old-woman answered,
'"nàng dohòn-ālàng-pòng pī-nòn," pu nàng kehàng-sī, nē dohòn-ālàng-pòng nàng-lō-lō:
'"you money-chunga give," saying you called-out-having, I money-chunga there-sent:
mō-pèn-lō nē nàng-ke-lō.' Ànsī bāmòn-pō pu-lō, 'tàng-tē lā kàt-tàng-lō:
long-ago I there-sent (-it).' Then Brahman said, 'so-then he has run-away(-with-it):
hung-dun nàng-pō.' Ànkē chō-dèt-jun-dèt-sī hung-dun-lō.
to-follow-after (-him) necessary-will-be.' Then eaten-drunk-having (he-) followed-after (-him).

Tèntòn-kē bāmòn-pō ādohòn-pèn rēchò-āròng dàm-sī, rēchō-āsōmār-pèn
Tenton the-Brahman's money-with king's-town gone-having king's-children-with
khādòt-pāthu-lō. Ànkē rēchō-āsōmār Tèntòn āmèn ārju-lō, 'nàng-mèn ko-pi?' Tèntòn
cowries-gambled. Then king's-children Tenton's name asked, 'your-name what?' Tenton
thàk-dèt, 'nē-mèn-kē Òng.' Ànsī rēchō-āsōmār Tèntòn-āphàn 'Òng'
answered, 'my-name Ong (maternal-uncle).' Then the-king's-children Tenton-(accusative) 'Ong'
pu teràm-jō-lō. Ànkē lā bāmòn-pō-tā Tèntòn nàng-kiri-dun āpòt khādòt kāpāthu
saying called. Then that Brahman-also Tenton seeking-after for the purpose-of cowrie gambling
ālòng nàng-lē-dun-lō. Tèntòn-kē bāmòn-pō-āphàn chini-nē-ābàng āsōn-tòt
place there-arrived-at. Tenton the-Brahman-(accusative) recognising-not-person like
rēchō-āsōmār-ālòng khādòt pāthu-mā-pāthu-lō. Ànkē rēchō-āsōmār Tèntòn-āphàn, 'Òng
king's-children-with cowries went-on-gambling. Then king's-children Tenton-to, 'Ong's
āpai lē-lō,' pu-jō-lō. Ànsī bāmòn-pō rēchō-āsōmār 'Òng' pu-jō ārju-lō; lā-tum
turn-(to-play) has-come,' said. Then the-Brahman king's-children 'Ong' saying heard; their
ā-òng chenānàm-bòn pu-sī thàng-tā pu-hai-hē-dèt-sī
maternal-uncle(ong) really saying (i.e., thinking) anything to-say-dared-not-having
ī-joi-lō, khādòt kāpāthu-ālòng ā-mèk jàng-lòt. Ànkē Tèntòn-ātum
lay-down-quietly cowries gambling-place(-in) eyes closed. Then Tenton-and-his-companions
khādòt-pāthu tàng-lō. Tèntòn rēchō-āsōmār-āphàn pu-lō, 'phārō īsī ādohòn nē pī-nòn; lā
cowry-playing finished. Tenton king's-children-to said, 'hundred one rupees me give; this
nē-bàn nàng pī-tekàng-pō.' Ànkē rēchō-āsōmār bāmòn-pō-ānàm phārō īsī
my-slave here (I-)will-leave-for-you.' Then the-king's-children the-Brahman's-price hundred one
ādohòn Tèntòn pī-lō, ànkē Tèntòn dohòn phārō īsī lòng-sī kàt-jui-lē-lō. Ànkē
rupees Tenton gave, and Tenton rupees hundred one got-having ran-away-again. Then

bāmòn-pō ā-mèk pràng-sī rēchō-āsōmār-āphàn nàng-ārju-lō, ‘nànglī-tum-ālòng
the-Brahman his-eyes opened-having king's-children-to there-asked, ‘Your-Honours-with

khādòt-nàng-kāpāthu-dun ā-osō ko-nàtlō?’ Rēchō-āsōmār pu-dèt, ‘nàng lābàngsō ā-osō
cowries-here-playing-companion boy where?’ King's-children said, ‘you that boy

ā-bàn pu-tē, nē-tum phārō īsī ādohòn pī-sī nàng nàm-dun-tàng-lō: āpòt-kē
his slave called-since, we hundred one rupees given-having you bought-have: therefore

nàng dàm-lòng-lē; nē-tum ā-hèm nàng bàn do-nàng-pō.’
you to-go-get-not; our house-(in) you slave remain-will-have-to (nàng, *verb of necessity*).’

Bāmòn-pō pu-dèt, ‘ai pōmār-lī, ko-pu-sī nē kārju-jē-dèt-lē dohòn kipī-dun-pē-joi-dèt
The-Brahman said, ‘O fathers, how me asked-not-having money (you-)give-for-nothing-at-all

mā? Nē dohòn-tā lā phārō īsī vàn-dèt-lō; lāsī nē-tā nàng-kāchi-hung-dun; bòntā
? My money-also he hundred one carried-off-has; therefore I-also here-am-pursuing(-him); but

nànglī-tum-ālòng khādòt nàng-kāpāthu-dun làng-sī, nē nàng-kàng-hòng-dun-chòt. Lā
you-with cowries here-playing seeing, I waited-a-little. This

pu-pē-tē, mo-pèn nē lā nèp-pòn-tàng-lō.’ Ànsī rēchō-āsōmār pu-lō, ‘mai, lā
so-were-not-if, long-ago I him would-have-seized.’ Then the-king's-children said, ‘oho, this

pu-bòn-hē?’ Lā-àn ālàng ē-ke-chōbēi āpòt, ingchin āni òt-krēi-rā
is-it-really-so?’ So-much he us-both-cheated because, iron chains taken-having

ri-dun-pō-nàng: lālē-phō-lòk-tē, ā-ri ā-kèng ingchin āni pī-pō-nàng.’ Ànsī
(us)to-seek-go-let: (we-) lay-hands-on-him-if, his-hand his-foot iron chain (us-) give-let.’ Then

rēchō-ādèt-īsī āsàng-hō ābàng-phu ingchin ānī òt-krēi-sī Tèntòn
the-king's-country-whole people person-head (i.e., every-one) iron chains taken-having Tenton

ri-dun-lō. Ànkē Tèntòn ingchin-āni-kedo-ārlèng-īnut che-tòng-sī ārju-lō, ‘jir-pō, ko-pi
sought. Then Tenton iron-chain-having-man-a met-having asked, ‘friend, what

kànghoi-jī-sī nàng ingchin āni keòt-dòng-lō?’ Lābàng-sō ārlèng thàk-dèt, ‘Tèntòn
to-do-for-the-purpose-of you iron chain holding-are?’ That man answered, ‘Tenton

phō-lòk-tē ā-ri ā-kèng kipī-jī āni lō-hē, jir-pō.’ ‘Oi-hē? Ko-pu-sī āri ākèng
meet-if his-hand his-foot giving-for chain this-is-for, friend.’ ‘Is-it-so? How hand foot

bàngsō āni kipī-āpòt-lō? Nē thàn-thā, jir-pō. Tèntòn phō-lòk-tē, nē-tā ingnàng-ji.’
this chain is-to-be-put-on? Me explain-to, friend. Tenton (I-)meet-if, I-also bind-(him-) will.’

Ànsī bàngsō àngchin āni lā ā-methàng āri ākèng chi-pī-lō; bàngsō ārlèng che-phlòk
Then that iron chain he his-own hands feet himself-put-on; that man himself-release

thèk-thē-dèt-lò. Ànkē lā, ‘Tèntòn lòng-lō, vàng-nòn,’ pu Tèntòn binòng
could-not. Then he, ‘Tenton is-caught, come,’ saying Tenton the-real

ādung-kedo-āsànghō-āphàn hàng-ī, kàt-jui-lō. Ànkē kedo-àn ārlèng vàng-pèt-sī,
near-being-people-to called-having, ran away. Then all the-men come-together-having,

Tèntòn-ingchin-āni-pèn-kekòk ārlèng jāsemèt chòk-lō. Ànke lā ‘nē Tèntòn kālī’ pu-lō.
Tenton-iron-chain-with-tied man severely beat. Then he ‘I Tenton am-not’ said.

‘Nàng Tèntòn kālī?’ rā pu chòk-pèt-àn-muchòt inghoi-lō. Ànkē bàngsō ārlèng
‘You Tenton not?’ thus saying beat-more-and-more (they-) did. Then that man

kechòk-òng thī-lòt-lō.
being-very-much-beaten died.

STORY OF TENTON.

Once upon a time there was a Brahman and his wife, who had neither son nor grandson. Tenton, wandering about, came to the Brahman's house. The Brahman said to him, — ‘Why have you come?’

He answered, — ‘I am a wanderer.’

The Brahman said, ‘Then will you stay with us and be our companion?’

Tenton answered, 'If you will treat me kindly, I will stay with you: I have no place to live in and am a wanderer.'

'Very well; we have neither son nor grandson, so that when I go to the field to plough there is no one to pick a mote out of my eye; if you stay with us, I shall have company when I go to the field,' the Brahman said.

'Very good, I will stay with you,' Tenton replied; and he took up his abode with them.

Two or three nights passed, when the Brahman said, 'Let us go and plough in the field,' and Tenton went with him. After ploughing for a certain time, Tenton rubbed some mud on the back of the bullock with which he was ploughing, and said to the Brahman, 'I am very thirsty, Grandfather.'

The Brahman said, 'Go to the house and get a drink.'

'But what if Granny does not give me to drink?' said Tenton.

'If she does not, then call out to me,' said the Brahman. Then Tenton went to the house and said to the old woman, 'O Granny, Granny, my grandfather says, "bring out the bamboo-joint with the rupees in it, I want to buy a bullock." The old woman said, 'I won't give it you; we have a bullock already, why should we buy another?'

Tenton answered, 'look there in the ploughing place, do you see the white bullock?'

The old woman said, 'I cannot give it you.'

Then Tenton called out to the Brahman, 'She won't give me the bamboo-joint.'

The Brahman called to the old woman bidding her give it. Then the old woman brought the bamboo-joint with the money in it and gave it to Tenton, who, when he had got hold of it, did not go back to the field, but ran away.

Then, about noon, when Tenton did not return to the field, the Brahman came home and asked his old woman where Tenton was. She answered —

'You told me to give him the bamboo-joint with the rupees in it, and I sent it by him; long ago I sent it.'

Then the Brahman said, 'So then he has run away with it; I must follow after him.' After taking his food he accordingly pursued Tenton.

Now Tenton, after getting hold of the Brahman's money, went to the King's town, and began to gamble with the King's sons. The King's sons asked him his name. Tenton said that his name was *Ong* ('maternal uncle') and the King's sons called him by that name. Then the Brahman, in the course of his search after Tenton, arrived at the place where they were gambling. Tenton, as though he did not know the Brahman, went on gambling. The King's sons said to Tenton, 'It is Ong's turn to play.'

The Brahman, hearing the King's sons call him 'Ong,' thought that he was perhaps really their maternal uncle, and not daring to say anything, lay down quietly and went to sleep in the place where they were gambling.

When Tenton and his campanions had finished their play, Tenton said to the King's sons — 'just give me a hundred rupees, and I will leave with you this slave of mine.'

Then the King's sons paid over to Tenton a hundred rupees as the price of the Brahman, and Tenton, when he had got the money, ran away again. Then the Brahman, awaking from his sleep, asked the King's sons, 'Where is that lad who was gambling with you with cowries?'

The King's sons answered, 'Why, that young man said you were his slave, and we have bought you from him for a hundred rupees; you cannot therefore go away. You will have to stay in our house as our slave.'

The Brahman said, 'O my fathers! Why did you pay away money for nothing at all without making any enquiry from me? This fellow has robbed me of a hundred rupees, and I am pursuing him; but seeing him gambling in your worshipful company I waited a little while, otherwise I would long ago have seized and carried him away.'

The King's sons said, 'Oho! is this really so? Since he has cheated both of us so much, let us go and seek for him, taking iron chains with us; if we lay hands on him, we will bind him hand and foot.'

Then all the people of the King's whole country took iron chains and went in search of Tenton. Now Tenton, meeting a man who had an iron chain with him, said to him, 'Friend, what is the reason why you are carrying about an iron chain?'

The man answered, 'If I meet Tenton, this chain is to bind him with, hand and foot, friend.'

'Is it so?' said Tenton, 'how is this chain to be put upon his hands and feet? please explain to me, friend; if I come across Tenton, I also would like to bind him.'

Then that man, to show Tenton, put the chains on his own hands and feet, so that he could not release himself. Then the real Tenton called out to all the people round about, 'Tenton is caught, come here!' and himself ran away. Then all the men came up together and beat severely the man whom Tenton had tied up with chains. He cried, 'I am not Tenton!'

'You are not Tenton?' said they, and beat him more and more, till in the end that man died from the blows he received.

Notice the Assamese words, — *hai* (in *hai-bai*), from Ass. *hāl*, plough (final *l* in Mikir becomes *i* or *y*); *dohón*, for *dhan*, money, rupees (*dh* is an unknown sound in Mikir except in loan-words, and is therefore resolved into *d* and *h*); *chini*, to recognise. *Pō* in *bāmòn-pō* is a syllable indicating respect = father. *Pèngànsō* or *pèngnànsō*, a wedded pair (*pèngàn* = husband).

Notice also the idioms *hai-bai-mā-bai-sī* and *pāthu-mā-pāthu-lō*, where the interrogative particle *mā* is used to indicate an indefinite continuance of the action.

The syllable *-i* in *hai kebai-i āchainòng*, bullock used *for* ploughing, indicates purpose, and frequently occurs in such adjectives.

Notice also the honorific forms used of the king's sons: — *jō* in *teràm-jō-lō*, called, *pu-jō-lō*, *pu-jō*, said, which is a plural of honour, and the *lī* in *nàng-lī-tum ālòng*, *pō-mār-lī*, also indicating respect.

The *ē-* in *ē-kechōbēi*, has cheated us both, is the plural of the pronoun of the first person, *including* the person addressed, while *nē excludes* the addressee.

In *ādèt-isī* notice the idiomatic use of *isī*, to signify *the whole* country.

Làng-pòng, the bamboo-joint (commonly called *chungā*) used in Assam to hold water (*làng*), is used also as a receptacle for other things, as here for money. The back of the bullock was rubbed with mud apparently that it might become invisible to the old woman, and lead her to think that it had run away or died, and that it was necessary to buy another. *Khādòt*, cowrie, *pāthu* (or *pātu*), to hide; the two together signify to gamble with cowries. *Ni* (*āni*) is apparently self-locking handcuffs or fetters, which once locked cannot be opened without a key.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The date of the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription of the Western Chalukya king Maṅgalêśa.

This record has been edited by me in Vol. XIX. above, p. 7 ff., with a facsimile lithograph. I have had occasion to refer to the date of it in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII., in connection with the date of the Niḍagundi inscription of the time of Amôghavarsha I. And my remarks made there about it have to be supplemented by a statement which proved too lengthy to be given in that place.

The **date** of it is contained in lines 14, 15 of the text. It runs, as given in my published version :— Uttarôttara-pravarddhamâna-râjya-pañchama-śrî-varshê pravarttamânê Siddhârthê Vaiśâkha-pûrṇṇamâsyâm. And the translation is:—"In the fifth glorious year of (*his*) constantly augmenting reign, in (*the year*) Siddhârtha being current, on the full-moon day of (*the month*) Vaiśâkha."

My reading of the text of the date has been criticised by Dr. Bhandarkar, in the following manner. He has said :—" I have carefully examined the facsimile of the inscription given "in the article; and am satisfied that this is by no means the correct reading. *Râjya* and *pravar*-"*ttamânê* are the only words that are certain and perhaps the word *śrî* also. But *pañchama* is "highly doubtful; the letter which Dr. Fleet reads *ma* is exactly like that which he reads *ñcha*; and "there is some vacant space after *ñcha* and *ma* in which something like another letter appears. Simi-"larly the *si* of *siddhârthê* is hardly visible as an independent letter, and the next two letters are "also doubtful. Besides in no other inscription of the early Châlukyas does the cyclic year appear."[1]

But **there is no sound foundation of any kind for so taking exception to my reading of the date.** I have, indeed, before me now, while I am writing this note, other and much better ink-impressions of the original record, from which I hope to give, some day, a much finer reproduction of it. The wording of the whole passage, however, is quite clear and unmistakable in the already published lithograph, which is a facsimile of the ink-impressions then available. It would be difficult to point to many, if any, ancient dates on stone, more easily capable of being read without any uncertainty. And the text of this date is, syllable by syllable, exactly as I gave it in my published version, at a time when it did not at all fall in with my previous notions about the exact period of Maṅgalêśa, and as I have now given it again above. In my introductory remarks to the record, I said (*loc. cit.* p. 8): — "The inscription itself consists of sixteen lines; and the first line is the " lowest. Line 1 runs round the pillar on the same level ; the other lines wind upward, with, in some " instances, considerable irregularity in the directions along which they run ; and, partly to shew the "way in which the end of one line runs into the beginning of the next, and partly because in a few " instances an *akshara* lies, not entirely on either the first or the last face of the stone, but on the " dividing edge between them, the lithograph has been so arranged as to repeat an *akshara* or two " at the beginning and end of each line." If Dr. Bhandarkar had paid attention to that statement before he " carefully examined " the facsimile, and had then examined the facsimile with a view to test my reading, and not simply to dispute it so as to suit certain preconceived and quite erroneous ideas of his own, he could hardly have failed to see that the *akshara*, standing in the first place on the left before the beginning of line 15, — in respect of which he has said that I read it as *ma*, but that it is "exactly like" that which I read as *ñcha*, — is actually the *ñcha* itself, which stands last but one at the end of line 14, on the right, and has been reproduced in the lithograph on the left, before the beginning of line 15, in the circumstances stated by me, and that the supposed vacant space, after this supposed *ma* (really *ñcha*) and before the *śrî*, is occupied by the real *ma* itself, which stands last at the end of line 14, on the right, and, with the *ñcha*, similarly stands again in the lithograph on the left, at the beginning of line 15. For the rest,. nothing could be plainer than, not only the *si*,

[1] *Early History of the Dekkan*, in the *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. I. Part II. p. 182, note 3.

but also the whole word *Siddhârthê*. And in short, the whole date is distinctly and unquestionably legible from beginning to end, even in the published facsimile, and runs exactly as Dr. Bhandarkar had it before him in my published text.

As regards **the meaning and application of the word Siddhârthê,** the following is to be said. There is nothing substantial in the suggestion made in Dr. Bhandarkar's remark that "in "no other inscription of the early Châlukyas does the cyclic year appear." It is a fact, that this Mahâkûṭa record is the only Western Chalukya record, as yet known, in which the use of the cycle is presented. But so, also, we know as yet of only one Western Chalukya record which presents the name of a week-day; namely, the Sorab plates of Vinayâditya, of A.D. 692, the date of which includes Sanaiścharavâra.[2] And again, among the records of the Early or Imperial Guptas, we have as yet only one which mentions a week-day; namely, the Êraṇ inscription of Budhagupta, of A. D. 484, the date of which includes Suragurudivasa.[3] It would be just as unreasonable to say that, because they are isolated instances, the word *Sanaiścharavârê* in the Sorab record does not mean "on Saturday," and the words *Suragurôr=ddivasê* in the Êraṇ record do not mean "on Thursday," as it is to suggest, because it also is an isolated instance, that the word *Siddhârthê*, standing where it does stand in the Mahâkûṭa record, does not mean "in (*the year*) Siddhârtha." The sixty-years cycle was not invented by, or for, the Râshṭrakûṭas: it was known to, and was used by, the Hindû astronomers long before their time, and also before the time of Maṅgalêśa; see, for instance, the *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ* of Varâhamihira (died A.D. 587), chapter viii., verses 28 to 52, which recite the names of all the sixty *saṁvatsaras*, — Siddhârtha among them, — and describe the astrological influences attributed to them. It can only have been from the astronomers that the Western Chalukyas, in, as far as we know as yet, the time of Maṅgalêśa's elder brother Kîrtivarman I., obtained the use of the Śaka era. The Western Chalukyas would naturally obtain, at the same time, at least a knowledge of the sixty-years cycle; and there is no reason why they should not have made occasional use of it in their records, though it does not seem to have recommended itself to them, for official purposes, as fully as it did to the Râshṭrakûṭas later on. The word *siddhârtha* has, of course, the adjectival meanings of 'one who has accomplished an aim or object, successful, prosperous,' &c. But the names of also some others of the *saṁvatsaras* can be translated and applied as adjectives. The name Siddhârtha, with the optional form Siddhârthin, is thoroughly well established as the name of the fifty-third year of the cycle. In the Mahâkûṭa record, the word *Siddhârthê* stands in exactly the right position for the name of a *saṁvatsara* in a date recorded in prose. In the historical surroundings, there is not anything to render the date of A. D. 602 inadmissible for Maṅgalêśa; on the contrary, it fits in exactly with the dates of his predecessor and successor, and with all that we know about the events of the period.[4] And it is not possible that the word *Siddhârthê*, standing where it does stand in

[2] See Vol. XIX. above, p. 150, text line 20, and Prof. Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions of Southern India, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. Appendix, p. 6, No. 29.

[3] See my *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 89, text line 3, and Prof. Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions of Northern India, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V., Appendix, p. 64, No. 454.

[4] I shall on another occasion explain the meaning and bearing of the date of the Goa plates,— the Śaka year 532 (expired), = A. D. 610-11, coupled with the twentieth year of a certain *râjya*, — which Dr. Bhandarkar has mistakenly applied as fixing the commencement of the reign of Maṅgalêśa in Śaka-Saṁvat 513 (expired), = A. D. 591-92 (see *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 182); as the result of which, of course, a date in his fifth year could not fall in A. D. 602. — As regards certain events, the following remarks are to be made. In the Mahâkûṭa record, Maṅgalêśa claims that, having set his heart upon the conquest of the *uttara-diś* or northern region, he had, in A. D. 602, conquered the Kalatsûri king Buddha, and taken possession of all his substance. And the same event is referred to in his Nerûr record, which describes him as having driven away (from that part of the Koṅkaṇ) Buddharâja, son of Śaṁkaragaṇa, and having killed a Chalikya prince named Svâmirâja; see Vol. VII. above, p. 162 *b*. This Kalatsûri king Buddha is the Kaṭachchuri king Buddharâja, son of Śaṁkaragaṇa, whom the Sarsaunî plates shew to have been still reigning, in Gujarât, on the north of the Narbadâ, in A.D. 610; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 295 ff. But it is to be noted that Maṅgalêśa does not claim to have slain Buddharâja. I have said that, by his victory over Buddharâja, Maṅgalêśa seems to have acquired the whole of the northern territory up to the river Kîm, or perhaps even to the Mahî; see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 347, 382. We must now limit Maṅgalêśa's advance, to the Kîm, or possibly to the Narbadâ. No further correction, however, is necessary in connection with him and Buddharâja.

the Mahâkûṭa record, can mean anything except "**in (the year) Siddhârtha,**" or "**in (the) Siddhârtha (saṁvatsara).**"

The **actual equivalent of the date presented in the Mahâkûṭa record** is quite certain. In connection with the date, there is only one point, a minor one, which is at all doubtful; namely, whether the Siddhârtha *saṁvatsara* is to be taken according to the actual mean-sign system, or according to the so-called northern luni-solar system. According to the actual mean-sign system, it ran from the 25th October, A. D. 601, to the 21st October, A. D. 602. Whereas, according to the other system, it ran, as a luni-solar year, from the 28th February, A. D. 602, to the 18th March, A. D. 603, and, as a solar year, from the 19th March, A. D. 602, to the 19th March, A. D. 603. The point, however, is not at all material. In any of the three cases, the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha, in the Siddhârtha *saṁvatsara*, was the **12th April, A. D. 602.** And, as the result of that, the reign of Maṅgalêśa commenced on some day from the *amânta* Vaiśâkha kṛishṇa 1, Śaka-Saṁvat 519 expired, in A. D. 597, to Vaiśâkha śukla 15, S.-S. 520 expired, in A. D. 598.[5]

References to the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III. in the records of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti.

In the epigraphic records of the period subsequent to the overthrow of **the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty of Mâlkhêḍ,** there are various passages which shew that, of the kings of that line, **Kṛishṇa III.,** in particular, was well remembered in the Kanarese country, part of which formed the possessions of the Raṭṭa princes of Saundatti. I here bring together some allusions to him, in three **Raṭṭa records,** and in another record which includes a long passage referring itself to the Raṭṭa period, which are of special interest in connection with the claim at any rate that the Raṭṭa princes belonged to the same lineage with him, and perhaps that they were actually descended from him.

1. — At **Saundatti,** the head-quarters of the Parasgaḍ tâluka of the Beḷgaum district, there is an inscription, edited by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 194 ff., which was drawn up and put on the stone in, or very shortly after, **A. D. 1096.**

Lines 1 to 4 of this record register certain grants, of which one was an allotment of six *nivartanas* (of land) by a (Raṭṭa) prince named Kanna, to provide for the *charu*-oblation to a certain god. This Kanna may be either Kannakaira I., between A. D. 980 and 1040, or Kannakaira II., about A. D. 1069 to 1087. And the passage thus mentioning him appears to be an afterthought, added when the rest of the record had been completed.

Then, after a certain verse in praise of the Jain religion, the record introduces a teacher named Muḷḷabhaṭṭâraka (line 6), belonging to the Kâreya *gaṇa* of (*the sect of*) the holy Maiḷâpatîrtha.[6] It tells us that the disciple of Muḷḷabhaṭṭâraka was Guṇakîrti, and that Guṇakîrti's disciple was Indrakîrti. It then mentions, as a pupil[7] of Indrakîrti, a certain **Pṛithvîrâma** (l. 8), whom it describes as the eldest son of Meraḍa, and as "a worshipper of the water-lilies that were the feet of the glorious **Kṛishṇarâjadêva** (l. 9), before whom a crowd of kings bowed down." It then, in lines 12 to 14, recites that, in the year Manmatha, when the Śaka year 797 had expired, that is, in **A. D. 875-76** according to either the so-called northern or the so-called southern luni-solar system of the sixty-years cycle, "by that king" (*têna bhûpêna*) a temple of Jinêndra was founded at Sugandhavarti-(Saundatti) and was endowed with eighteen *nivartanas* (of land). And it repeats part of the above information, in saying, in lines 14 to 18, that, — samasta-bhuvan-âśrayaṁ śrîpṛithvî-vallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭârakaṁ **Râshṭrakûṭa-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ śrîmat-Kṛishṇarâjadêva**-vijaya-râjyam = uttarôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamânam = â-chaṁdr-ârkka-taraṁbaraṁ saluttam-ire, — "while the victorious reign of the asylum of the universe, the favourite of Fortune and of the Earth, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja, Paramêśvara,* and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka,* the ornament of the

[5] The figures "A. D. 497 or 498" in Vol. XIX. above, p. 10, were a sufficiently obvious mistake, which was corrected in the list of Errata given in the same volume.

[6] Compare pages 218, 219, below.

[7] The word used here is *chhâttra*. In the case of Guṇakîrti and Indrakîrti, it is *śishya*.

family of the Râshṭrakûṭas, the glorious **Kṛishṇarâjadêva,** was continuing, augmenting with an ever greater and greater increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last," his feudatory (*tat-pâdapadm-ôpajîvin*) **the Mahâsâmanta Pṛithvîrâma,** who had attained the *pañchamahâśabda*, gave as a *sarvanamasya*-grant (land measuring) eighteen *nivartanas*, situated in four places, to the temple of Jinêndra which had been founded by himself (*sva-kârita-Jinêndra-bhavanâya*). And it adds that the allotment made by **Pṛithvîrâma** was given again by (the Raṭṭa prince) Kârtavîrya (II.) (l. 19) to his own preceptor.

Then, in lines 21 to 26, the record makes a more formal mention of **Kârtavîrya II.** as a feudatory (*tat-pâdapadm-ôpajîvin*) of the Western Châlukya king Tribhuvanamalladêva-(Vikram-âditya VI.); and it describes Kârtavîrya II. as a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who had attained the *pañcha-mahâśabda*, as the supreme lord of Lattalûr the best of towns, as being heralded by the sounds of the musical instrument called *trivaḷi*, as being an ornament of **the family of the Raṭṭas,** and as having the *sendûralâñchhana* or red-lead crest[8] and the *suvarṇaGaruḍadhvaja* or banner of a golden Garuḍa. Then, without any further allusion to Pṛithvîrâma and the persons mentioned in connection with him, the record presents **the Raṭṭa genealogy.** Here, it first mentions Kârtavîrya I. (line 27), as born in the race of the Raṭṭas (l. 26), as a son of Nanna, and as a feudatory of (the Western Châlukya king) Âhavamalla-(Sômêśvara I.). It takes the genealogy as far as Sêna II. (l. 36), or Kâḷasêna (l. 37). And then, in lines 39 to 41, it registers a grant made by Vîra-Permâḍi-dêva, meaning of course Vikramâditya VI., on a specified day in the month Pausha of the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*, the twenty-first of the years of the time of Vîra-Vikrama, falling in December, **A. D. 1096.** It then refers to a grant made at some previous time by either the first or the second Raṭṭa prince named Kannakaira (l. 41-42). And then, after some of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, it ends with the words "the Jinâlaya of Vîra-Permâḍidêva."

2. — The copper-plate record of **A. D. 1208** from **Bhôj,** in the Chikôḍi tâluka of the Beḷgaum district, published by me in Vol. XIX. above, p. 242 ff., says, in lines 6 to 9, in opening the pedigree of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti with the mention of Sêna II., that, — asti **Raṭṭ**-âhvayô **vaṁśaḥ Kṛishṇarâja**-kṛit-ônnatiḥ . . . . asmin . . . . saṁjâtas . . . . **Sêna**-râjas, — "there is **the race** that has the appellation of **Raṭṭa,** the elevation of which was effected by **Kṛishṇarâja;** in it there was born king **Sêna (II.).**"

3. — The inscription of **A. D. 1218** at **Nêsargi,** in the Sampgaon tâluka of the Beḷgaum district, opens with some verses which include a prayer that the god Śiva will fulfil the desires of the princes, lords of the Kûṇḍi district in the Kuntala country in the land of Bharata, who were born in the lineage of the Raṭtas. And then, in introducing a portion of their genealogy, it presents the following passage in lines 9 to 14 :—

Śrî[9]-varan=Achchu(chyu)taṁ sakaḷa-lôka-hit-ârtthav=udagra-daitya-vi-
drâvaṇan=âgi Kri(kṛi)shṇa-vesariṁ Yadu-vaṁśadoḷ=oldu puṭṭid-a-
nt=î vasudhâ-taḷaṁ pogaḷe puṭṭidha(da)n=opp-ire **Kṛishṇarâja**-vi-
śv-âvani-vallabhaṁ **Tuḷiga**-bhûpa-śikhâmaṇi **Raṭṭa-vaṁśadoḷ** ||
Ghana[10]-śauryyaṁ vibhavaṁ gabhîrav=anaghaṁ sâhittyav=âchârav=â-
rpp=inituṁ kêḷ tanag=akkal=âv=aṇav=enal śrî-**Kṛishṇa-Kaṁdhâra**-bhû-
vanit-âdhîśanoḷ=âruv=anyar=eṇey=alt=â Kṛishṇan=î **Kṛishṇan**=eṁ-
b-inegaṁ **Raṭṭa-kul**-âṁbuj-ârkkan=esedaṁ tân=eṁdaḍ=ê vaṇṇipeṁ ||
Iṁt[11]=esev=akhiḷa-guṇaṁgaḷiṁ **Gaṁḍamârttaṁḍaṁ Vikramachakravartti Kachchegaṁ**[12] **Tuḷigan**=eṁb=anupamam=appa birudin=aṁka-mâḷ-âḷaṁkṛitanm[13]=appa **Kṛishṇarâja**-râj[â*]nva-

[8] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. . [9] Metre, Utpalamâlikâ. [10] Metre, Mattêbhavikrîḍita.

[11] Prose, as far as the word *arasugaḷoḷ*.

[12] My published text gives *kabbegaṁ*, which I took to be a variant of *kabbiga*, 'a poet.' But we know, now, from the Âtakûr inscription of A. D. 949-50, that that was a wrong reading for *kachchega*; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 53, text line 3, and p. 55, note 9.

[13] Read *âḷaṁkṛitanum*.

yadoḷ tad-anguṇar=ensi[14] mattaṁ negardd=arasugaḷoḷ || . . . . . . Ṛaṭṭa-vaṁś-âmburuh-ârkkaṁ tân . . . . . . Sêna-dhâtrîvaran.

Translation: — "Just as Achyuta (Vishṇu), the husband of Śrî, having driven away the fierce demons for the welfare of the whole world, was graciously born under the name of Kṛishṇa in the race of the Yadus, so, amidst the praises of this earth, in **the race of the Ṛaṭṭas** there was fittingly born **Kṛishṇarâja,** the favourite of the whole world, (*he who was called*) **Tuḷiga** the crest-jewel of kings. Listen now!; there are no others who resemble the glorious **Kṛishṇa-Kandhâra,** the lord of the woman the Earth, in that it can be said that they possess, to ever so small an extent, so much great bravery, glory, sagacity, sinlessness, rhetoric, upright conduct, and daring; in such a way that people said "That Kṛishṇa (the god) is this **Kṛishṇa** (the king)," he himself shone out as the sun of the water-lily (*blooming in the day-time*) which was **the family of the Ṛaṭṭas**: how shall I describe him? In the royal lineage of **Kṛishṇarâja** who, by reason of all his thus resplendent virtues, was verily adorned by the characteristic string of the unequalled appellations **Gaṇḍa-mârtaṇḍa, Vikramachakravartin,**[15] **Kachchega** ("he who wears the girdle of prowess"), and **Tuḷiga,**[16] and among the kings who caused themselves to be spoken of as resembling him in virtues and who were otherwise famous, there was the prince **Sêna (II.),** himself a sun of the water-lily (*blooming in the day-time*) which was **the race of the Ṛaṭṭas.**"

After this the record continues the genealogy of the Raṭṭa princes as far as Kârtavîrya IV., and so eventually passes on to its practical object.

4. — At **Haṇṇikere** or **Haṇṇikêri** in the Beḷgaum district, there is an inscription which was drawn up and put on the stone in, or very shortly after, **A. D. 1257.** It has not been edited. But I have had occasion to refer to it before now.[17] And it will be convenient to give, now, the full purport of it, in addition to extracts bearing on the special matter that we have in hand.

Haṇṇikere or **Haṇṇikêri** is a village about four miles towards the north-west from Sampgaon, the head-quarters of the Sampgaon tâluka, and about thirteen miles on the east of Beḷgaum. It is shewn as 'Hooneekehree' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852). The exact form of its name is not quite certain.[18] — The **inscription** is on a stone tablet, about 5′ 7½″ high by 1′ 10½″ broad, which stands against the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* of a temple which is known both as the Śivâlaya and as the temple of Brahmadêva. — At the top of the stone, there are the following **sculptures**: in the centre, a Jina, in a shrine, seated, and facing full-front; on the left (proper right), outside the shrine, a naked standing figure, facing to the front, with the sun above it; and on the right (proper left), a cow and calf, with the moon above them. — The **writing** covers an area about 3′ 3½″ high by 1′ 10½″ broad. It is in sixty-nine lines. And it is very well preserved, except that the stone is broken in half along lines 16 and 17, and some letters have been destroyed along the line of fissure. — Except for the opening exclamation *Ôm Namaḥ sidhdhê(ddhê)bhyaḥ*, the well-known verse *Śrîmat-parama-gambhîra, &c.*, which follows it, and some of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses further on in the record, the **language** is Kanarese, of the later archaic type, partly in verse and partly in prose.

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14 This is to be pronounced as if it were written *anuguṇar=enisi*. There are several similar orthographic peculiarities in this record.

15 This has not yet been established by any Râshṭrakûṭa records as an actual *biruda* of Kṛishṇa III., or of any other Râshṭrakûṭa king. And the composer of this record seems to have invented it in imitation of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI.

16 This *biruda*, also, has not yet been met with in the Râshṭrakûṭa records themselves; but it is put forward for Kṛishṇa III. in also the spurious Waḍgaon plates; see Vol. XXX. above, p. 373. It seems to be connected with *tuḷi*, and to mean something like 'he who tramples upon, or crushes to pieces with the feet.'

17 See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II. pp. 550, 556.

18 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 100, note 3.

After the verse *Śrîmat-parama-gambhîra, &c.*, there follows a verse invoking a blessing from the Jinêndra Pârśva. And the record then proceeds to say that, at the great village of **Vênugrâma (Belgaum)** (line 10), which was an ornament of a district (*pradêśa*) in the **Kûṇḍi three-thousand maṇḍala** (l. 8-9) in Bharatakshêtra (l. 7)[19] to the south of the mountain Mandara (l. 6) which is the central column of the land of Jambûdvîpa (l. 5), there was **the race of the Raṭṭas** (l. 11).

Then, in lines 11 to 30, it continues: — Ant=agaṁṇya-peṁṇy[20]-âśraya-śrî-**Raṭṭ-ânvaya-doḷu** Svasti Samasta-bhuvan-âśraya śrîpri(pṛi)thvîvallabha mahârâjâdhirâja paramêsva(śva)ra paramabhaṭṭâraka **Kaṁdhâra-puravar**-âdhîsva(śva)ra suvarṇṇa-Garuḍa-dhvaja **Raṭṭa-kuḷa**-kamaḷa-mârttaṁḍa . . . . . . nâm-âdi-samasta-râjâvaḷi-samaḷaṁkri(kṛi)ta Vishṇu-vaṁś-âvatâra . . . . . . **Kri(kṛi)shṇaṁ** vitata-yaśaṁ rakshisi tâṁ śa(sa)tataṁ śâṁmrâjya-[21] Lakshmig=adhipatiy=âdaṁ || Va || Aṁt=anêka-nri(nṛi)pa-maṁḍaḷa-prachaṁḍa-maṁḍaḷêsva-(śva)ra-śrî-**Kri(kṛi)shṇa-Kaṁdhararâya**-sâṁmrâjya[22]-prâjya-saṁtatiyoḷu Svasti Samasta prasa(śa)sti-sahitaṁ śrîmanu-mahâmaṁdalêsva(śva)raṁ **Lattanûra-puravar**-âdhîsva(śva)raṁ trivaḷi-tûryya-nirgghôshaṇaṁ **Raṭṭa-kuḷa**-bhûshaṇaṁ maṁḍaḷika-gaṁḍa-taḷa-prahâri birud-aṁka-mâliy=ity-âdi nâm-âvaḷi-samâḷaṁkrita[23]-kshatriyôttaman=eṁt-ene . . . . . śrî-**Kârtta-vîryya**-bhûpôttaman=â || Tat-tanûbhavaṁ || Kaṁ || **Raṭṭa-kul**-âgraṇi . . . . . . **Lakshmidêvan** . . . . . . || Â mahîvallabhana manô-nayana-vallabhe . . . . . **Chaṁdaladêvi** paṭṭa-râṇiy=en-ikkuṁ || .

Translation: — "In **the lineage of the glorious Raṭṭas**, which was thus the abode of an incalculable amount of merit: — Hail!: — He who was decorated with all the royal list (*of titles*) commencing with the names of the asylum of the universe, the favourite of Fortune and the Earth, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the supreme lord of **Kandhârapura the best of towns**, he who had the banner of a golden Garuḍa,[24] the sun of the water-lily (*blooming in the day-time*) which was **the family of the Raṭṭas**, (*namely*) he, **Kṛishṇa**, possessed of wide-spread fame, who was an incarnation of the race of Vishṇu, having himself been a protector, became for ever the lord of Lakshmî in the shape of universal empire. Prose: — In the continuous succession, rich in universal empire, of the glorious **Kṛishṇa-Kandhararâya**, who was thus the formidable suzerain of many kings and territories: — Hail: — The illustrious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, possessed of all sorts of praises, the best of Kshatriyas who was decorated by a list of names beginning with the supreme lord of **Lattanûra the best of towns**, he who is heralded by the sounds of the musical instrument called *trivaḷi*, the ornament of **the family of the Raṭṭas**,[25] he who slaps the cheeks of chieftains, and he who has a characteristic string of (*other*) appellations, was the illustrious **Kârtavîrya (III.)**, the best of princes. His son was **Lakshmidêva (I.)**, a leader of **the family of the Raṭṭas**. And the favourite of the mind and eyes of that prince was the crowned queen **Chandaladêvî**."

The record then recites that, while **Lakshmidêva I.** was ruling at the capital (*râjadhânî*) of **Vêṇugrâma** (line 30), in the **Kâreya**[26] **gaṇa** of the **Yâpanîya saṁgha** (l. 34) there was a certain Kanakaprabha (l. 41), a disciple of Śrîdhara (l. 40) who was the chief disciple of a previous Kanakaprabha (l. 37). The bee who sipped the pollen of the water-lilies that were his feet, was Ammagâvuṇḍa, son of Holligauṇḍa (l. 46). His wife was Oḷajigauḍi[27] (l. 47). And their son was Hollaṇa (l. 48).

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[19] The record omits the usual reference to the Kuntala country.

[20] Read *aganya-puṇy*.

[21] and [22] Read *sâmrâjya* or *sâmrajya*.

[23] Read *samaḷaṁkṛita*.

[24] This, however, was really the banner of the Raṭṭas, not of the Râshṭrakûṭas; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. .

[25] This passage does not mention either the banner or the crest of the Raṭṭas. Nor does any other part of the record.

[26] The metre marks the vowel of the second syllable as short.

[27] Is not certain whether the termination of this name, *gauḍi*, is the other form of *gavuḍiti*, '(a rustic female), a female servant,' or whether it is intended to stand for, or is also another form of, *gavuḍagitti*, *gavuḍasâni*, 'a Gauḍa's wife.'

Ammagâvuṇḍa was the *mûlasvâmin* or rightful owner, and the *Mahâprabhu*, of (the village of) **Chiñchuṇike** (line 49-50)[28] in a group of eight villages known as the **Haraḷ** or **Haraḷu eṇṭumbâḍa** of the **eppattumbâḍa**, — meaning, no doubt, the Vêṇugrâma seventy of other records. At the command of the holy *eḷkôṭi-mahâdêvaru*,[29] he clothed himself with a *jôgavaṭṭige* or 'cloth thrown over the back and knees of an ascetic during meditation,' and caused to be made, in the middle of his village, a temple, possessed of the embellishments of a *mânastambha* and a *makaratôraṇa* and the *pañchamahâśabda*, of the Jinêndra Pârśva (l. 52). And then (l. 52 f.), — **Saka-varshaṁ 1130te(tta)neya Vibhava-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇa(na) śudhdha(ddha) 13 Sômavâradaṁdu**, — "on Monday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Phâlguna of the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, which was the Saka year 1130 (expired)," with the assent of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Lakshmidêvarasa (I.)** (line 54), having laved the feet of the *Âchârya* Kanakaprabhapaṇḍitadêva of the **Kâreya gaṇa** of the **lineage of Maiḷâpa** of the **Yâpanîya saṁgha** (l. 55), the *Mahâprabhu* Ammagâvuṇḍa (l. 57) gave to that teacher, to provide for food, safe refuge, medicine, instruction in the scriptures, and the repairs of whatever might become broken, torn, or worn out in the temple, some land in the south-east quarter of his village (l. 58), and a *dânaśâle*, a betel-nut plantation, an oil-mill, and other items.

A second passage records (line 62 f.) that, — **Saka-varshaṁ 1179te(tta)neya Piṁgaḷa-saṁvatsarada Chaitra sudhdha**[30] **7 Guruvâradalu**, — "on Thursday, the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of the **Piṅgaḷa** *saṁvatsara*, which was the Saka year 1179 (expired)," at the command of the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Sarvâdhikârin* **Châvuṇḍiseṭṭi** (line 64), and with the assent of **Kallarasa**, the *Suṅkâdhikârin* Kêtagauṇḍa (l. 65) allotted a certain portion of the *suṅka* or customs-duties to the *pañchamaṭhasthâna* of **Chiñchuṇike**.

The **dates** of this record are both unsatisfactory. As regards **the first date**, in line 52 f.: — The given *tithi*, Phâlguna śukla 13 of the Vibhava saṁvatsara, Saka-Saṁvat 1130 expired, began at about 6 hrs. 18 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Wednesday, 18th February, **A. D. 1209**, and cannot be connected with the Sunday at all. Moreover, the date is not admissible for Lakshmidêva I., as we have various dates ranging from A. D. 1199 to 1208, as well as a date in A. D. 1218, for his son and successor **Kârtavîrya IV.**[31] As regards **the second date**, in line 62 f.: — The given *tithi*, Chaitra śukla 7 of the Piṅgala saṁvatsara, Saka-Saṁvat 1179 expired, began at about 6 hrs. 14 min. on Friday, 23rd March, **A. D. 1257**, and cannot be connected with the Thursday at all.

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Now, the mention, in **the Nêsargi inscription of A. D. 1218**, No. 3, page 216 above, of the *birudas* **Gaṇḍamârtaṇḍa** and **Kachchega**, which are well established by other records,[32] proves that the king, born in the race of the Raṭṭas, who is referred to as **Kṛishṇa, Kṛishṇarâja**, and **Kṛishṇa-Kandhâra**[33] in that record, is **the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III.**, for whom we

[28] This would thus seem to have been the original name of Haṇṇikere or Haṇṇikêri itself.

[29] The literal meaning of this expression is 'the seven crores of great gods;' but the exact local purport of it is not known. Mention is made, however, of a Jain temple named Eḷkôṭi-Jinâlaya in an inscription of A. D. 1219-20 at Arsikere in the Hassan district, Mysore (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. V., Ak. 77); and it appears to have received that name because it was to be maintained by a local body of persons who are mentioned as *êlkôṭigaḷ*, 'the seven crores,' in that verse, and as *ekkôṭi-vira-gaṇaṁgaḷu*, 'the seven crores of strict followers,' in an inscription of A. D. 1183-84 at the same village (*ibid.*, Ak. 88). So, also, an Ekkôṭi-Jinâlaya is mentioned in an inscription of A. D. 1202 or thereabouts at Vakkalagere in the Kaḍûr district, Mysore (*id.* Vol. VI., Kd. 33). And the epithet *ekkôṭi-chakravarti*, 'an emperor among the seven crores,' is applied to a preceptor named Mâlêśvara in inscriptions of A. D. 1189 at Honnûru and Tarigaḷale in the Hassan district (*id.* Vol. V., Ag. 79, 81). The passage in the Honnûru inscription which prohibits any interference with the grant registered in that record, alludes to the sin of killing *ekkoṭi-tapôdhanaru*, 'seven crores of ascetics;' this expression, however, which is found in other records also, has no connection with the technical expression.

[30] Read *śuddha*.

[31] See *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 556 f.

[32] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 178 f.

[33] Kandhara and Kandhâra, and also Kannara, Kanhara, and Kanhâra, all occur as Prâkṛit forms of the names of kings whose names are given in Sanskṛit as Kṛishṇa. On the general subject of Prâkṛit personal names, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 410, note 1, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 185, note 1.

have dates ranging from A. D. 940 to 961.[34] And, evidently, it is also he who is spoken of as **Kṛishṇarâja in the Bhôj record of A. D. 1208**, No. 2, page 216, and as **Kṛishṇa** and **Kṛishṇa-Kandhararâya** in the **Haṇṇikere or Haṇṇikêri record of A. D. 1257**, No. 4, page 217.

The allusion, however, in **the Saundatti record of A. D. 1096** or thereabouts, No. 1, page 215 above, to a Râshṭrakûṭa king **Kṛishṇarâjadêva** in conjunction with the *Mahâsâmanta* **Pṛithvîrâma** and in connection with the date of A. D. 875-76 for both of them, is not so clear and simple. Originally, I took that passage as furnishing a real date for the actual reign of a Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa,[35] — the one who is now designated Kṛishṇa II., — about whom not much else was then known; and, it may be added, I naturally then took the king who is mentioned in the Nêsargi record, to be also the same person.[36] Later on, I applied it as furnishing a date for Kṛishṇa II. as *Yuvarâja* under his father Amôghavarsha I.,[37] for whom the date of A. D. 877-78 had meanwhile been obtained. Subsequently, I had to consider the matter again, and more fully.[38] And I endorse now the results at which I then arrived. The Saundatti record first, in lines 8 to 14, mentions Pṛithvîrâma as a pupil of Indrakîrti and as a worshipper of the feet, that is, as a servant or protégé, of Kṛishṇarâjadêva, and says that, in the Manmatha *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 797 expired, = A. D. 875-76, a Jain temple was built at Saundatti, and was endowed, by a person who, as far as that passage goes, might be either Pṛithvîrâma or Kṛishṇarâjadêva. In lines 14 to 18, however, where it mentions Pṛithvîrâma as a *Mahâsâmanta* feudatory to Kṛishṇarâjadêva, it distinctly explains that it was Pṛithvîrâma who, as a *Mahâsâmanta*, built and endowed the temple. And that was done, the first passage says, in A. D. 875-76. But that part of the record which relates to Kṛishṇarâjadêva and Pṛithvîrâma is not a synchronous and original record: it was put together and transferred to the stone at the same time with the remainder of the record; and that was done, of course, at about the time of the date given in lines 39, 40, namely, in or shortly after A. D. 1096. Further, the date of A. D. 875-76 cannot be an authentic one for Pṛithvîrâma; for we know, from another of the Saundatti records,[39] that he was the grandfather of a certain Śântivarman, — belonging, it may incidentally be remarked, not to the Raṭṭa family, but to the Baisa family, — who was the ruling *Mahâsâmanta* in December, A. D. 980, and the range of a hundred and five years for the three generations is far too great. And my conclusions about the record are as follows. The real patron and sovereign of Pṛithvîrâma must have been Kṛishṇa III., whose earliest known date, A. D. 940, is in quite sufficient agreement with the period of a person, the *Mahâsâmanta* Pṛithvîrâma, whose grandson, Śântivarman, was a grown-up person, ruling as *Mahâsâmanta*, in A. D. 980. The Saundatti record makes **a confusion between Kṛishṇa III. and his ancestor Kṛishṇa II.** And, in its first mention of Kṛishṇarâjadêva-Kṛishṇa III. and Pṛithvîrâma, it erroneously puts forward and connects with them a date, equivalent to **A. D. 875-76**, taken probably from some archive of the sect to which Pṛithvîrâma's preceptor belonged, which possibly did actually appertain to **Kṛishṇa II.**, for whom, as **Yuvarâja**, it would be quite admissible.

The Saundatti record of A. D. 1096 or thereabouts does not, in reality, assert any connection between Kṛishṇa III. and the Raṭṭas of Saundatti; it only establishes a synchronism between Kṛishṇa III. and Pṛithvîrâma, who, we know from the Saundatti record of A. D. 980, belonged to the Baisa family. **An assertion claiming a connection between Kṛishṇa III. and the Raṭṭa princes** first appears, as far as our present knowledge of the records goes, in the Bhôj plates of **A. D. 1208**: but it is not very explicit: it may mean that Sêna II. belonged to the same lineage with Kṛishṇa III., whom, in that case, it signalises as having specially conferred distinction upon that lineage; or it may simply mean that Sêna II. belonged to another family which had been patronised and raised to power by Kṛishṇa III. **An assertion**

[34] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. pp. 178, 180. [35] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 170, 187. [36] *Ibid.* p. 175.
[37] *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, first version, 1882, p. 36. That work is, of course, now quite obsolete.
[38] *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, revised version, 1895-96, in the *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. I., Part II., p. 411, note 1.
[39] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 204; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 552.

that the **Raṭṭa princes belonged to the same lineage with Kṛishṇa III.**, is, however, distinctly made in the Nêsargi record of **A. D. 1218**, which places Sêna II. in the royal lineage (*rājânvaya*) of Kṛishṇa III. And it is repeated in the Haṇṇikere or Haṇṇikêri record of **A. D.** 1257, in that part of it which is connected with the date of A. D. 1209; that part of the record places Kârtavîrya III. in the continuous succession of Kṛishṇa III., using a word, *santati*, which is often, and quite justifiably, translated by 'lineage, race, progeny, offspring.' These two passages are quite open to the interpretation that Sêna II. and his son Kârtavîrya III. were actual descendants of Kṛishṇa III. And we thus have at any rate **a claim that the Raṭṭa princes of Saundatti belonged to the same lineage with the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III.**, and perhaps **a claim that they were actually descended from him.** How far the claim, in either form, was based upon fact, we cannot at present finally decide. The Raṭṭa genealogy has not yet been traced back beyond the person who is mentioned as Nannabhûpa in the Saundatti record of A. D. 1096 or thereabouts, and as Nannanṛipâla in the Saundatti record of A. D. 1048,[40] and as Nannapayyarâṇa in the Sogal record of A. D. 980,[41] and. in all three records as the father of Kârtavîrya I. who, in July, A. D. 980, was ruling the Kûṇḍi country under the Western Châlukya king Taila II. Though Taila II. had, shortly before that time, overthrown the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, that is no reason why he should not have allowed connections or descendants of them to continue to hold power as local rulers under himself. And the date established for Kârtavîrya I. is not inconsistent with the possibility that his father Nanna was a protégé or even a son of Kṛishṇa III. On the other hand, the fact that the banner and crest of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti were different from the banner and crest of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ,[42] is opposed to an identity of lineage. Further, the Kalasâpur inscription of A. D. 933, of the time of Gôvinda IV., mentions a *Mahâsâmanta*, whose name has not as yet been determined, but whom it describes as "lord of the town of Lattalûr," and as "heralded by the sounds of the musical instrument called *trivaḷi*."[43] These titles make it practically certain that that *Mahâsâmanta* was a Raṭṭa. That record thus tends to carry back the family of the feudatory Raṭṭa princes to before the time of Kṛishṇa III. And it is possible that the claim in connection with Kṛishṇa III., advanced in later times by the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, may be based upon nothing but the probable point that they belonged to the same tribe or clan with the Râshṭrakûṭa kings of Mâlkhêḍ, and upon the certain fact that, of those kings, Kṛishṇa III. was well remembered, in the territory part of which formed the possessions of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, as the brother-in-law of the Western Gaṅga prince Bûtuga II., whose memory was very well preserved there in connection with the restoration of the Jain temples that had been destroyed by the Chôḷa invaders.

The town **Kandhârapura**, which is mentioned in connection with Kṛishṇa III. in the Haṇṇikere or Haṇṇikêri record of A. D. 1257, No. 4, page 217 above, seems to be a purely imaginary place. At any rate, no allusion to it has been met with in the Râshṭrakûṭa records. But, at Hirê-Kummi and Sattigeri in the Parasgaḍ tâluka of the Beḷgaum district, and at Surkôḍ or Surkôr in the neighbouring Râmdurg State, there are some spurious copper-plate charters, without dates,[44] which purport to have been issued by a *Chakravartin* Kanhara and Kṛishṇa-Kanhara, — meaning, again, Kṛishṇa III., — whom they style "supreme lord of **Kandhârapura**;" and the Surkôḍ or Surkôr charter further describes him as reigning at **Kanharapura.**

The Mukula or Chellakêtana family.

The Niḍagundi inscription of the time of Amôghavarsha I., edited by me in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII., makes mention of a governor of his, named **Baṅkêya** or **Baṅkêyarasa**, possessing

[40] This record is at the temple of Aṅkalêśvara or Aṅkuśêśvara. It has not been published yet; but it has been mentioned by me in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 172 f., and in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 553, 554.

[41] See *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 423, 553; and Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Southern India, in the Appendix to *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 26, No. 141.

[42] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. . [43] See *ibid.*, page , note .

[44] See *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 550, note 6; and Vol. XXX. above, p. 217, note 65.

the chellakêtana or javelin-banner, who then, at some time between A. D. 873 and 876, was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province, and the districts known as the Beḷgali three-hundred, the Kundarage seventy, the Kundûr five-hundred, and the Purigeṟe three-hundred.

Other records supply further information about Baṅkêya and the family to which he belonged. And the following notes may be usefully put together here.

At Konnûr, in the Nawalgund tâluka of the Dhârwâr district, there is an inscription on stone, edited by Professor Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 25 ff., which purports to reproduce the substance of a copper-plate charter. It was written about the middle of the twelfth century A. D. And, as has been pointed out by me in Vol. XXX. above, p. 210, it is not altogether a reliable record, because it makes certain misstatements and omissions in respect of the Râshṭrakûṭas. But, taking it for what it may be worth, we learn, in the first place, that, in a family, the name of which it gives as Mukuḷa kuḷa, there was a certain person named Eṟakôri. His son was Adhôra or Âdhôra, lord of Koḷanûra, that is Konnûr, whose wife was Vijayâṅkâ. And their son was Baṅkêśa, otherwise called Śellakêtana, whose name is presented as Baṅkêya and Baṅkêyarâja in subsequent parts of the record.[45]

In respect of this Baṅkêśa, who is the Baṅkêya or Baṅkêyarasa of the Niḍagundi inscription and the Baṅka of a literary reference which will be noted further on, the Konnûr record makes the following statements. It asserts that, by the favour of Amôghavarsha I., he received and ruled "the thirty-thousand villages of which Vanavâsî is the foremost." It further indicates that Baṅkêśa had been employed in some operations against the Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakâḍ, in reciting that, by the desire of Amôghavarsha I., he had "striven to extirpate that lofty forest of fig-trees — Gaṅgavâḍi, difficult to be cut down." And it claims that Baṅkêśa at once ascended and easily took "that fort named Kêḍaḷa,[46] difficult to be scaled on account of its ramparts, bars, &c.," and that, having occupied that country, he drove away "the hostile lord of Talavanapura," that is, of Taḷakâḍ. And further, in words, placed by the record in the mouth of Amôghavarsha I. himself, which deserve to be reproduced in full, from Professor Kielhorn's appreciative translation of them,[47] it recites that "with a lion's spring having "crossed the Kâvêrî, most difficult to be passed on account of its heavy floods, ... he "shook the mighty dominion of him even who was able to shake the world. On that occasion, "when through internal dissension a disturbance had arisen near me, then, at the mere word "of me that he should return, — having made a vow that if, before his arrival, I, the Vallabha "lord, should defeat the enemies, he would as an ascetic completely resign the world, or if by "chance the fortune of victory should fall to the enemies, he would enter into the flames of a "roaring fire, — he arrived near me after a few days. Having said that also he certainly "would enter into fire if, within three months, by defeating the enemies he could not make "his master drink milk (*to allay his anger or mental distress*),[48] — after my son, whose hosts "were consumed by the flames of the blazing fire of his impetuous bravery, blackened by the

[45] In line 58 of the record, the metre marks the vowel of the second syllable of this form of his name as the long *ê*.

[46] Prof. Kielhorn has suggested (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 28) that this may be a place, shewn in the map in Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, as 'Khedapura (*Kaidala*),' which in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 60, N. E. (1895), is shewn as 'Kaidala,' three and a half miles south-south-west from Tumkûr, the head-quarters of the Tumkûr district in Mysore. The position is suitable enough. And from Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. II. p. 185, we learn that the village contains the ruins of two fine temples, and "appears to have been formerly the capital of a state." But we are told, in the same place, that the former name of it is said to have been 'Krîḍapura,' and that, though the present name is Kaidaḷa, which is explained as meaning "the restored hand" in connection with a legend about Jakkaṇâchârya, the name appears as 'Kaydâḷa' in records of A. D. 1150. And there is nothing in the map to indicate that the village is, or has been, a fortified place. The identification is, thus, not certain.

[47] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 36, verses 27 to 31, and 34.

[48] "According to the writers on medicine, milk is a remedy not only for bodily disease, but also for mental disorder."

"smoke and thus hidden himself had escaped, perchance sent away by the rest, — he completely "defeated the princes who remained, and, victorious, made captive and slew the adversaries, "and thus fulfilled his promise." . . . . And so, "like a Brâhman, having sacrificed the "enemy at the sacrifice of battle, where the fire of his valour shone the brighter for the many "oblations of streams of melted butter — the blood of his opponents, he has secured from me, "**Vîranârâyaṇa**, this edict which to the world's end proclaims him a hero, resulting from his "expiatory rite — the destruction of my foes, and acquired by the efficiency of his spell — the "restoration of my fortune." And finally it recites that, "at the request of this my dear servant **Baṅkêya**," Amôghavarsha I. granted a village named Taleyûra, in the Majjantiya seventy *bhukti*, to a Jain ascetic named Dêvêndra, who had been appointed to take care of a Jain sanctuary founded by **Baṅkêya** at Koḷanûra-Konnûr, and to whom **Baṅkêya** had given the temple.

The record says that this grant, made by **Amôghavarsha I.** at the request of **Baṅkêya**, was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon *tithi* of the month Âśvayuja of the Vikrama *saṁvatsora*, which was the Śaka year 782 expired, and was "the eighty-third current year." And Professor Kielhorn has shewn that the corresponding English date is the 3rd October, **A. D. 860**, when there was an eclipse of the moon, visible in India.[49] And thus the record presents a date which not only is a true one for Amôghavarsha I., falling well within the limits of his reign, but also is correct in respect of its details. But we know enough, now, about Hindû dates, to be quite well aware that, neither does a date which is incorrect in respect of its details prove that a record is spurious, nor does a correctly recorded date prove that the record in which it is put forward is genuine, or that the matter recited in connection with it is authentic. And we know, as has already been said, that some of the statements made about the Râshṭrakûṭas themselves in this Konnûr record, are not correct. Still, the assertions made in respect of Baṅkêya and his family and achievements, ring genuinely. We know of nothing opposed to them. And we have a certain amount of confirmation of them, in the mention of Baṅkêya, in the Niḍagundi inscription, as the governor of a very large territory under Amôghavarsha I., and with a date with which the date put forward in the Konnûr inscription is quite compatible. And we may, therefore, accept them provisionally, as probably authentic. And we may, to the same extent, accept the indication, given by the Konnûr inscription, that there was **a rebellion against Amôghavarsha I.** by one of his sons. Whether, however, that son was Kṛishṇa II., his successor, or another, we cannot at present decide.

The Niḍagundi inscription mentions a son of Baṅkêya named **Kundaṭṭe**, who at that time was governing the group of villages known as the **Niḍugundage twelve**. We do not know, as yet, anything further about this person. But he may perhaps be the son of Baṅkêya who is mentioned as Chelladhvaja in the literary passage referred to in the next paragraph.

Of **Baṅkêya** we have another mention, and a quite authentic and reliable one, in the *praśasti* of the *Uttarapurâṇa* of the Jain writer Guṇabhadra, in connection with which reference may be made to the text given by Dr. Bhandarkar in his *Report on Sanskṛit Manuscripts for 1883-84*, p. 429, verses 32 to 37. The *praśasti* tells us that the *Purâṇa* was completed on a certain date in the Piṅgala *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 820 (current), corresponding, as determined by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit,[50] to the 23rd June, A. D. 897. And it adds the information that the king Akâlavarsha, that is Kṛishṇa II., was then reigning, and that a certain Lôkâditya, of the **Mukula kula**, was then enjoying the whole of the Vanavâsa province (*dêśa*), which had happily been for a long time free from troubles. It further mentions Lôkâditya as Chellapatâka, which may be taken either as meaning "having the *chella*-banner," or as a secondary personal name, and as being a younger brother of a person whom it calls Chelladhvaja and a son of a person whom it calls Chellakêtana.[51] It describes Lôkâditya as enjoying the Vanavâsa province, — tat-pitṛi-nija-nâma-kṛitê khyâtê Baṁkâpurê purêshv=adhikê, — "at the famous town

[49] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 26. [50] See Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on Sanskṛit Manuscripts for 1883*, p. 430.
[51] See the extract given on page 226 below.

of Baṅkâpura, superior among towns, which had been made by his father by his own name," that is, which had been named by his father after himself, and perhaps had also been founded by his father. And we thus recognise that Lôkâditya's father, the **Chellakêtana** of the *praśasti*, had the name of **Baṅka**, and was the **Baṅkêya** of the Niḍagundi inscription, and the **Baṅkêśa-Baṅkêya** of the Konnûr inscription.

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the *praśasti* of the *Uttarapurâṇa* gives for Baṅkêya's son **Lôkâditya**, otherwise called **Chellapatâka**, a date in June, **A. D. 897**, when, under **Akâlavarsha**, that is **Kṛishṇa II.**, he was governing the **Banavâsi province** at the town of **Baṅkâpura**, which is the well-known **Baṅkâpur** in the tâluka of the same name, of which, however, the head-quarters town is now Shiggaon, in the Dhârwâr district. And there are the following records, plainly to be attributed to Lôkâditya, which I quote from ink-impressions. Two fragmentary and undated inscriptions at Sâbnûr, in the Baṅkâpur tâluka, refer themselves to the time when **Kannaradêva**, that is **Kṛishṇa II.**, was reigning, and **Lôkayya** was governing the **Banavâsi twelve-thousand.** And another undated inscription at the same place, mentioning him by another form of his name, refers itself to the time when, during the reign of **that same king, Lôkaṭe**[52] was governing the **Banavâsi twelve-thousand.** An inscription at Kuṇimaḷḷihaḷḷi, in the same tâluka, refers itself to the time when **Kannaravallaha**, that is **Kṛishṇa II.**, was reigning, and the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* **Lôkaṭe** was governing the **Banavâsi twelve-thousand**, and puts forward a date in the month Jyaishṭha, Śaka-Saṁvat 818 (expired), falling in **A. D. 896.** Among other points, however, this record places the word *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* in such a position that it ought strictly to apply to Kannaravallaha, rather than to Lôkaṭe, and connects with the Śaka year a *saṁvatsara* the name of which it presents in the unmeaning form of Bânu.[53] And it is, therefore, not certain that the record is genuine, or even that the date is authentic.[54]

An inscription which is at either Kuḷênûr or Kanakâpur, in the Karajgi tâluka, and which also I quote from an ink-impression, refers itself to the time when **Akâlavarsha**, that is **Kṛishṇa II.**, was reigning, and a certain **Râjâti**, that is **Râjâditya**, was governing the **Banavâsi nâḍ**, and presents the date of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 829 (expired), = **A. D. 907-908**, without any further details. Whether, however, this Râjâti-Râjâditya was a member of the Mukula or Chellakêtana family, is not yet known.

After this, we have a **second Baṅkêya**, belonging most probably to the Mukula or Chellakêtana family. At Bisanhaḷḷi, in the Baṅkâpur tâluka, there was obtained a stone inscription, now stored in the kachêri at Shiggaon, which supplies the following information.[55] The record refers itself to the time when **Nityavarsha**, that is **Indra III.**, was reigning, and, — tat-pâ[da]padm-ôpajîvi samadhigatapaṁcha[mahâśabda]-mahâsâma[ntaṁ Chella]kêta[naṁ] [about thirty *aksharas* illegible or doubtful] śrîmat Baṁkêy-arasa[r=Bbanavâ]si-maṇḍala-mûvatti[r]-

[52] I have previously given this form of the name as Lôkade; see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 411, note 3. In the ink-impressions of the records there mentioned, the third syllable is not very clear. But, in the ink-impression of this Sâbnûr inscription, it is quite distinctly *ṭe*, with the lingual *ṭ*.

[53] Śaka-Saṁvat 818 current was the Râkshasa *saṁvatsara*; and Ś.-S. 818 expired was the Anala *saṁvatsara*. The Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara* was Ś.-S. 784 or 843 expired; and the Svabhânu *saṁvatsara* was Ś.-S. 785 or 844 expired.

[54] At Âḍûr, in the Hângal tâluka, there is an inscription which is dated on Sômavâra, coupled with the fourteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of the Raktâkshin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 826 (expired), corresponding to Monday, 2nd April, A. D. 904, on which day the *tithi* ended at about 3 hrs. 28 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). The record refers itself to the time when Akâlavarsha, that is Kṛishṇa II., was reigning, and when a *Mahâsâmanta*, whom it describes as *Chellapatâ-vaṁs-ôdbhava*, — read *Chellapatâka-vaṁś-ôdbhava*, — was governing (the) Banavâsi (province). The genuineness of this record, also, is not quite certain. And, whereas I have previously read the name of the *Mahâsâmanta* as Lôkadeyarasa (see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 411, note 3), in the ink-impression before me it looks more like Peṁkuṭeyarasa.

[55] The original has suffered a good deal of damage. And a better ink-impression might be made, than the one from which I quote. However, in the ink-impression which I have, the details that I give can be read quite distinctly and unmistakably; except, of course, the *aksharas* which I place in square brackets.

ch[châ]siramuman=â!utt-ire, — "while his feudatory, the *Mahâsamanta* who has attained the *pañchamahâśabda*, he who has the **[chella]kêta[na]-banner**, ... , the illustrious **Baṅkêyarasa,** is governing the **[Banavâ]si thirty-two-thousand province."** And it is dated.— Saka-bhûpâḷa-[kâ]ḷ-âkrânta-saṁvatsara-śataṁgaḷ=eṇṭu nûṟa nâlvatt-ondaneya . . . . . . saṁvatsar-âutarggata-Mâgha-su(śu)ddha-pâḍivamum = Âdityavâramu[m =uttarâya]ṇa-saṁkrântiy-andu,—"(*on*) the first day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Mâgha in the . . . . . . *saṁvatsara* which is the eight hundred and forty-first (*year of*) the centuries of years gone by from the time (or of the era) of the Saka king (or kings), and (*on*) Sunday, at the time of the [winter] solstice." The date of this record is not altogether satisfactory. In the first place, the name of the *saṁvatsara* is hopelessly illegible in the ink-impression, and probably in the original also. And, in the second place, the winter solstice is erroneously connected, or the celebration of it is apparently erroneously connected, with a day in the bright fortnight of Mâgha. Other instances, however, might be cited, of dates which connect the winter solstice with impossible days and months. And, for the rest, the details work out satisfactorily. Thus, with the Saka year 841 current, the winter solstice, as represented by the Makarasaṁkrânti or entrance of the sun into Capricornus, occurred at 3 hrs. 28 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Wednesday, 23rd December, A. D. 918, and the *tithi* Mâgha śukla 1 began at about 1 hr. 46 min. on Tuesday, 5th January, A. D. 919, and cannot be connected with the Sunday at all. But, with the Saka year 841 expired, the winter solstice occurred at 9 hrs. 40 min. on Thursday, 23rd December, and Mâgha śukla 1 ended at about 7 hrs. 39 min. on **Sunday, 26th December, A. D. 919.** There remains the point that this result overlaps, by no less than a year, the date put forward for Gôvinda IV., son and successor of Indra III., in the Daṇḍâpur inscription.[56] That record refers itself to the reign of Prabhûtavarsha-(Gôvinda IV.). It is dated "when the year eight hundred and forty (*of*) the times of the Sakas was coming to an end, while (*the saṁvatsara*) which is publicly known by the name Pramâthin was current, at the time of the *saṁkramaṇa* when the sun comes to Makara, on a *tithi* of the month Pausha which came coincidently (*with that event*)." And that date was the 23rd December, A. D. 918, in the Pramâthin *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 840 expired. On the other hand, the characters, engraving, and language of the Bisanhaḷḷi inscription mark it as a thoroughly genuine record; and the Daṇḍâpur record omits to specify the exact *tithi* and the week-day of the solstice mentioned in it. And I entertain no doubt that the Bisanhaḷḷi record puts forward a genuine and authentic date, in **December, A. D. 919,** for **Indra III.** and the **Baṅkêya** who was his feudatory, and that the probable explanation of the Daṇḍâpur date, is, that that record was drawn up some appreciable time after the grants registered in it, and that it puts forward in connection with Gôvinda III. an erroneous date which must now be rejected. In the ink-impression of the Bisanhaḷḷi record, in the word [*chella*]*kêta*[*naṁ*], while the syllables *kêta* are quite certain, the remaining syllables are very faint, and, for that reason, I can only say that **this Baṅkêya most probably belonged to the Mukula or Chellakêtana family;** I cannot assert the point for certain. As regards the province which he was ruling, the syllable *si* is quite distinct and unmistakable before the word *maṇḍala*; any reference to the well-known Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand would be quite out of place in a record belonging to the Baṅkâpur tâluka; and the name can only be restored as **Banavâsi,** though the first three syllables are quite illegible in the ink-impression. This record thus refers to **the Banavâsi province as a thirty-two-thousand province.** And, in very a similar way, the Konnûr inscription speaks of it, — curiously enough, also in connection with the name of a Baṅkêya, — as a **thirty-thousand province.** But we know, from a large number of records, that **the Banavâsi province was properly a twelve-thousand province.** There are, however, various records which appear to treat the Sântaḷige thousand, the Pânuṁgal five-hundred, and other districts, as parts of "the Banavâsi country." And it must be some custom of that kind which accounts for the appellations put forward in the Konnûr and Bisanhaḷḷi records; though

[56] Vol. XII. above, p. 223; and see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 177, note 7.

I cannot at present indicate exactly how the number of thirty-thousand or thirty-two thousand might be made up.

We pick up the Mukula or Chellakêtana family again, for certain, in the time of Krishṇa III. Two inscriptions at Kyâsanûr, in the Hângal tâluka, which again I quote from ink-impressions, refer themselves to the time when **Kannaradêva,** that is **Krishṇa III.,** was reigning, and the *Mahâsâmanta* **Kali-Viṭṭa,** who is expressly described in them as *Chellakêtana-vaṁśôdbhava* or "born in the **race of the Chellakêtanas,"** was governing the **Banavâsi nâḍ,** and put forward the date, without complete details, of the Viśvâvasu *saṁvatsara,* Śaka-Saṁvat 868 (current), = **A. D. 945-46.** This, however, is, for the present, the latest information about the family that is forthcoming. And Kali-Viṭṭa was perhaps the last member of the family who held the Banavâsi province; for, it seems to have passed into the hands of the Mâṭûras at some time about A. D. 960, as indicated in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 172.

As regards **the appellation of this family,** the following remarks may be made. It was originally taken to be Padmâlaya, from what was then understood to be the meaning of the passage in the *Praśasti* of the *Uttarapurâṇa,* when that first came to notice.[57] And, in the same way, Dr. Bhandarkar, also, took it to be Padmâlaya,[58] when he published the *praśasti* in full, and gave us a better reading of the verses in which we are interested. But the name is distinctly given as **Mukuḷa kuḷa** in line 17 of the Konnûr inscription. And, as has been indicated by Professor Kielhorn,[59] it is so presented in also the *praśasti* of the *Uttarapurâṇa.* The text there runs: — Padm-âlaya-Mukula-kula-pravikâsaka-sat-pratâpa-tata-mahasi śrîmati Lôkâdityê pradhvasta-vitata[60]-śatru-saṁtamasê ‖ Chellapatâkê Chelladhvaj-ânujê Chellakêtana-tanûjê, &c. And we can see, now, that, speaking of Chellapatâka-Lôkâditya, younger brother of Chelladhvaja, and son of Chellakêtana, it seeks to describe him as "the illustrious Lôkâditya, who, like the glorious sun of the world, is possessed of an excellent warmth and diffused splendour which causes to expand the cluster of buds, nestling in the water-lily (*blooming in the day-time*), which is **the family of the Mukulas,** sheltering in Fortune, and who has utterly destroyed the widely spread dense darkness which is his enemies." The real appellation of the family was, therefore, "**the family of the Mukulas, or the Mukula family.**" But the Kyâsanûr records, quoted in the preceding paragraph, distinctly shew that, from the name of the banner belonging to it, it came to be also known as "**the race of the Chellakêtanas, or the Chêllakêtana race,**" as which it has on previous occasions been referred to by me.

We have the name of **the banner,** which became the secondary name of the family, in two **forms, chellakêtana** and **sellakêtana.** At first, only the form **chellakêtana** was known; and the explanation was put forward by Mr. K. B. Pathak that it means 'cloth-bannered,'[61] from a supposed connection between the first component, *chella,* and the Sanskrit *chêla,* 'cloth, clothes, garment,' which appears in Kanarese as *sele,* 'cloth.' In line 19 of the Konnûr inscription, however, we have the form **sellakêtana.** In connection with it, Professor Kielhorn has pointed out that we have in Sanskrit *sêla, sella,* in the sense of a 'kind of weapon,' and in Kanarese *salleha, selleha,* as corruptions of the Sanskrit *śalya,* 'a dart, a javelin, a spear tipped with iron, a pike,' &c., and also *śalle, śelle,* as other corruptions of *śalya.*[62] And, in view of the frequent interchange of *ch* and *s* in the Kanarese country, there can be no doubt that we find the real meaning of *chellakêtana* through the form *sellakêtana,* and that the word means, as suggested

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[57] See Vol. XII. above, p. 217*a*.

[58] See his *Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1883-84*, p. 120.

[59] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 28, note 1.

[60] The metre is faulty here. It can be set right by reading *pratata*, which is suggested to me by a comparison of this reading with the *prathita* which is given in Vol. XII. above, p. 217*a*.

[61] See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 223; and, more recently, *id.* Vol. XX. p. 31, note 47 *a*. The mistake seems to be based on the occurrence of the word *vastra* in the *Âdipurâṇa*, 22, 219, in the passage which explains the term *pôlikêtana, pâlidhvaja* (see Vol. XIV. above, p. 104). I am inclined to think that *vastra* there is a corrupt reading for *śastra*.

[62] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 28, note 1.

by him, **'a javelin-banner.'** Professor Kielhorn has already quoted, in the same place, from the Kâpadwaṇaj plates of A. D. 910-11, the proper name **Sellavidyâdhara,** and the corrupt expression. in the verse which presents it and offers to account for it, *selullâlitapâṇitapâṇinâ*, which he has explained as standing for *sella-lâlita-pâṇinâ*, — "Sellavidyâdhara, whose hand is fondled by the javelin." And he has cited, from the Saṅgamnêr plates of A. D. 1000, the *biruda*, applied to the Yâdava prince Bhillama II. of the Sêuṇa country, **Sellaviḍega,** which, I should say, means "he who throws, or wields, the javelin." To this I may add that an inscription of A. D. 1189, at Muttagi in the Bâgewâḍi tâluka, Bijâpur district, describes the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Bhillama as *ahita-râya-urah-sellaṁ*, which may be appropriately rendered by **"a javelin to** (*pierce*) the breasts of hostile kings." It remains to be added that, while the *praśasti* of the *Uttarapurâṇa* certainly presents the words Chelladhvaja and Chellakêtana as proper names, and perhaps also presents Chellapatâka as a second proper name of Lôkâditya, rather than as an adjective qualifying his name, the Konnûr inscription presents the form Sellakêtana in such a way that, though it may certainly be taken as a second name of Baṅkêya, it might also be rendered as an adjective meaning "he who has the *sellakêtana* or javelin-banner." But, in line 4 f. of the Niḍagundi inscription, the word *chellakêtana* is plainly used to denote the banner itself.

AN INDEPENDENT HINDU VIEW OF BUDDHIST CHRONOLOGY.

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SOME Orientalists, from Sir William Jones in the XVIIth century to the late Professor Max Müller, have assumed that the **Sandracottus,** who defeated Seleucus Nicator in about 310 B. C., was the same **Chandragupta,** who, according to the Buddhistic and Jaina chronicles, founded the Maurya dynasty in 163 A. B. and 155 A. V. (380 and 372 B. C.). But since this assumption **involves a difficulty of about 66 years,** they have, — I should say rather arbitrarily, — reduced the date of the Buddha's Parinirvâṇa (death) from 543 to 477 B. C. Other Orientalists, however, do not agree with them ; — each arriving at results, varying with all others. Thus Professor Westergaard says 368; Professor Kern, 380 ; Professor Rhys Davids, 412 ; Mr. A. F. Carter, 483 B. C. And so a sea of confusion has been created by the rejection of the simple and traditional era of Sâkya Siṁha. I was therefore bewildered, and met with a great deal of difficulty in arranging and reconciling the historical facts I gathered, while writing the final *Report* on my excavations on the sites of the ancient Pâṭaliputra in 1897-98.

This difficulty induced me to study on my own lines and to find out for myself who really was the Sandracottus of the Greeks. First I checked the Buddhistic chronology of Burmah with that of Ceylon, — and the dynastic with that of the patriarchs; — and then again I compared these with the Jaina dates of the three kings, Nanda, Chandragupta, and Samprâti, and the Jaina patriarchs. In this way, I found a remarkable agreement between all of them. Taking for granted the year 543 B. C. as the starting date of the Parinirvâṇa, I noted 214 A. B. (*Anno Buddhaœ*) from the Southern (Singhalese), and 234 from the Northern (Tibetan) source,[1] as the year when Bindusâra died, and Aśôka usurped the throne of Pâtaliputra. Since this difference of 20 years is explained away by noting the fact that the Northern Buddhists calculate from Buddha's *Nirvâṇa* and not *Parinirvaṇa*, which occurred 20 or rather 21 years afterwards, I came to know that there is **no actual difference between the Northern and the Southern dates as regards the death of the Buddha.**

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[1] Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 133.

The Date of the Buddha.

Before I discuss in detail the period of **Aśôka the Great, whom I identify with the Grecian Sandracottus, the date of Gautama Buddha** himself needs to be looked to afresh. Bishop Bigandet, in his Life of Buddha from the Burmese sources,[2] records the following dates of Sâkya Simha in an era, which was commenced by "Anjana, king of Dewaha," on Sunday, New Moon, in the month of Tabaung (March), when 8640 years known as Kaudza[3] had expired: —

(1) **Conception** on the full moon of July-August,—Uttarathôn in 67 Anjana Era,[4] *i.e.*, 30th night of the month of Uttarashara, which is the 15th day of the 5th Chinese month, according to the Mahâsthâvira School.[5]

(2) **Birth,** — in 68 (48 — Tibetan). Friday, Withaka, waxing moon of May,[6] *i.e*, 8th day of the 2nd half of Vaisâkha, which corresponds with the 8th day of the 3rd month (Chinese).[7]

(3) **Great Renunciation,** in 97 A. E., Monday, full moon of July, Uttarathôn.[8]

(4) **Attainment of Buddhahood,** 103 A. E., Wednesday, full moon of Katsôn (Wîthâkâ).

(5) **Nirvâṇa** (127 A. E. = 563 B. C.[9]).

(6) **Parinirvâṇa** (death), 148 A. E., Tuesday, full moon of Katsôn. *I. e.*, the Parinirvâṇa, according to general tradition, occurred on 15th of the 2nd half of Vaisâkha = 15th of 3rd month with us. But the Sarvastavâdins say, the 8th of the 2nd half of Kârtika = 8th of the 9th month with us. Different Schools calculate variously from the date of Buddha; some say 1200 years and more; others, 1300 and more; others, 1500 and more; others more than 900, but less than 1000 years have passed.[10]

From the era "**Anno Buddhæ,**" now current in Ceylon, Burmah and Siam, we find that 1898 A. D. corresponds with 2441 A. B., which shows that the Buddhists of the Southern School calculated the Parinirvâṇa Era from B. C. 543. **The Tibetans** possess certain dates, as 564 B. C. for the Nirvâṇa and 543 for the Parinirvâṇa, which were erroneously quoted by Ksoma Korosi as 576 and 546, and which strengthen the initial date of the sacred era of the Southern sect. Besides these, two dates in the *Kaliyuga, viz.*, 2544 and 2565 according to the *Sauramana* (solar calculation), have been found for the two events, abovementioned in the Tibetan Scriptures. Now, since a solar year (*Saurmana*) consists of 365 days, 15 *gha.*, 31 *vi.*, and a *Bṛihaspatya-mana* (Jupiter's year) of 361 days, 11 *gha.*, which appears to have been current in Mâgadha, the difference of six years is easily explained away by the excess of the solar year of 4 days, 4 *gha.*, 31 *vi.*; that is to say, Buddha attained Nirvâṇa in 2550, and Parinirvâṇa in 2571 Bṛihaspatya, or ordinary Kaliyuga, which two figures, in the Christian era, are easily converted to B. C. 564 and 543.

The repetition of the several chronological statements in the different chapters of the **Dîpavaṁsa** and **Mahâvaṁsa,** the two well-known Singhalese chronicles, — which betray little differences, — prove that they are traditional records, compiled from various sources, and hence support one another. From them I have compiled **three chronological lists,** shown below,

[2] *Life and Legend of Gaudama*, Vol. II. pp. 71-73. [3] Bigandet's *Gaudama*, Vol. I. p. 13.

[4] Month Aisala = Ashâra. Uttarathôn. — S. Hardy. 15th Sukla Paksha, Pûshya constellation; *Lalita Vistâra.*

[5] The other schools fix it on 23rd day of the month, which is the 8th of the 5th Chinese month.—Beal's *Western World*, Vol. II. p. 15, and *Life*, p. 95.

[6] Tuesday, full moon, Wesak, Nakat Wisa.— S. Hardy.

[7] The Sthâviras say 15th of the 2nd half of the same month, corresponding with the 15th of the 3rd month with the Chinese. — Beal's *Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 24.

[8] Full moon, Aisala, Uttarasala. — S. Hardy. Pushya constellation; *Lalita Vistâra.*

[9] *Five Years of Theosophy.* [10] Beal's *Western World*, Vol. II. p. 33.

in which all the dates given by the chronicles are entered for easy comparison and reference, so that their value may at once be seen : —

Mâgadha Kings.

		Singhalese.	Burmese.	Tibetan.	Jaina, A. V.	Duration of reign.	Accession in B. C.
1	Ajâtaśatru	8 B. B.	8 B. B.	......	......	33	551
2	Udayabhadra	25 A. B.	25 A. B.	27 A. B.	......	16	519
3	Anuruddha	40 "	40 "	......	......	— 8	503
	Munda at Pataliputra...	......	49 "	......	......	......	......
4	Nâgadâsa	48 A. B.	53 ? "	......	......	— 10—24?	490
	Interregnum.						
5	Sisunâga (Nanda) ...	72 A. B.	63 A. B.	63 A. B.	......	— 10	480
6	Kâlâsôka	90 "	81 "	......	60 A. V.	— 28	463
	Vaisâli Council ...	......	102 "	110 A. B.	......	......	441
7	His ten sons	118 A. B.	109 "	......	......	— 33	434
	— Ârya Convention ...	......	137 "	137 A. B.	......	......	......
8	Ugrasêna and eight brothers	......	142 "	......	......	— 22	......
9	Chandragupta	163 A. B.	163 "	......	155 A. V.	24	380
10	Vindusâra	187 "	187 "	......	......	27	356
11	Aśôka	214 or 218	214 or 218	234 A. B.	......	37	329—5
12	Samprâti	255	255	......	235 A. V.	......	292

Sthâviras.

Thera.	Ordination.			Death.		Patriarchate.
	In A. B.	Mâgadha regnal year.	Ceylon regnal year.	In A. B.	Regnal year.	
Upâli ...	...	......	......	30	Udayabhadra 6	30
Dâsaka ...	16	Ajâtaśatru—24	Vijaya —16.	80	Sisunâga — 8	50
Sounaka ...	58	Nâgadâsa —10	Pandurâja 20.	124	Nanda 6 (9).	44
Siggava ...	100	Kâlâśôka —10 and ½ month.	Interregnum 11½.	176	Chandragupta 14.	52 (55)
Tissa ...	164	Chandragupta 2	Pakunda 58.	244	Aśôka —26.	68
Mahindra...	224	Aśôka — 6.	......	284	Uttiya of Ceylon 6.	40
						284 (287)

The Ceylon Dynasty (Râjávali).

	A. B.	B. C.	Reign.
Vijaya	1	543	38
Upatissa...	37	505	1
Panduvasa	38	504	30
Abhaya	...	474	20
Interregnum	89	454	17
Pandukabbaya	106	437	57
Ganatissa	...	380	13
Mutasiva	...	367	60
Devanu-piya-Tissa, 17½ of Asôka's reign	238	307	40
Uttiya	...	278	267

List of Sthâviras (Vinaya Chiefs).

	Years.		B. C.
Upâli	1	=	543
Dâsaka	30	=	513
Saunaka	80	=	513
Siggava	124	=	419
Tissa	176	=	367
Mahêndra	244	=	299
Dies in 8th year of Uttiya's reign	284	=	259

It will thus be seen, that there is a remarkable agreement between all the lists shown above. The slight differences in the list of Mâgadha kings, between the Singhalese and the Burmese records, as also that of the Jainas, prove beyond the possibility of any doubt, that the true date must be a mean between the varying ones. According to the Singhalese records Sisunâga ascended the throne in 72 A. B.; but according to the Tibetan and Burmese authorities, the date was 63 A. B., which appears to be correct, that is, 480 B. C. According to the Jainas, Nanda usurped the throne in 60 A. V., equivalent to 467 B. C., which shows that this Nanda was the Buddhistic Kâlâśôka, who succeeded his father in 463 B. C., a difference of only 4 years. According to the Buddhists, Chandragupta usurped the Magâdha throne in 163 A. B. = 380 B. C.; and according to the Jainas, in 155 A. V. = 527 — 155 = 372 B. C., a difference of only 8 years. According to the Lhamas of Tibet, Aśôka usurped the throne in 234 Nirvâṇa Era (not Parinirvâṇa), from which deducting 20, we get 214 A. B. (329 B. C.), the year, when Bindusâra, his father, died, according to the testimony of the southern Buddhists. Aśôka's coronation was held in 218 A. B. = 325 B. C.; and after a reign of 37 years, died in 292 B. C., when his grandson Samprâti (Sambâdi, Tibetan) ascended the throne. According to the Jainas, Samprâti ascended the throne in 235 A. V. = (527 — 235) = 292 B. C., showing no difference between the two dates. The slight differences in the other cases show that they were not derived from one source, and hence prove, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the true dates must be very close to the traditional ones. And so **one cannot throw forward Aśôka, Chandragupta, and Buddha by about 66 years.**

The Parinirvâṇa-date of Buddha in B. C. 543 is proved also by the synchronism of Mahâvîra, the 24th Tîrthaṁkara of the Jainas, who was contemporary with him. And both flourished during the reigns of Bimbisâra-Srênika and Ajâtaśatru-Kunika. Now Mahâvîra died in 527 B. C., which date is arrived at by the Eras of Vikramâditya and Sâlivâhana, the Saṁvat and Śâka, which, according to the Svêtâmvaras and Digamvaras, the two chief sects of the Jainas, respectively commenced from 470 and 605 A. V. (*Anno Vîra*); that is to say, after the death of Mahâvîra. I assume as usual that the *Saṁvat* commenced in B. C. 57, and the *Sâka* in 78 A. D.; and so 470 + 57 and 605 — 78 yield B. C. 527, as the date of the death of *Mahâvîra.*

Asôka I., the Nanda.

Owing to some misconception, most scholars have been led to the denial of two **Asôkas,**— one of the *Nanda*, and the other of the *Maurya*, Dynasty. The Asôka, better known as *Kâlâsôka*, the black Asôka, whose spiritual guide was Upagupta, and who held the Vaisâli Council in about 100 A. B., under Ratha, cannot be the same person, who was crowned in A. B. 218, and who convened the third Buddhistic Council at Pâtaliputra in 235, under Tissa Mogaliputra, the patriarch, whose date is given from 176 to 244 A. B. **Asôka** is expressly said to be the son of Sisunâga, who was elected king of Mâgadha by the nobles of Pâtaliputra, and was called the immediate predecessor of the Nandas.[11] This ancient chronicle records, that in the 11th year of Kâlâsôka's reign, and in the 12th of the interregnum of Ceylon, Saunaka, the third patriarch of the Buddhistic church, was 40 years old after his initiation as priest, when Siggava received *upasampadâ* (ordination). Now, calculating from 16 A. B., the 24th of Ajâtasatru's reign, when Dâsaka was initiated into the order, who, in his turn, initiated Saunaka in his 45th year, we get 16 + 44 + 40, the number of years elapsed after the *upasampadâ* of the latter, = 100 A. B., which was the 11th of Kâlâsôka's reign. Again, adding up the number of reigns of the Ceylon kings up to the 11th year of the interregnum, we get 38 + 1 + 30 + 20 + 11 = 100 years. And calculating the Mâgadha reigns from the 8th of Ajâtasatru, we get 24 + 16 + 8 + 24 + 18 + 10 = 100 years after the death of the Buddha, when the Vaisâli Council was held.[12]

Chandragupta, the Maurya.

The next important point to determine is the **date of Chandragupta,** the founder of the Maurya dynasty. Of him four independent dates are known: (1) the Brahmanical; the *Purânas* state that he ascended the throne of Mâgadha 100 years after the accession of the first Nanda. (2) the Jaina;—from their chronicles we find that he exterminated the Nanda dynasty 155 years after the death of Mahâvîra, which happened in 527 B. C. (3) Bhadravâhu (156 — 170 A. V. = 371 B. C.) was Chandragupta's Guru, and the 8th Sûri patriarch of the Jaina church, whose disciple and successor, Sthulabhadra (170 — 219 A. V. = 357 — 308 B. C.), was the son of Sâkatâla. Sâkatâla was the minister of the ninth Nanda (Dhana Nanda); an important synchronism, which has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars. These facts fix the inauguration of Chandragupta's reign in about 372 B. C. (4) From the Buddhistic sources we learn that in 163 A. B. (380 B. C.) Chandragupta acceded to the throne of Pâtaliputra. There is here a difference of only 8 years (380 *minus* 372 B. C.), a matter of no importance, which, instead of invalidating, rather strengthens the finding that the truth appears to lie between the two dates. But since the dates of the Mâgadha kings are given consecutively in the Buddhistic chronicles, and but fragmentarily in the Jaina, 380 B. C. appears to be the more reliable date for Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty.

In the *Dipavamsa*,[13] it will be observed that the 2nd year of Chandragupta's reign was the 58th of Pakundaka's of Ceylon, when Tissa, the son of Môgali, was initiated by Siggava in the 64th year after the latter's *upasampadâ*. The same fact is repeated on the very next page, so that there is no doubt as to any clerical or traditional mistake, — especially so, when it is added that Siggava, the Sthâvira, the head of the Buddhistic church, died in the 14th year of Chandragupta's reign, when he was 76 years old, that is, 12 years after Tissa's *upasampadâ*. Calculating as in the case of Asôka I., by referring to the Tables, we find that the 2nd year of Chandragupta was 164 A. B. = (24 + 16 + 8 + 24 + 18 + 28 + 22 + 22 + 2 Mâgadha regnal dates) = (38 + 1 + 30 + 20 + 17 + 58 Ceylon regnal dates) = (16 + 44 + 40 + 64 patriarchal years of Vinaya Chiefship). Thus **the year 163 A. B. as the year of the accession of the founder of the Maurya dynasty** to the throne of Pâtaliputra is established beyond the possibility of a doubt, which cannot on any theory be reduced.

[11] See Chap. V., *Dîpavamsa*. [12] See the Chronological Tables given above. [13] Trans. by Prof. Oldenberg, p. 143.

From these independent and very closely concurrent testimonies of the Brâhmaṇas, the Bauddhas, and the Jainas, the date of Chandragupta is thus conclusively and without doubt found to be **60 years before 320 or 315 B. C.**, to which latter date European scholars try to reduce it arbitrarily and without sufficient reason, from a so-called Greek synchronism, as recorded by Justin, Strabo, and other Greek authors, who, quoting the fragmentary and somewhat fabulous accounts of Megasthenes, record of Sandracyptus or Sandracottus as once visiting Alexander the Great in his camp, and then defeating Seleucus Nicator in about 310 B. C., and expelling the Greeks from the Punjab, which Chandragupta is never proved to have visited.

Aśôka II. — The Maurya, the Sandracottus of the Greeks.

That the age of Aśôka II. cannot be reduced by about 66 years is evident from the several dates, recorded in the different chronicles of the Jainas, the Brâhmaṇas, and the Bauddhas of the southern and northern schools. The Jainas record in the *Pariśishṭha-parvan*, that Samprâti, the disciple of Suhastin (219 — 265 A. V. = 308 — 262 B. C.), ascended the throne of Pâtaliputra in 235 A. V., that is, 292 B. C., when Aśôka Srî died. Adding 37 years to 292 B. C., we get 329 B. C., exactly the year when Aśôka usurped the throne. For the *Dîpavaṁsa* records that Aśôka was crowned in 218 A. B., four years after his father died, that is, in 325 B. C. The Tibetans also say[14] that Aśôka ascended the throne in 234 A. B. Nirvâṇa era, not Parinirvâṇa. Deducting 20 years from it, we get 214, precisely the date when Vindusâra died. According to the Buddhists, the period between the accession of Bimbisâra and the end of Aśôka's reign was really 311 years, not 375, as Professor Duncker calculates. Professor Duncker notes, in his *History of Antiquity*, that according to the Buddhists, the interval between Bimbisâra's accession and Aśôka's death was 375 years; while according to the *Vâyu Purâṇa* it was 378 years, a difference of only 3 years. Bimbisâra ascended the throne in 603 B. C., 15 years before the attainment of Buddhahood by Siddhârtha at Uravilva, near Gayâ, in 103 Anjana Era = 588 B. C., and Aśôka died at the age of 82 in 251 A. B., that is, 292 B. C. The interval therefore amounts to exactly 311 years.

In 236 A. B., Devanupiya Tissa was crowned king of Ceylon, when Aśôka was reigning in his 18th year, after 58 years of the reign of Mutaśiva, who became king in the 14th year of Chandragupta. These figures are further checked by the statement that Mahindra received initiation from Tissa Môgaliputra, then 66 years old from his *upasaṁpadâ*, and in the 6th year of Aśôka's reign, and in the 48th of Mutaśiva's. Calculating by adding up the reigns of the Mâgadha and Ceylon kings, and the duration of the patriarchate, in the way I did before in the cases of Kâlâśôka and Chandragupta, we find that the 6th year of Aśôka's reign was 224 A. B. by the chronological equation of 63 of the Patricide dynasty + 100 of the Nandas + 61 of Mauryas = 224 of the Mâgadha kings; = 106 up to end of the interregnum + 118 down to 48th year of Mutaśiva = 224 of the Ceylon kings; = 16 + 44 + 39 + 60 + 65 = 224 *upasaṁpadâ*, duration of the Sthâviras.[15] It will thus be seen that these chronological equations check one another; and the date of Aśôka's coronation was 218 A. B. is therefore established beyond the possibility of a doubt.

In the face of the facts and figures, above mentioned, there cannot be any doubt that **Aśôka ascended the throne between 329 and 325 B. C.** He cannot therefore be pushed forward by 66 or 70 years on the assumption that Sandracottus was Chandragupta, the first Maurya emperor; and because Priyadarsi is said to have mentioned, in a few inscriptions, the so-called five contemporary kings of Greece. I doubt that the inscriptions, in which the Yôna Kings are mentioned, were ever published by Aśôka II. They were most probably issued by

[14] See Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, chapter on the "History of Bod-yul."

[15] See Chronological Tables above.

Samprâti, his grandson, who, becoming the patron of the Jaina church, followed the example of his grandfather, by issuing the rock-edicts.

Now since the Grecian Sandracottus synchronizes with Aśôka, who was once deputed by Bindusâra to Taxila to quell a rebellion, we can safely identify him with the latter. For Chandragupta, literally the moon-protected, appears to be a title, just like the one we have in the Gupta dynasty. The *Râjâvali-Kathê* records that Kunâla, Aśôka's son, had the title of Chandragupta; and in the Tibetan tradition we find that several kings of the Maurya dynasty had this surname.

I need not enter into the controversy of the so-called identity of Priyadarsi of the pillar and rock-edicts with Aśôka in this brief paper. But I may remark that there are great differences in the incidents in the lives of the two kings. Firstly, why should not the author of the edicts proclaim them in his well-known name of Aśôka, which is not found in even one instance? The first (*Upâsaka*) conversion of king Priyadarsi occurred in the 9th year after his coronation; while in the case of Aśôka, it was in his fourth regnal year. Priyadarsi undertook his *dharma-yâtrâ* to the Mâgadha Samgha (religious assembly), being his second conversion, in the 11th year of his reign; while Aśôka received Mogaliputra and held the Third Buddhistic Council in his 17th regnal year, and altogether retired from the world and became an ascetic in the 35th year, two years before he died. Aśôka appears as a Buddhist; while Priyadarsi was equally respectful towards the Sarmaṇas and the Brâhmaṇas. No Orientalist has yet proved that Priyadarsi was a proper name and not a title, monopolized by the Maurya emperor Aśôka alone. I need not go further into details, but conclude with stating my strong conviction that the Pillar-edicts belonged to Aśôka, and the Rock-edicts to Samprâti, who was contemporary with the five Yôna Kings, of the then divided Greek empire.

TIBETAN AFFINITIES OF THE LICHCHHAVIS.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.).

ALL students of ancient Indian history are familiar with the name of the Lichchhavis, the ruling tribe or clan in the Vṛijji country, of which Vaisâli was the capital. Several facts indicate a close connection between Tibet and the Lichchhavis, and give probability to the theory that the Lichchhavis were really a Tibetan tribe which settled in the plains during prehistoric times.

According to one tradition the first Tibetan monarch was descended from Prasênajit, king of Kosala, the contemporary and friend of Gautama Buddha. According to another form of the legend, the Śâkya race, to which the Buddha belonged, was divided into three branches, represented respectively by Śâkyamuni, or Gautama Buddha, Śâkya the Lichchhavi, and Śâkya the mountaineer — Śâkya the Lichchhavi being the progenitor of the Tibetan kings. But, as Mr. Rockhill (*The Life of the Buddha*, p. 203) points out, legends of this kind have little value.

Much more significant are the undoubted similarities between the customs of the Tibetans and those of the Lichchhavis, which are recorded in the important matters of sepulture and judicial procedure.

The horrible custom of exposing the dead to be devoured by wild animals was common to Vaisâli and Tibet. When the Bodhisattva (Gautama) was at Vaisâli, he is related to have observed a cemetery under a clump of trees and to have questioned the Ṛishis, who explained:—

"In that place the corpses of men are exposed to be devoured by the birds; and there also they collect and pile up the white bones of dead persons, as you perceive; they burn corpses there also, and preserve the bones in heaps. They hang dead bodies also from the trees;

there are others buried there, such as have been slain or put to death by their relatives, dreading lest they should come to life again; whilst others are left there upon the ground, that they may return, if possible, to their former homes."[1] Whatever obscurity may exist in this passage, it certainly proves a belief that **the ancient inhabitants of Vaisâli disposed of their dead sometimes by exposure, sometimes by cremation, and sometimes by burial.** The tradition is supported by the discoveries made at prehistoric cemeteries in other parts of India which disclose very various methods of disposing of the dead. **The corpses hung to the trees** may have been so treated for the purpose of desiccation, and subsequent dismemberment.

The practice of exposure of the dead seems to have extended beyond the Lichchhavi country and to have **survived in Magadha as late as A. D. 400.** Fâ-hien says that at Râjagriha, near the old city, "north of the vihâra two or three *le* there was the Smasânam, which name means in Chinese, 'the field of graves into which the dead are thrown.' The contemptuous phrase can hardly refer to ordinary burial."[2]

The prevalence of the practice of **exposure of the dead in Tibet** is well known according to Balfour's summary of travellers' accounts (Cyclop. *s. v.* Tibet). "In Tibet, where the dead are not burned or buried, but are exposed on high places to be devoured by vultures . . . the bodies of the wealthy are carefully disposed of; they are carried in a litter to the top of a hill set apart for the purpose, the flesh cut in pieces, the skull and bones pounded in a mortar; and when all is ready a smoke is raised to attract the vultures, who collect in thousands to eat it up.

"The **sovereign Lamas** are, however, deposited entire in shrines prepared for their remains, which are ever afterwards regarded as sacred, and visited with religious awe. The bodies of the **inferior Lamas** are usually burned, and their ashes preserved in little metallic idols, to which places are assigned in their sacred cabinets. **Ordinary persons are** treated with less ceremony: some are carried to lofty eminences, where they are left to be devoured by ravens, kites, and other carnivorous animals. But they also have places surrounded by walls where the dead are placed."

The last statement seems to refer to an enclosure like the *śmasânam* at Rajâgriha.

It will be observed that **in Tibet, as at Vaisâli, cremation, burial, and exposure are all practised.** Similarly, the Mongols are said to dispose of their dead in all these three ways.

Mr. Rockhill (*J. R. A. S.* 1891, p. 231) gives further interesting particulars of the repulsive Tibetan customs:— "*Funerals.*—When a death occurs in Tibet, the corpse is tied up with ropes, the face being put between the knees and the hands stuck behind the legs. The body is wrapped in the every-day clothes of the deceased and put in a raw hide bag. The men and women, having lamented in common over their loss, **suspend the corpse by means of ropes from the rafters**[3] . . . . A few days later on the corpse is carried to the corpse-cutters' place, when it is tied to a post, and the flesh cut off and given to dogs to eat. This is called a 'terrestrial burial.' The bones are crushed in a stone mortar, mixed with meal and parched grain, made into balls, and also given to the dogs or thrown to vultures, and this latter mode of disposing of them is called 'a celestial burial.' Both these methods are considered highly desirable . . . . . . **The poor dead** are buried in the water, the corpse being simply thrown in it. This is not an esteemed mode of burial. The bodies of **lamas** are burnt and cairns (*obo or dobong*) erected over their remains."

But in the case of **specially holy Lamas** the body, after the flesh has dried upon the bones, is wrapped in silk and deposited in a mausoleum. **At Lhasa dead bodies are thrown in a grove** called the 'Cold Forest,' which recalls the *chîtâvana* of Buddhist books.

So far as I know, the Tibetan practices do not survive in any part of India at the present day, except perhaps in remote Himalayan regions.

[1] Beal, *The Romantic History of Buddha*, p. 159.

[2] Legge, *The Travels of Fâ-hien*, p. 84.

[3] Compare the corpses hung on trees at Râjagriha.

Judicial procedure in Tibet and Vaisâli offers a still more striking parallel.

The ancient judicial system of Vaisâli is expounded in the Aṭṭhakathā or commentary ascribed to Buddhaghosha on the Mahâparinirvâṇa Sûtra, or 'Book of the Great Decease,' which was summarized by Turnour in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1838. **The modern Tibetan practice is explained by Babu Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E.,** in his article on 'Tibetan Jails and Criminal Punishments' in the Proceedings of the same Society for 1894, p. 5. I think that the reader who peruses both accounts will agree with me that **the ancient procedure at Vaisâli is substantially identical with the modern procedure at Lhasa.**

The Aṭṭhakathā premises that the description of the administration of justice at Vaisâli refers to ancient times. The rulers, it said, when an accused person is brought before them, do not dispose of the case at once, but send it to the *Winichchhiya mahâmattâ*, who examine the accused, and, if they find him innocent, release him. If they decide that he has committed an offence, they abstain from awarding a penalty and make over the accused to the *Wohârikâ* (persons learned in law and custom), who are authorized to discharge him, if they consider him innocent. The prisoner, if found guilty by the *Wohârikâ*, is transferred to the *Sattadharâ*, who make further enquiry, and are empowered to discharge the prisoner, if they are satisfied of his freedom from guilt. If, however, they consider him guilty, they pass him on to the *Aṭṭhakúlaka*, 'the eight castes or tribes.' This tribunal, if satisfied of his guilt, passes the prisoner on to the *Sênapati*, or chief minister, who hands him over to the *Uparâja*, or Vicegerent, who makes him over to the Râja. The final determination of the prisoner's guilt or innocence rests with the Râja, who is bound to determine the penalty according to rules laid down in the code, or *Pawênipitthakân*.

The stages in this complicated procedure are eight in number, namely:—

(1) Arrest and production of prisoner before the 'rulers';
(2) Enquiry by the *Winichchhiya mahâmattâ*;
(3) Do. do. *Wohârikâ*:
(4) Do. do. *Sattadharâ*;
(5) Do. do. *Aṭṭhakûlakâ*;
(6) Production before the *Sênapati*;
(7) Do. do. *Uparâja*;
(8) Final judgment by the Râja, who is bound to follow fixed written rules in awarding the penalty.

The stages in the Tibetan procedure, as described by Babu Sarat Chandra Das, are exactly similar:—

(1) The accused person is arrested, and sent to the lock-up;
(2) He is watched, treated kindly, and mildly interrogated;
(3) He is subjected to a mild but minute interrogation called *Jamti*, and his answers are noted down;
(4) He is examined more strictly and whipped at intervals; this is called *Tshan-di*;
(5) If he makes any kind of confession, true or false, he is subjected to further prolonged examination, repeated whippings, and cruel tortures of various kinds;
(6) If the case is serious, and the Government becomes a party, he is taken to the Kalons, or Ministers' Court;
(7) This Court suggests to the *Gyal-tshab* (Regent), which is the highest Court of the country, that one of the three punishments mentioned in the decision may be approved of;
(8) The sentence may be mitigated, commuted, or revised by the Dalai Lama only. The Regent has no power to do more than select one of the three punishments suggested by the Court of the Ministers.

It is impossible not to perceive the very close resemblance between this procedure and the ancient judicial system of Vaisâli, and it is difficult to believe that the two systems have not a common origin.

Further information about the Tibetan criminal law will be found in Mr. Rockhill's excellent article on "Tibet from Chinese Sources" (*J. R. A. S.*, 1891, pp. 216-218).

A CHINESE A'SÔKA.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.).

IN the first Minor Rock Edict, of which versions, more or less complete, exist at Rûpnâth, Sahasrâm, Bairât, and Siddâpura, Aśôka says:—

"For more than two years and a half I was a lay-disciple without exerting myself strenuously. A period of six years, or rather more than six years, has elapsed since I joined the Order, and have strenuously exerted myself, and during this time the men who were, all over India, regarded as true, have been, with their gods, shown to be untrue."[1]

When recently discussing this passage (*Aśôka*, p. 19) the only parallel to the monk-emperor which I could cite was that of the Jain prince, Kumârapâla Chaulukya, mentioned by Bühler. But I have since learned of the existence of a much more closely parallel case in China.

In his charming work on *Chinese Literature*,[2] Professor Giles writes (p. 133):—

"The original name of a striking character who, in A. D. 502, placed himself upon the throne as first Emperor of the Liang dynasty, was Hsiao Yen.

"He was a devout Buddhist, living upon priestly fare and taking only one meal a day; and on two occasions, in 527 and 529, he actually adopted the priestly garb. He also wrote a Buddhist ritual in ten books. Interpreting the Buddhist commandment 'Thou shalt not kill,' in its strictest sense, he caused the sacrificial victims to be made of dough.

"The following short poem is from his pen:

'Trees grow, not alike, by the mound and the moat;
Birds sing in the forest with varying note;
Of the fish in the river some dive and some float.
The mountains rise high and the waters sink low,
But the why and the wherefore we never can know.'"

Some scholars have felt a difficulty in believing that a reigning emperor could become a monk without abdicating his temporal power. With reference to the imperfectly parallel case of Kumârapâla, I argued that, like him, Aśôka probably "undertook vows of imperfect and limited obligation. It is also possible that he once, or several times, adopted the practices of a Buddhist mendicant friar for a few days at a time, during which periods of retreat his ministers would have administered the kingdom. The Buddhist ceremony of ordination (*upasampadâ*) does not convey indelible orders, or involve a life-long vow. Both in Burma and Ceylon men commonly enter the Order temporarily, and after a time resume civil life. Aśôka could have done the same, and a proceeding which is easy for an ordinary man is doubly easy for an emperor. A formal compliance with the rules requiring the monk to beg his bread could have been arranged for without difficulty within the precincts of the palace."

The Chinese case, in which the actual facts are recorded, establishes the validity of these observations, and should finally remove the doubts of the most sceptical concerning the propriety of the literal interpretation of Aśôka's distinct and categorical statement that he joined the Order.

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[1] From the Brahmagiri-Siddâpura text, ed. Bühler, in *E. I.*, Vol. III. p. 141. The words *saṁghe upayîte* can only mean 'joined the Order.'

[2] Heinemann, 1901.

MISCELLANEA.

DIVALI-FOLKLORE.

BY B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S.

HOLIDAYS in all countries have their folklore, and the Dîvâlî of India is no exception. The greater the number of folktales, the higher the stage of development in the society, and the greater the interest we find attached to the evolution of the festivities. In the case of the Hindu Dîvâlî, I have been able to collect the following half dozen different folk notions :—

I.

Vishṇu, says a priestly Brâhmaṇ, apportioned four chief holidays between the four *varṇas* or castes. The Brâhmaṇs of the alms-receiving class have to observe the *râkhî-pûrṇama*, or the full-moon day of the month of Śrâvaṇ, and to collect money by tying the well-known *râksha* or protecting charm to the wrists of their masters; and every employer will testify that they have not neglected this opportunity! To the Kshatriya or warrior caste Vishṇu gave the Dasahra holiday, to the Vaisyas or trader caste, the Dîvâlî, when they are expected to worship goddess Lakshmî who presides over wealth, and to the Sûdras or servile class, Phâlgun or Hôlî, the filthy and indecent rowdyism of the last month of the Hindu Calendar.

II.

The second idea claims Dîvâlî as the day on which Râjâ Bali was deprived of his empire on earth. In Mahârâshṭra, women prepare effigies of Bali, either in rice-flour or cow-dung according to grade, worship them and repeat the blessing "May all evils disappear, and Râjâ Bali's Empire be restored [इडा पिडा जावो, आणि बळीचें राज्य येवो.]" There is no such worship in Bengal.

III.

It is believed that Vishṇu killed Narkâsur or the giant of filth on the 14th day of the second Aśvin. On this day, all Hindus bathe very early before sun-rise after anointing their bodies with many perfumed unguents and oils. There are two baths taken, one after the other, just as is done on the death of a near relation. After the first bath, a lamp made of rice-flour and an oval piece of the same stuff called *mutkê* are waved round each male by some girl or married woman, and the fruit of the cucurbitous plant, *chirat*, is placed in front of him. He then crushes the fruit under his left foot, extinguishes the lamp with the toe of his left leg, and takes the second bath. He wears a new dress and partakes, with his friends and relations, of the numerous dainties prepared for the occasion. This, it is said, is in celebration of the victory of Vishṇu over the giant.

IV.

The fourth explanation is but a variation of Lakshmî-worship, in which the Bengalis bring home clay figures of their dreadful Kâlî and worship it in the place of the charming consort of Vishṇu, represented by heaps of Rupees placed in trays. They say that Kâlî is Lakshmî (Goddess of Wealth), is Saraswatî (Goddess of Learning), and the procreative female power as well!

V.

The fifth idea has a historical basis. It is that King Vikramâditya of Ujjain, a scion of the Gupta race, was crowned on this day, the 16th of Aśvin, and counted his era accordingly. This is thus a new year's day.

VI.

It is asserted that after his return from Lankha, Râma was crowned on this day!

Taking, however, into consideration the season or the time of the year, one is led to suspect that the primitive origin of Dîvâlî has connection with the movement of the earth round the sun. That luminary passes the *tula*, the *libra* or the 'balance,' about this time and marks the beginning of the second half of its course. 'He' is then seen going farhter and farther from the Northern hemisphere, the nights become longer in proportion, snow begins to fall on the peaks of the Mêru or Himâlaya mountains. At this time the desire to wish him (the sun) speedily return to enliven the North is natural and is possibly expressed in the vernacular quotation given above. The sign of the zodiac, *libra* or balance, may have influenced belief in the weighing of the harvest-products followed by "counting" the cash realized. Hence the joy felt by the Baniâs.

We have thus (1) the desire to see the sun return to the land of the Aryans, and (2) the destruction of the giant of filth or farm-yard and other manure-heap, which have to be removed or taken away from the house, heaped together, worshipped, topped by a burning lamp and offered a coin. This is done before the early

bath is taken and has possibly some connection with the sowing of wheat, gram, and oil seeds. The crushing of the cucurbitous fruit and the extinguishing of the lamp waved round the face of the bather, perhaps, indicate the death not only of the giant of filth or manure, but that of the first season,—producing rice. It is said that this Narkâsur (night-soil giant) was born of the goddess, Earth! So he (filth) always is!

The third stage of evolution may be perceived in the fact that the *bhâdvî* crop is sold about this time, and the ubiquitous Baniâ has reason to be proud of the wealth it brings to his coffers. He therefore worships Lakshmî, or his accumulations heaped in trays.

Râma's accession is a Puranic embellishment of the natural religion, and the **Kâli-pûja** is an innovation of the Aryans, who have systematically been cheating the non-Aryan races of the East of India, in spite of their admission[1] into the sacred religion, in order to counteract the numerical strength of the Buddhists. Aryan Brâhmaṇs took the assistance of the non-Aryans when needed, but carefully kept them on the lower rung of the ladder by thrusting down their throats such irregular beliefs. They thus preserved a distinct line of demarcation and sank the 'converted' Bengalis deeper in their follies about the worship of their local non-Aryan hideous deities.

In Bengal, it is likewise believed that the **night of the pitris** (ancestors) begins at this time, and that the lamps are lighted on the tops of poles to serve as a guide to these benighted souls. The *shrâdhas*, or offerings to ancestors, are also performed on this day, the 30th or dark night of Âśvin. It is this fact of the ancestors' souls being overtaken by a night, which extends over six months, that gives life in Bengal to a great feast on their account, to serve them for half the year.

The latest stage of the evolution need not surprise any one. It was quite possible to have selected for the celebration of Vikramâditya's coronation a day hallowed by the sacred memory of a similar grand ceremony ascribed to Râma, whose glorious career has been the ever-enchanting and ever-inspiring theme of all Hindu poets.

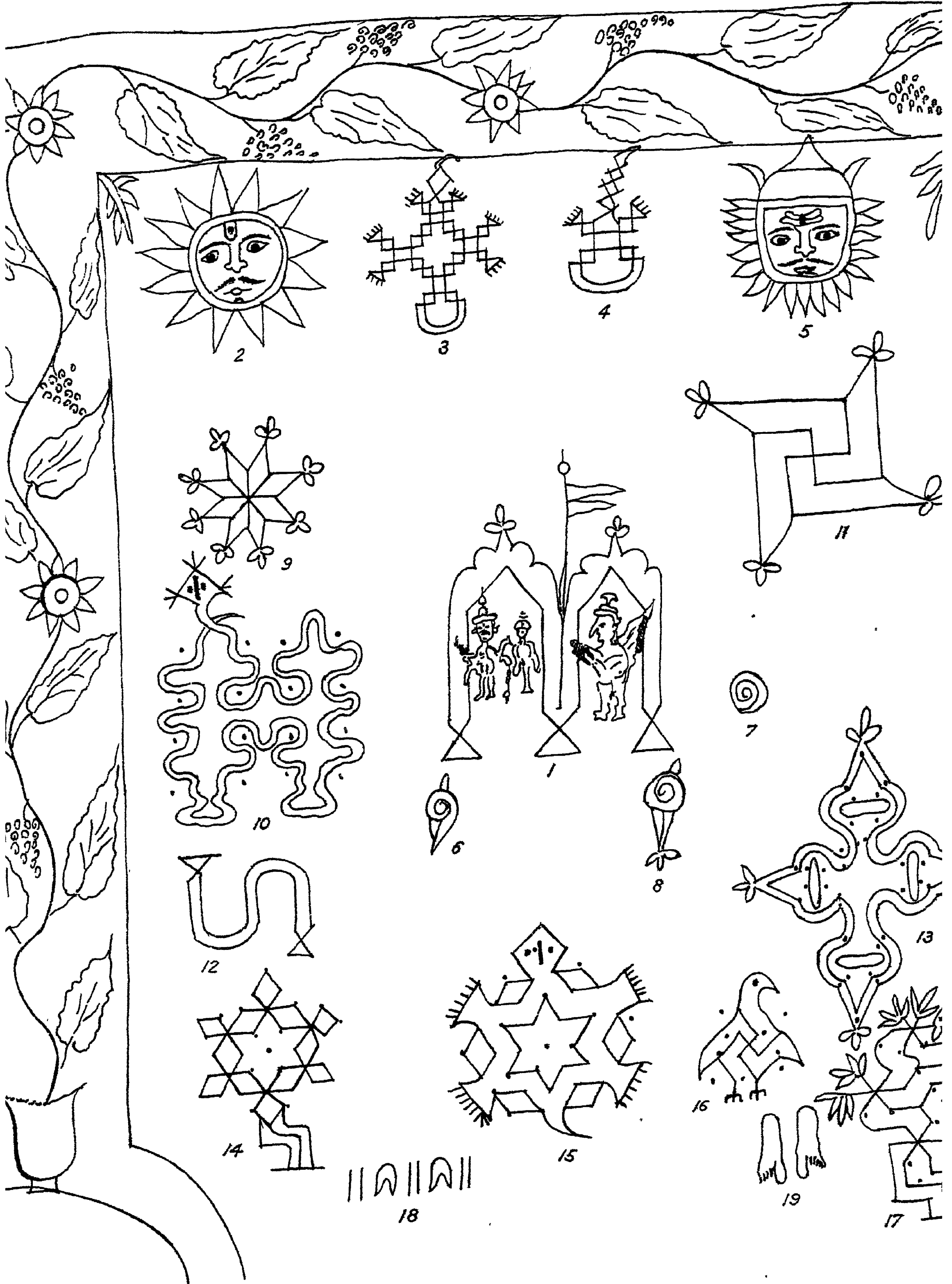
I solicit the attention of ethnographists to the chief points I have thus been able to disclose out of the multiplicity of accounts of the origin of the Dîvâlî, *viz.*, the change of the season; (2) the death of the rice-crop harvest; (3) the time of manuring the soil for the second crop; (4) the sun reaching Libra, the seventh sign of the Zodiac; (5) the coronation of Rama; (6) the selection of this coronation-day for the conventional coronation and era-making day of Vikramâditya, the last of the Guptas: — and I invite further details with comments. Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* gives the legend of a king who was visited by his fate in the form of a snake that saved him from death by forging the figure '70' in the place of the '0' found in Yama's account-books, but as the lamps are not kept burning all the night, and as nobody keeps up all the night, corroborative evidence is wanting. The return of the spirit of the dead king sounds like the story of Vatasâvitṛî, whose husband, Satyavân, was restored to life at the devoted worship of his proverbially chaste wife.

As a help to the elucidation of this interesting subject I add a note on **some peculiarities of the Dîvâlî Worship.** There are many interesting details in this worship which are likely to reveal peculiar phases in the social strata of the Hindu society. For instance, the **Chândrasênî Prabhus of Bombay** mould their effigies of **Bali Râjâ** out of cooked flour, while **the Mâlîs**, or gardeners, **of Indôr**, who are Sûdras, use cow-dung. In the houses of the former, the figure of the king and that of his consort are mounted on horseback, followed by a mounted minister, and saluted by four footmen, who stand like a guard of honour in a row. The whole scene is placed in a silver or brass tray, while the Sûdras mould a figure on the bare floor lying flat with its face upwards. The former draw from the 8th day of the second half of Âśvin to Dîvâlî, a set of symbols in rice-flour on the floor of their compounds or verandahs and in front of the main entrance, *vide* Plate drawn by my wife, specially in the native women's style. She has, however, reproduced only those designs, neglecting the conventional border, which are considered absolutely necessary, omitting the more elaborate and complicated ones.

The central temple (1) is ascribed to Lakshmî-Nârâyan. In this compound name, the precedence given to the Goddess over her husband may be noted. Besides the usual (2) sun, (5) the moon, (3 and 4) the hanging lamps, (6) the *shank* shell, (8) the mace, (9) the lotus, (7) the wheel, (11) the *svastika*, (10) the *shêsha* or thousand-

[1] *Vide* Adisur's mention of five "Kulin Brâhmaṇs sent out from Kanauj" (in Ballâl Sen's *Charitras*) to convert Bengal to Hinduism.

DIVALI DRAWINGS.



No Scale.

Mrs. R. A. Gupte, Del.

hooded cobra, and (18) the cow's footprints, there are (16) sparrows, (17) the mango, (14) the bael (wood-apple) tree (*Ægle marmelos*), and (19) the footprints of Lakshmî.

The presence of sparrows at harvest time, the position of the threshing floor usually near a shady tree, and the incoming realizations of the sale-proceeds (wealth) as expressed by the footprints, are significant. This is, perhaps, the most primitive origin of the festival, subsequently elaborated as society advanced and wants increased.

The second part of the temple contains the usual figure of Garuḍa and (15) the turtle is an accessory of the structure placed just below the bells. No. 12 is called *âṭhavindâ* (आठविंदा) and No. 13 *pâṭhavindâ* (पाठविंदा), but I do not quite understand what they mean. The first may mean "reminder" from *âtnav*, to remember, and the second "sender off," from *pâthav*, to despatch. Some interest attaches to these symbols, because they are considered necessary in this group, and may signify the "reception" of the new season and the "bidding good-bye" to the old one.

In further explanation of the Plate, I would add that it is purposely drawn in native women's fashion without correction, to show how the subject is habitually represented. It is not intended to be a specimen of art. The red dots have a meaning and show the process of production. Women always put down a number of such dots and then join them together. The three figures in the niches of the temple are, (1) Vishṇu with four hands holding a *śankh, chakra, gadâ and padmâ*, (2) Lakshmî with her arms at her side and her hands pointing downwards, (3) Garuḍa facing them with folded hands.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

HINDUSTANI IN THE XVIITH CENTURY.

With reference to Dr. Grierson's article on the Bibliography of Western Hindi (*ante*, p. 17), the following notes from T. B., *Asia*, etc., 1669-1679 (*vide*, *ante*, p. 25), may be of use as indicating the extent to which the various tongues of India were ordinarily recognised by Europeans in the 17th Century.

T. B. (now identified with Thomas Bowrey, for my previous identification with Thomas Bateman must be given up) makes the following remarks in his MS.:—

Fol. 18. — "The Gentues accompt themselves a very antient people, as really they are, and that which they often boast of is, they alter not theire Religion from the beginings . . . Their Languadge is certainly altered since those days, for I have Seen in many of theire Pagods on the greatest Marble Stones thereof, Especially in the Pagod of Armagon, severall lines Engraven in the Marble which they doe acknowledge none in this Generation (or many before) can read, and as yet they have a large Chronologie kept in most Pagods that differ little from the Characters now Extant in their owne languadge . . . ."

Fol. 19. — "There is another Sort of these Idolaters who are accompted to be of a higher Cast (then the Gentues be), these are called Banjans . . . . theire laws only differing in Some points . . . . and theire Languadge farre more different."

Fol. 26. — "The Mallabars that reside on this Coast (Choromandel) . . . . doth much vary both in customs of Idolatry, Languadge, and what else . . . "

Fol. 35. — "Metchlipatam. Soe called from the Hindostan ore Moors Languadge, (the) word Metchli signifieinge fish, and patam or Patanam a towne."

Fol. 41. — "The ffackeere Sat without the Street dore, callinge us all Kings and brave fellows, . . . Singeinge to that purpose in the Hindostan Languadge."

Fol. 54. — "The Alcoron . . . . is written in Arabique Rhime . . . . nor is it admitted to be written or read in any Other Languadge, but in it's Original tonge, Arabicke, and in the Persian languadge for its antiquities sake, which is now become the Court languadge in the Courts of the greatest Emperors and Kings of Asia."

In addition to the above remarks, T. B. quotes from Bernier, whose travels were then a new and famous book (first French Eds., 1670, 1671: first English Eds., 1671, 1672) and especially the passage about the defeat of Dara Shikoh by Aurangzeb (1658), then quite a fresh tale, which is to be found at p. 53 of Constable's Ed. of Bernier (1891). In this passage there occur the courtly expressions *Mohbarek-bad Hazaret Salamet*

Elhamd-ulellah (*sic*), which are translated in the English Ed. of Constable, following the old 1671-2 English Edition, by "May you be happy! May your Majesty enjoy health and reign in safety! Praise be to Allah, the victory is your own." The French Ed. of 1699 (Amsterdam), Vol. I., p. 76, runs thus: — "(Calil-ullah-kan) luy cria de toute sa force Mohbarek-bad, le bien vous soit, Hazaret, Salamet, que vostre Majesté demeure saine & sauve, elle a remporté la victoire Elhamd-ulellah."

There must have been many persons in the mid 17th Century who had a good working knowledge of the Hindostani or Moors of the day. Bernier (1656-1668) and Tavernier (1640-1668) both evidently knew the language, and T. B. (1669-1679), who was a then famous master-mariner, had a colloquial knowledge of it. About the learned Fryer's actual knowledge of it (1672-1681) I am not so certain.

Men like Job Charnock and the numerous Englishmen recorded as "married to mestices" must have known it intimately.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE GADYACHINTÂMANI OF VÂDÎBHASIṀHA. By T. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI and S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI. Madras, 1902. (*Sarasvativilâsa Series*, No. 1.)

THIS is the *editio princeps* of a romance in Sanskrit prose, which resembles in style the *Kâdambarî* of Bâṇa. The first of the two editors is favourably known to students of Sanskrit literature by his valuable article on Râmabhadra-Dîkshita and his contemporaries (printed in the *Kâvyamâlâ* as a preface to the *Patañjalicharita*). He is one of the small band of native scholars who combine a Paṇḍit's erudition with a keen appreciation of modern Oriental research.

Oḍayadêva, surnamed Vâdîbhasiṁha, the author of the *Gadyachintâmaṇi*, was a Southern Digambara and the pupil of Pushpasêna. He also composed a poem entitled *Kshatrachûḍâmaṇi*, the beginning of which was printed at Bangalore a few years ago in an — unfortunately extinct — magazine of Jaina works. Both the *Gadyachintâmaṇi* and the *Kshatrachûḍâmani* have for their subject the legend of Jîvaka or Jîvaṁdhara and seem to be based on the *Jîvaṁdharapurâṇa*. The same legend has been treated in two other works — the *Jîvaṁdharachampû* of Harichandra and the Tamil poem *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*.

The *Gadyachintâmaṇi* is divided into eleven *lambas*. The first *lamba* relates that king Satyaṁdhara of Râjapurî in Hêmâṅgada lost his life and kingdom through the treachery of his minister Kâshṭhâṅgâra. Following the example of the *Kâdambarî*, the author devotes 2⅔ pages to the description of Hêmângada, 4 pages to that of Râjapurî, 1½ pages to that of Satyaṁdhara, and 2¼ pages to that of his queen Vijayâ. The pregnant queen escaped on a sort of flying-machine which had the shape of a peacock, and gave birth in a cemetery to prince Jîva or Jîvaṁdhara, who was adopted by a merchant named Gandhôtkaṭa and, as the second *lamba* narrates, educated by Âryanandyâchârya. In the meantime the usurper Kâshṭhâṅgâra despatched an army against robbers who had carried away cattle. As this army was repulsed, Nandagôpa, the owner of the cattle, proclaimed publicly that he would give his daughter Gôvindâ in marriage to the recoverer of the cattle. Prince Jîvaka accomplished this feat and received, as promised, Nandagôpa's daughter, whom he made over to his companion Padmamukha. In the third *lamba* we are told that a merchant of Râjapurî, named Śrîdatta, was shipwrecked on an island and thence carried away on a flying camel by a man who turned out to be Dhara, the minister of the Vidyâdhara king Garuḍavêga of Nityâlôka. This king possessed a daughter Gandharvadattâ, at whose birth it had been foretold that she would become the wife of a prince at Râjapurî. Thither the king sent his daughter on a *vimâna* along with Śrîdatta, who gave her out for his own daughter and had it proclaimed that she would be given in marriage to any one who surpassed her in playing the *vinâ*. As will be expected, prince Jîvaṁdhara succeeded in this competition, and the fair Gandharvadattâ chose him for her husband from the midst of all royal suitors. Here ends the third *lamba*.

The above hasty notes will, I hope, induce others to peruse the interesting Sanskrit work which has been made accessible through the disinterested labours of Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri and his collaborator. It may be added that the text of the *Gadyachintâmaṇi* is based on six MSS. and is edited and printed in a most scholarly manner. The rules of division of words and of interpunctuation are as carefully observed as in the standard European editions of Sanskrit books — a point which adds greatly to the usefulness of the new work and recommends it for adoption as a text-book for University examinations. Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri is now editing another unpublished prose work, the *Vîranârâyaṇacharita* of Vâmanabhaṭṭabâṇa.

E. HULTZSCH.

Camp, 2nd February, 1903.

THE EARLY PUBLICATIONS OF THE SERAMPORE MISSIONARIES.

(A Contribution to Indian Bibliography.)

BY G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S.

THE Missionary Carey landed in India on the 11th November 1793. His first translation of the Scriptures was into Bengali, the printing of the New Testament being completed on the 7th February, 1801. Between that year and the year 1832 more than two hundred and twelve thousand volumes in forty different languages issued from the Serampore press. For these languages types were designed and cut for the first time, ranging from moveable metal types for Chinese, to types in the Śâradâ character for Kâśmîrî. Not only were there published translations of the Scriptures, but also texts, grammars, and translations in various languages.

The Missionaries issued during this period ten memoirs, each giving an account of their translation work up to date. These are now very rare, and as the dates of the various publications have often been wrongly quoted, I give the following abstract of the contents of each. I have to acknowledge the assistance kindly given to me by Mr. Crayden Edmunds of the British and Foreign Bible Society, by Messrs. Tawney and Blumhardt of the India Office Library, and by the Rev. J. B. Myers of the Baptist Missionary Society.

I first give an abstract of the information afforded by each Memoir, spelling Oriental words in the way in which they are given in each case. I then give a classified list, arranged according to languages, of all the works dealing with Oriental languages which issued from the Serampore press between 1801 and 1832. This has been compiled partly from the Memoirs and partly from other sources.

First Memoir.

No copy of this is available. Neither the Baptist Missionary Society nor the British and Foreign Bible Society possesses a copy. On page 117 of Vol. I. of the *Baptist Magazine* for 1809 there is, however, what appears to be an abstract of its contents. The following is mainly taken from it.

Bengalee. 2000 New Testaments distributed. 1000 copies of the Pentateuch (1802) and Hagiographa (1803) printed. Prophets (printed 1806) and Historical books in the press. *N. B.* — From independent sources we know that the printing of the first edition of the Bengalee N. T. was completed on the 7th February, 1801. It was preceded by the Gospel of S. Matthew, to which were 'annexed some of the most remarkable prophecies in the Old Testament respecting Christ' (500 copies, 1800), which was the first Biblical translation to issue from the press.

Ootkul or Oreeya. Nearly the whole of the N. T. and a part of the O. T. translated. The former in the press.

Telinga (*i. e.*, Telugu). Translation of N. T. in progress.

Kernata. Ditto ditto.

Mahratta. Translation of N. T. nearly finished, and of O. T. in progress. The former is in the press.

Guzzerattee. Translation of N. T. in progress. Printing commenced.

Hindoosthanee. Two versions were found necessary ; in one of which the Books of Job, Psalms, and the Proverbs, and almost all the N. T. wait for revision : and in the other, the Gospel by Matthew is nearly printed.

Seek (*i. e.*, Panjâbî). Translation of N. T. advanced to the Gospel by John.

Sungskrit. The four Gospels printed.

Persian. N. T. and parts of the O. T. translated.

Chinese. Translation of N. T. advanced to the middle of Luke. Printing in this language is found far from being impracticable in Serampore.

Burman. Nearly the whole of Matthew translated. A font of types is now being prepared.

On p. 505 of the same volume of the *Baptist Magazine*, there is a letter from the Serampore Missionary, Ward, dated 12th January, 1809. He says, 'I have been for the last five or six years employed in a work *on the religion and manners of the Hindoos.* It has been my desire to render it the most authentic and complete account that has been given on the subject. I have had the assistance of brother Carey in every proof sheet; and his opinion and mine is in almost every particular the same. You are aware that very pernicious impressions have been made on the public mind by the manner in which many writers on the Hindoo system have treated it. My desire is to counteract these impressions, and to represent things as they are.' This evidently refers to the famous *View of the Hindoos.* The first edition (4 Vols., 4to) was published at Serampore in 1811. The second in 1815 (same place). The third (2 Vols., 8vo) in London, 1817.

A Second Memoir of the state of the Translations in a Letter to the (Baptist Missionary) Society. Dated November, 1809. Describes the work during the two preceding years.

Bengalee. A third (folio) edition of the New Testament is in the press. 100 copies.

Orissa Language. N. T. printed, and nearly the whole of the Psalms. 1000 copies.

Telinga Language. N. T. ready for the press. Translation of Old Testament commenced.

Kernata Language. N. T. translated and ready for revision. O. T. commenced.

Guzerattee N. T. Printing stopped for want of funds.

Mahratta Language. Four Gospels nearly printed off. The entire N. T. and a portion of the O. T. translated.

Hindoost'hanee Language. More than half the N. T. printed. (This is really Hindî.)

Sungskrit. N. T. printed. Printing of O. T. commenced. No. of copies not stated.

Burman. Translation commenced. A neat fount of Burman types has been cut.

In the first Memoir they had reported the completion of founts of type in Bengalee, Nagree, Orissa, and Mahratta characters, beside the fount of Persian type received from England. To these three more have since been added, *viz.*, the Punjabee, the Chinese, and the Burman.

Third Memoir. Dated August 20, 1811.

Bengalee. Up to date, the whole Bible has been printed in that language. Second Edition of Pentateuch in press.

Sungskrit. Pentateuch printed. 600 copies. Historical books in the press.

Orissa Language. In last Memoir N. T. printed. Now two Volumes of the old (the Hagiographa and the Prophetic books) have been added. Historical books in the press.

Hindee. N. T. printed. 1000 copies. First Edition. Pentateuch in the press.

Mahratta Language. N. T. printed. 1000 copies. Pentateuch in the press.

Seek (*i. e.*, Panjâbî) version In the press.

Chinese. Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark printed in a small tentative edition.

Kurnata. Translation of the Pentateuch nearly finished.

Telinga Language. Three Gospels in the press.

Burman. Translation of N. T. progressing.

Maguda, the learned language both of the Burman Empire, and of Ceylon. Translation commenced.

Cashmire Language. Translation of N. T. commenced.

A fount of type in Seek (*i. e.*, Gurmukhî) has been completed.

Fourth Memoir. Dated June, 1812.

This Memoir refers to the fire (on March 11, 1812) at Serampore which had such a disastrous effect on the translations. It contains a tabular statement showing all the work done up to date. From this I take the following new information :—

Sungskrit. O. T. Historical books partly printed. Partly in manuscript.

Chinese. N. T. St. John in the press. Rest printed.

Bengalee. Third Edition of N. T. printed. Second Edition of Pentateuch nearly printed.

Orissa Language. Historical books partly printed.

Hindee. Second Edition of N. T. in the press.

Kurnata. St. Matthew ready for the press.

Assam. N. T. partly translated.

Pushtoo or Affghan. Translation commenced.

Fifth Memoir. Dated 1813.

Sungskrit. Historical books nearly completed.

Hindee. Pentateuch printed. Historical books in the press.

Brij-bhassa. St. Matthew going to press.

Mahratta. Pentateuch printed. Historical books in the press.

Bengalee. Fourth Edition of N. T., five thousand copies, the largest number ever printed, in the press. Second Edition of Pentateuch printed. 1000 copies.

Orissa. Historical books nearly printed.

Telinga. New types cast, the former having been destroyed in the fire. A grammar printed. N. T. gone to press, St. Matthew nearly finished.

Kurnata. N. T. in the press. A grammar ready for the press.

Maldivian. Translation of the Gospels finished. A fount of types in this alphabet, 'which in the name and figure of the letters bears a pretty strong resemblance to the Persian alphabet,' is nearly completed.

Gujurattee. Translation which had been temporarily stopped resumed. Casting of Gujurattee types begun. St. Matthew already printed in Nâgarî types.

Bulochee. St. Matthew in the press. Translation of N. T. advanced to the Acts.

Pushtoo. St. Matthew in the press. Translation of N. T. advanced to Romans.

Punjabee (called in former Memoirs Seek). New types cast, the former ones having been destroyed in the fire. Grammar published. N. T. printed as far as Romans.

Kashmeer Language. A fount of types (in the Sâradâ character) has been prepared. Translation advanced to I. Corinthians. St. Matthew in the press.

Assam. Translation of N. T. nearly completed. Printing advanced to middle of St. Matthew.

Burman. Grammar in the press. Dictionary under preparation by Felix Carey.

Pali or Magudha. Felix Carey is at work on a translation.

Chinese. N. T. completely printed. More than half O. T. translated. New moveable metal Chinese types have been invented and are being prepared.

Tamul. A fount of Tamul types had been prepared, but were destroyed in the fire. Within ten months a new fount was prepared and an edition of 5000 copies of the N. T. prepared for the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society.

Cingalese. A fount of types prepared. A N. T. in the press.

Armenian. A fount of types in preparation.

Malay. A Roman alphabet, with accented letters for this language, in preparation. A reprint of the whole Bible in the Arabic character from the five volumes octavo printed at Batavia, at the expense of the Dutch Government in 1758, has also been undertaken for the Lieutenant-Governor of Java.

Hindoost'hanee. H. Martyn's version in the Persian character has been undertaken for the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Gospels are nearly through the press.

Founts of type in other languages, in reduced sizes, are also being prepared. Attempts are being made to improve the quality of native-made paper, so as to avoid the necessity of importing that article from Europe.

Sixth Memoir. Dated March, 1816.

Orissa Language. Pentateuch printed off. This completes the Bible in this language.

Sungskrit. Historical books completed. Hagiographa in the press. Prophetic books nearly translated.

Hindee. Second Edition of N. T. in circulation. Historical books printed. Hagiographa in the press. Translation of the Prophetic books completed.

Mahratta Language. Historical books nearly printed off. Pentateuch and N. T. have long been in circulation.

Shikh (*i. e.*, Panjâbî). N. T. printed. Pentateuch in the press.

Chinese. Pentateuch in the press. The new moveable metal type, after many experiments, are a complete success. An elementary work entitled *Clavis Sinica* printed. It has as an appendix the text and translation of the *Ta-hyoh*. Morrison's Chinese Grammar nearly printed.

Telinga. N. T. more than half through the press.

Bruj. N. T. printed to near the end of Romans.

Pushtoo or Affghan Language. Three Gospels printed.

Bulochee. The same progress.

Assamese. The same progress.

Kurnata.	Nepal.	In these twelve, the printing of St. Matthew is either finished or nearly so.
Kunkuna.	Ooduypore.	
Mooltanee.	Marawar.	
Sindhee.	Juypore.	
Kashmeer.	Khassee.	
Bikaneer.	Burman.	

This information is followed by the following important statement :—'In our prosecution of it (*i. e.*, our object), we have found, that our ideas relative to the number of languages which spring from the Sungskrit, were far from being accurate. The fact is, that in this point of view, India is to this day almost an unexplored country. That eight or nine languages had sprung from that great philological root, the Sungskrit, we well knew. But we imagined that the Tamul, the Kurnata, the Telinga, the Guzrattee, the Orissa, the Bengalee, the Mahratta, the Punjabee, and the Hindoostanee, comprised nearly all the collateral branches springing from the Sungskrit language; and that all the rest were varieties of the Hindee, and some of them, indeed, little better than jargons scarcely capable of conveying ideas.

'But although we entered on our work with these ideas, we were ultimately constrained to relinquish them. First, one language was found to differ widely from the Hindee in point of termination, then another, and in so great a degree, that the idea of their being dialects of the Hindee seemed scarcely tenable. Yet, while they were found to possess terminations for the nouns and verbs distinct from the Hindee, they were found as complete as the Hindee itself; and we at length perceived, that we might, with as much propriety, term them dialects of the Mahratta or the Bengalee language, as of the Hindee. In fact, we have ascertained, that there are more than twenty languages, composed, it is true, of nearly the same words, and all equally related to the common parent, the Sungskrit, but each possessing a distinct set of terminations, and, therefore, having equal claims to the title of distinct cognate languages. Among these we number the Juypore, the Bruj, the Ooduypore, the Bikaneer, the Mooltanee, the Marawar, the Maguda (or South Bahar), the Sindh, the Mythil, the Wuch, the Kutch, the Harutee, the Koshula, &c., languages, the very names of which have scarcely reached Europe, but which have been recognized as distinct languages, by the natives of India, almost from time immemorial.

'That these languages, though differing from each other only in their terminations and a few of the words they contain, can scarcely be called dialects, will appear, if we reflect, that there is in India no general language current, of which they can be supposed to be dialects. The Sungskrit, the parent of them all, is at present the current language of no country, though spoken by the learned nearly throughout India. It's grammatical apparatus, too, the most copious and complex perhaps on earth, is totally unlike that of any of its various branches. To term them dialects of the Hindee is preposterous, when some of them, in their terminations, approach nearer the Bengalee than the Hindee, while others approximate more nearly to the Mahratta. The fact is, indeed, that the latest and most exact researches have shown, that the Hindee has no country which it can exclusively claim as its own. Being the language of the Musulman courts and camps, it is spoken in those cities and towns which have been formerly, or are now, the seat of Musulman princes ; and in general by those Musulmans who attend on the persons of European gentlemen in almost every part of India. Hence, it is the language of which most Europeans get an idea before any other, and which, indeed, in many instances, terminates their philological researches. These circumstances have led to the supposition, that it is the language of the greater part of Hindoostan ; while the fact is, that it is not always understood among the common people at the distance of only twenty miles from the great towns in which it is spoken. These speak their own vernacular language, in Bengal the Bengalee, and in other countries that which is appropriately the language of the country, which may account for a circumstance well known to those gentlemen who fill the judicial department; namely, that the publishing of the Honourable Company's Regulations in Hindoostanee has been often objected to, on the ground that in that language they would be unintelligible to the bulk of the people in the various provinces of Hindoostan. Had this idea been followed up, it might have led to the knowledge of the fact, that each of these various provinces has a language of it's own, most of them nearly alike in the bulk of their words, but differing so widely in the grammatical terminations, as when spoken, to be scarcely intelligible to their next neighbours.'

The Memoir (which is signed by W. Carey, J. Marshman, and W. Ward) then goes on to give a detailed proof of the foregoing remarks. Thirty-four specimens of thirty-three[1] Indian languages are given. In each case the specimen consists of the conjugated present and past tenses of the verb substantive, and of a version of the Lord's Prayer. Each specimen is taken up separately and, word by word, dissected, in order to show that it is not a specimen of a dialect, but of an independent language. The whole discussion is too long to quote, but it is very interesting reading, especially as it is the first attempt at a systematic survey of the languages of India. In this connexion it is well to remember that its date is 1816, and that its authors were Carey, Marshman, and Ward. The languages compared are follows (I give the original spelling):—Sungskrit, Bengalee, Hindee, Kashmeera, Dogura [*i.e.*, Dôgrâ], Wuch [*i. e.*, Lahndâ], Sindh, Southern Sindh, Kutch, Goojuratee, Kunkuna, Punjabee or Shikh, Bikaneer, Marawar, Juya-poora, Ooduya-poora, Harutee, Maluwa, Bruj, Bundelkhund, Mahratta, Magudha or South Bahar, North Koshala, Mithilee, Nepal, Assam, Orissa or Oot-kul, Telinga, Kurnata, Pushtoo or Affghan, Bulochee, Khassee, Burman.

Seventh Memoir. Dated December 1, 1820.

This is no longer directed to the Baptist Missionary Society, but is an independent publication, issued for the benefit of the public at large.

Sungskrita. Last volume of the O. T. issued two years ago. New edition of the whole Bible of 2000 copies, with 2000 extra of the N. T., under preparation.

Hindee. Last volume of the O. T. issued two years ago. A new translation of the N. T. by John Chamberlain in the press. 2000 copies, in the Dêvanâgarî character, and 3000 in the 'Kyt'hee' character. A fount has been cast of the latter.

Orissa. A second edition of 4000 copies in the press.

Mahratta. The last volume of the O. T. was issued many months ago. Second edition of N. T. in the press.

Bengalee. Sixth edition of N. T. in the press.

Chinese. N. T., Pentateuch, Hagiographa, and Prophetic books are now all printed off. The Historical books are in the press. This will complete the Chinese translation.

Shikh (*i.e.*, Panjâbî). Pentateuch and Historical books printed. Hagiographa in the press.

Pushtoo or Affghan. N. T. printed. Pentateuch in the press.

Telinga, often termed the Teloogoo. N. T. issued two years ago. Pentateuch in the press. When this is finished, no more will be printed in Serampore. The task has been transferred to the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society.

Kunkuna. N. T. completed eighteen months ago. Pentateuch in the press. When this is finished, the work will be transferred to the Bombay Bible Society.

Wuch or Mooltanee (*i. e.*, Lahndâ). N. T. printed off eighteen months ago in its own character. Translation discontinued.

Assam. N. T. printed nearly two years ago. O. T. in the press.

Gujuratee. N. T. printed after thirteen years' labour. No more will be printed. The work has been transferred to the London Missionary Society.

Bikaneer. N. T. printed after seven years' labour.

Kashmeer. N. T. will be issued in a month, after eight years' labour. Printed in its own character.

[1] For the sake of completeness, specimens are also given of Chinese and Batta of Sumatra, making thirty-five languages in all, but these do not come into the argument.

The N. T. is in the press in the following languages :—Kurnata [no more to be printed — to be transferred to the Madras Society], Nepal, Harotee, Marwar, Bhughulkund, Oojein, Jumboo [probably a misprint for 'Jumboo or Dogura'], Kanouj, Khassee, Khoshul, Bhutuneer, Dogura or Palpa [probably 'Dogura' is wrongly inserted here — see Jumboo, above], Magudha, Kumaoon, Gudwal [*i. e.*, Gaṛhwâlî], Muni-poora.

A paper factory has been started. After experiments lasting for twelve years 'paper equally impervious to the worm with English paper, and of a firmer texture, though inferior in colour, is now made of materials the growth of India.'

A coloured map of the languages of India is given (see Ninth Memoir).

Eighth Memoir. Dated December, 1821.

Bengalee. A second and revised edition of the O. T. in the press.

Sungskrita. The second edition is still in the press.

Hindee. The Gospels in Chamberlain's translation issued. Work temporarily stopped owing to Chamberlain falling ill and having to go home.

Orissa. The revised edition of the N. T. nearly finished.

Mahratta. The second edition of the N. T. nearly ready.

Chinese. O. T. will be completed in three months.

Sikh. Hagiographa issued. Prophetic books in the press. This will complete the whole Bible.

Affghan. Pentateuch completed.

Telinga. Pentateuch completed.

Kunkun. Completed.

Assam. O. T. issued.

Kashmere. N. T. issued. O. T. in the press. A new fount of type on a reduced scale has been made.

Nepal. N. T. completed.

Harotee. Ditto.

Marwar. Ditto.

Bhugulkhund. Ditto.

Kanoje. Ditto.

N. T. is still in the press in the following languages :— Kurnata, Oojein, Jumboo, Khassee, Munipoora, Bhutnere, Mugud [Magudha in last Memoir], Palpa, Shreenagore [*i. e.*, Gaṛhwâlî, the Gudwal of the last Memoir] and Kumaoon.

Ninth Memoir. Dated December 31, 1822.

Kurnata. Printing all but finished.

Hindee. The edition of Chamberlain's translation in the 'Kythee' character is half completed. Chamberlain's death is a heavy loss.

Chinese. Printing finished in April 1822.

Pushtoo or Affghan. Historical books begun.

Other versions are being printed, but, owing to the exhausted state of the funds, the progress is slow.

'We beg leave to mention here, that in the Map engraved for the 7th Memoir of the Translations (which is otherwise quite correct), the country in which the Kunkuna is spoken is laid down inaccurately. In a geographical point of view the whole country on the sea coast, from Bombay to Calicut, is called the Kunkuna, but the Kunkuna language is spoken only in that part of it which extends from Goa to Calicut. In all the country west of Goa the Mahratta is spoken.'[2]

Tenth Memoir. Dated July 4, 1832.

This commences by explaining that the delay of ten years in the issue is due to want of funds.

The Magudh, Oojuyeenee, Jumboo, and Bhutneer New Testaments were printed in 1826. Owing to the death of the Kemaoon Pandit, the printing of the N. T. in that language has been stopped at Colossians. The Bruj, Sreenugur, Palpa, Munipore and Khasee N. Ts. have since then been issued.

The following is the progress of versions in the Old Testament :—

Sungskrit. Pentateuch printed five years ago. Second edition of the Historical books is well forward.

Bengalee. Revised edition has been issued, with alterations by Dr. Carey, 'as his knowledge of the present improved state of the Bengalee language rendered desirable.' Also, sixth edition of the N. T., and seventh of the Gospels.

Sikh. But little progress, owing to the death of the pandit.

Assam. Historical books and Hagiographa printed. Prophetical books in the press.

Pushtoo. Pentateuch printed. Historical books in the press.

Kashmeer. Pentateuch printed. Historical books in the press.

Orissa. New edition of the O. T. in the press.

Hindee. A revised translation (by Thompson) of the four Gospels printed.

Burmese. Matthew, John, Hebrews, Epistles of St. John, and Acts printed.

In an Appendix to the Memoir there is given a review of the work of the Mission since its commencement. It is shown that two hundred and twelve thousand volumes in forty different languages, at a cost of over £80,000, had been issued between 1801 and 1832. The list of issues is not very conveniently arranged, and I have therefore compiled the following summary of the results, language by language. I have included other works, besides translations of the Scriptures, which issued from the press during this period, and have corrected several mistakes as to dates of issue, from the volumes themselves. It is as complete as I have been able to make it, and I shall be grateful for additions and corrections : —

List of Works in Oriental languages (principally translations of the Bible or parts thereof) which issued from the Serampore Mission Press between 1800 and 1833.

(Arranged under languages in Alphabetical order.)

Armenian. 1817, The whole Bible printed for the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, from the original Edition published in Venice in 1732, 2000 copies.

Assamese. 1815, Matthew, Mark, Luke. (? No. of copies.)

1819, New Testament, 1000 copies.

1822, Pentateuch, 1000.

1832, Historical Books, 1000. Prophetical Books (in the press), 1000.

1833, Hagiographa and Prophets, 1000 of each.

Two Assamese Tracts. ? Date.

[2] I give this correction, as the same mistake has frequently been made since, even at the present day. — G. A. G.

Awadhî (Dialect of Eastern Hindî. Called Khoshul, &c.). ? 1820, Gospel of St. Matthew. No. of copies, (?) 1000.

Baghêlî (Dialect of Eastern Hindî. Called Bhughulkhund, &c.). 1821, N. T., 1000.

Balôchî (Bulochee). 1815, Three Gospels. No. of copies, (?) 1000.

Bengali (Bengalee). 1800, Matthew, to which were 'annexed some of the most remarkable prophecies in the O. T. respecting Christ,' 500.

1801, New Testament, 1st Edn., 2000.

1802, Pentateuch, 1000.

1803, Psalms, 900. Job to Song of Solomon, 900.

1806, N. T., 2nd Edn., 1500.

1807, Luke, Acts, and Romans, 10000. Prophetic Books, 1000.

1809, Historical Books, 1500.

1811, N. T. (Folio Edn.), 100.

1813, Pentateuch, 1000.

1816, N. T., 5000.

1819, Matthew and Mark (Ellerton's Translation), 1000.

1822, Pentateuch (2nd Edn.), 4000.

1824, Matthew and Mark, 6000.

1825, Pentateuch and Historical Books, 4000.

1828, Matthew, 4000.

1829, Mark, 4000.

1832, O. T. (large 8vo), 3000. N. T. (large 8vo), 2000. Psalms (12mo), 3000. N. T. (8vo) (8th Edn.) (in the press), 5000. N. T. (12mo) (in the press), 1000.

A Grammar of the Bengalee Language, compiled by the Rev. Dr. Carey. 1st Edn., 1801; 2nd, 1805; 4th, 1818; 5th, 1845.

Dialogues (in some editions 'Colloquies') in the Bengalee and English, intended to facilitate the acquisition of the Bengalee Language, compiled by the Rev. Dr. Carey. (Title varies slightly in different editions.) 1st Edn., 1801; 3rd, 1818.

A Dictionary of the Bengalee Language, compiled by the Rev. Dr. Carey. First Edn., Serampore, 1825. In two volumes, but the second volume is in two parts. All Bengali-English.

A Dictionary of the Bengalee Language. In two volumes. The first volume is an abridgment of the preceding dictionary. The second is a Dictionary, English-Bengali, compiled by Mr. J. C. Marshman. 1st Edn., Vol. I., 1827; Vol. II., 1828; 4th, 1847.

The *Samachar Durpun*, or Mirror of Intelligence, Bengalee and English in parallel columns. The Tenth Memoir thus describes it, 'Now published every Wednesday and Saturday morning. This paper, the first number of which was published . . . . in May, 1818, has been of incalculable use . . . . It proceeds through the Post Office for one anna or two, according to the distance.'

Javanese. 1829, Bruckner's translation of the N. T. was printed for the Batavia Bible Society, 3000.

'Several other' unnamed 'works' are also reported.

Kanarese (Called Kurnata, &c.)—

1822, N. T., 1000.

1817, A Grammar of the Kurnata Language, by Dr. W. Carey.

Kanaujî (Dialect of Western Hindî. Called Canoge, Kanooj, &c.). 1821, N. T., 1000.

Kâśmîrî (Called Cashmire, &c.)—

1820, N. T., 1000. (Dated 1820 in Native Character, and 1821 in English.)

1827, Pentateuch, 1000.

1832, Historical Books (in the press), 1000.

All these in the Śâradâ character.

Khassi (Called Khasee). 1816, Matthew. (? No. of copies.)

1827, N. T., 500.

Kumaunî (Dialect of Central Pahârî. Called Kemaoon, &c.). 1824, N. T. to Eph. iii. 17 in the press, 1000.

Koṅkaṇî (Dialect of Marâṭhi. Called Kunkuna). 1818, N. T., 1000. 1821, Pentateuch, 1000.

Lahndâ (Western Panjâb. Called Wuch and Mooltanee). 1819, N. T., 1000.

Magahî (Dialect of Bihârî. Called Magudh, Mughudh, &c.). 1826, N. T., 1000.

Malay. 1814, N. T. for Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, in the Roman character, from the text of the Edition of 1731, for the use of Native Christians at Amboyna. 3000 copies.

1817, The whole Bible in the Roman character. 3000 copies.

1817, N. T. in Arabic character. See 1821, below.

1819, Matthew, in the Roman character, 500.

1820, Matthew in the Arabic character, 1000.

1821, The whole Bible in the Arabic character. The following is the history of this Edition:—It was decided by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, in 1814, to reprint the Bible in the Arabic character from the Edition of 1758, but the difficulty of finding trustworthy proof-readers, added to the imperfections of the old version as to spelling and the inclusion of a large number of Arabic terms, made a revision imperative. Major MacInnes and the Rev. R. L. Hutchings, Chaplain of Penang, were entrusted with the revision. The N. T. was issued in 1817, having been revised by Major MacInnes at Penang, and afterwards by Mr. Hutchings at Serampore. Mr. Hutchings then went on with the revision of the O. T., which was issued in 1821 in two editions, one in 4to, to form a complete Bible along with a reprint of the N. T. of 1817, and the other in 8vo, uniform with a N. T. in 8vo. The numbers of these editions were 3000 8vo N. T., 2000 4to Bible, and 1000 8vo O. T.

1810, A Comparative Vocabulary of the Burma, Malayu, and Thai Languages, by Dr. Leyden.

? Date, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, translated by Jabez Carey. ? No. of copies.

Mâldîvî (Called Maldivian). 1813, It is reported that the Gospels have been translated, and that types are being cast. No further progress seems to have been made.

Mâlvî (Dialect of Râjasthânî. Called Oojein, Oojuyeenee, &c.). 1826, N. T., 1000.

Maṇipurî (Called Munipoor, &c.). 1827, N. T., 1000.

Marâṭhî (Called Mahratta)—

1805, Matthew, 465.
1811, N. T., 1000.
1813, Pentateuch, 1000.
1816, Historical Books, 1000.
1818, Hagiographa, 1000.
1819, Prophetical Books, 1000.
1822, Gospels (2nd Edn.), 3000.
1823, Acts to Revelations (2nd Edn.), 3000.
1805, A Grammar of the Mahratta Language, by Dr. W. Carey.
1810, A Dictionary of the Mahratta Language, by Dr. W. Carey.

Mârwâṛî (Dialect of Râjasthânî. Called Marawar, Marwar, &c.). 1821, N. T., 1000.

Mêwâṛî (Dialect of Râjasthânî. Called Ooduypoora). The Gospel of St. Matthew was printed, probably in 1815-16. Probably 1000 copies.

Nâipâlî (Dialect of Eastern Pahârî. Called Nepal). 1821, N. T., 1000. Also a translation of Dr. Watt's Catechisms. ? Date and No. of copies.

Oṛiyâ (Called Orissa and Ooriya)—

1809, N. T., 1000.
1811, Prophetical Books and Hagiographa, 1000 of each.
1814, Historical Books, 1000.
1815, Pentateuch, 1000.
1822, N. T. (2nd Edn.), 4000.
1832, Pentateuch (2nd Edn.), 2000.
Also a number of tracts printed for the Baptist Missionary Society.

Pâlpâ (Dialect of Eastern Pahârî. Called Palpa). 1827, N. T., 1000.

Pañjâbî (Called Seek, Sikh, and Punjabee)—

1814, N. T. (finished 1815), 1000.
1817, Pentateuch, 1000. (Dated 1818: but in December 1817 the Serampore missionaries reported that it had long been printed, and was in circulation.)
1819, Historical Books, 1000.
1821, Hagiographa, 1000.
1826, Prophetical Books, 1000.
1812, A Grammar of the Punjaubee Language, by Dr. W. Carey.
Also five tracts.

Paṣḥtô (Called Pushtoo or Affghan)—

1818, N. T., 1000.
1821, Pentateuch, 1000.
1832, Historical Books (in the press), 1000.

Persian. 1811, Gospels, 500.

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1815, Historical Books, 1000.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE QORAN.

BY DR. HUBERT GRIMME.

(*Translated by G. K. Nariman.*)

(*Concluded from p. 136.*)

2. The Qorân and the Second Epistle of Peter.

WHEN the *Qorân* borrows from the Gospel only distorted figures of speech, knows nothing of the history of the Apostles, seems to have been indebted to the Epistles of Paul for no great thought or striking phraseology, in short when it is a stranger to the bulk of the New Testament,[28] it is not a little remarkable that it accords in a series of instances with one of the smallest books of the New Testament, which leads to the conclusion that the latter was **made use of by the Prophet.** I refer to the **Second Epistle of Peter.** Since up to now no book has noticed the circumstance, passing over the less striking features, we shall here briefly discuss **the principal points of contact between the Epistle and the Qorân.**

The borrowing consists in the adoption of peculiarly pregnant thoughts and similitudes, and is to be found only in the *Sûras* or Chapters relating to the "**Period of Grace** (*raḥma*)," especially in *Sûra* 22 and in the Mecca episode of *Sûra* 24. It seems to me less probable that Muhammad adopted them directly from the original. For the mode of imitation throughout corresponds to an oral communication, often based on a wrong interpretation of the text, such as would have been impossible even to an indifferent student of the text of the Epistle. It must therefore be assumed that the Prophet owed his acquaintance with the Epistle to oral instruction emanating from a Christian authority that would appear to have read the Epistle itself, in what tongue cannot be determined. Let us now follow the points of similarity, chapter by chapter. In the first chapter Peter exhorts the order to be diligent, with faith, in the exercise of virtuous acts and to be mindful of this after his own death. Further, the Apostle has heard the Evangel from Christ Himself, who was declared by God the Father and by prophecy as of divine origin. The first main thought the *Qorân* has made its own, and, indeed, first gives expression to it in those *Sûras* or chapters of the *Qorân*, which were given out in Medina. The ground for this must be that Muhammad could sooner get the heathens of Mecca to perform good works than to believe. Hence he had to emphatically lay down how futile was work without faith for a proselyte:

Verily, if thou join partners with God (*i. e.*, continue idolatry), thy work is as nothing and thou shalt be counted amongst . . . those who shall perish. (39, 65.)

This is a simile of those who do not acknowledge the Lord: Their works are like unto ashes on which the wind blows violently on a stormy day. They will get nothing out of their works. (14, 21.)

Besides these thoughts some Biblical expressions seem to have been imitated. In verse 9 Peter calls those people *blind* who believe but do not practise virtue, who seem to have forgotten the fact that they were purged from sins and who thus render their election doubtful. The *Qorân* makes use of this figure of spiritual blindness repeatedly, beginning with *Sûra* 41, and predicates it first of those appealed to in vain to tread the righteous path, who hear the precepts but either repudiate or forget them. Later on, in Medina, the epithet is applied to those who are deprived of their light once kindled by God. (*Cf.* 2, 16.) Further, in verse 19 Peter institutes a long-drawn out simile between prophetic words and a "Light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your

[28] [*Cf. Hadeth und Neues Testament* in Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien*, II. 382 *seq.* — TR.]

hearts." This simile might have inspired the Prophet with a similar one with which *Sûra* 24, verse 35, begins:

God is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth. His Light is like a niche in which is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass, the glass is like a glistening star. It is lighted (with the oil) of the blessed tree, the Olive not of the East nor of the West.[29]

Chapter 2 deals with the false prophets, whom God shall visit in justice, as he once visited the sinning angels, men of Noah's time and Sodom and Gomorrha, whilst the righteous shall be saved. Amongst his enemies of Mecca, Muhammad had indeed no pseudo-prophets. Instead, however, he had to contend with those unbelievers who, impelled by Satan, as he imagined, advanced heretic doctrines about God and the resurrection against his own preachings. (*Cf.*, *e. g.*, 22, 3, 8.) Against these, the *Qorân*, in the passages of the "Period of Grace," unceasingly reiterates the threats of a Judgment such as overtook the earlier nations. Precisely, like Peter, and in opposition to what he had depicted of the coming Judgment formerly in Mecca, the salvation of the believers is prominently brought forward here by the Prophet. To heighten the resemblance, the fall of the sinning angel Iblis, Satan, is cited as the first act of the Judgment. (15, 31.) Nor can we conceive of Satan without a numerous following. (16, 66.)

The imagery employed in verse 17 to illustrate the nullity of the false prophets has something peculiar to arrest the attention: "They are wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest; to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever."

Several metaphors from this are adopted in the *Qorân* with more or less change. The figure of the empty wells might easily be shifted to the contiguous one of an expanse of water in a waste, behind which water is vainly sought, so that the comparison assumes the following shape:

As to the infidels, their works are like an expanse of water in a plain (*i. e.*, a mirage), which the thirsty take for water, until when he cometh unto it he findeth naught; but findeth that God is there, Who fully payeth him his account." (24, 39.)

The waiting of the unfaithful in the "mist of darkness" is to be found in a concrete form in the immediately following verse:

(The condition of the unbeliever) is like darkness at the bottom of the deep sea. Wave on wave covers it, and above these are still darker clouds one above another. When he stretches forth his hand he cannot see it. He to whom God provides no light, has no light.

Finally, it cannot be altogether an accident that as in the Epistle, so also in the *Qorân*, clouds are spoken of as driven along by God, Who piles them in masses, till charged with rain and hail they descend on those marked by divine decree.

More cogent proofs in support of the view I have advanced that Peter's Epistle was used by Muhammad, are furnished by the similarity or rather identity of thoughts and expressions from Chapter III., in which the Apostle explains, in regard of scoffing unbelievers, the delay in the Lord's coming. The Prophet was to a remarkable degree similarly circumstanced as the Apostle, when the *Sûra* in question, the 24th, was written. His opponents were long put off with evasive answers to their inquiry as to when the day of Judgment was to come. And now they went the length of deriding and branding him a liar. The Prophet appropriates to his own use Peter's reply. The latter declares it is not true that the Creation has continued without a change to the present day, since once already the world created out of water was annihilated by water and goes on to admonish: "But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one

[29] Not of earthly origin, therefore, but of celestial. A. Muller (*Koran im Auszuge Übersetzt*, note to 24, 35) is at a loss how to construe the passage — "It is difficult to ascertain what sort of an oil tree this could be."

thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord is not slack concerning His promise . . . . but is long suffering to us-ward." Out of this the *Qorân* makes the following in 22, 43-46: He gives out that the contemporaries of Noah and Abraham and five other peoples had not believed in the promise of their respective Prophets as the unbelievers now did in his own case, and that, thereupon God bearing with them for a while visited them in his wrath. If the inhabitants of Mecca were not blind intellectually they could recognize God's chastisement in so many cities in ruins, blocked-up water-courses, and strongholds emptied of their inmates.

They, indeed, wish that the punishment descend with speed. But God cannot fail His promise; a day with Him is as long as a thousand years, as ye reckon them. (22, 46, 32, 4.)

Here Muhammad has followed the argument of the Epistle almost to the letter, preserving, however, in the most important part the letter and not the sense. This instance is truly the most characteristic of the superficial manner in which, whoever it was, some authority of the Prophet or he himself, that has appropriated and repeated the text of the Epistle.

The earth stood out of water and in the water, says Peter. (Verse 5.) The closing verse of *Sûra* 24 has, "And God created all creatures out of the water." This thought is more elaborately stated in 22, 5. It is not improbable that this foreign loan was borrowed from Peter.

Verse 13 gives expression to another striking thought of the Epistle: "We, according to His promise, look for new heavens and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

It is not to be wondered, after what has been said above, if this thought too lured the Prophet into imitation. But Muhammad having kept to the self-same words, it turns out to have not been understood by him.

Think not that God will fail His promise to His Apostle [for God is Mighty and He is the Avenger]. On the day that the earth changes into another earth, and the heavens too, man shall come forth to God, the One, the Powerful. (14, 48.)

Whilst obviously Peter looks upon the new creation as an improvement and a reform, Muhammad regards it as the annihilation of its former form with a view to invest the day of Judgment with a conspicuous feature. And, indeed, he might have deviated from Peter's view on this account, that his Paradise, the dwelling of the blessed, he represents as neither similar to, nor any way connected with, heaven or earth.

The portion of the *Qorân* entitled "The Period of Grace" is essentially based on two fundamental principles, grace (*raḥma*)[30] and long suffering or forbearance (*taul*).[31] These have been indicated as an evidence of the introduction of Christian dogmas in Muhammad's precepts. From what has been discussed above, we can infer that it was, above all, the Second Epistle of Peter, out of which these thoughts found their way into the *Qorân*.

3. The Future of Moslem Theocracy.

Muhammad's religious system has no great claims to originality, nor to perfect unity. In its ultimate essence it **is eclecticism,** which, being not sufficiently resorted to in the structure of theocracy, often demolishes and builds over again the edifice of religious formulæ. Those who would understand Islam must seek to go back to the prime originals of his dogmas, and where there is a remarkable divergence between the exemplar and the imitation, must tackle the latter in the light, firstly, of the world which surrounded the Prophet, and, secondly, of the change of his residence.

[30] See 46, 11; 45, 19, etc.

[31] First mentioned in 40, 3.

The groundwork of Islam was, and ever remained, that system at which Jewish theology, with its trivial formalities of the tweedledum and tweedledee of the text of the Bible, had arrived, and of which the Talmud may be recited as the prime authority. What Muhammad proclaimed in Mecca resembles it chiefly in the dogmatic views, but also in his general moral canons.

On the other hand, the primitive Islam was unshackled by the mass of intricacies, ordinances on doctrine and conduct of life, into which the Talmud Jews had fallen as in a labyrinth, which rendered free movement well-nigh impossible. This divergence is characteristic. It shows that the Talmud, Babylonian or Palestinian, must not be looked upon as the direct model of early Islam. The latter contains isolated ideas which are conspicuous by their absence in the Talmud, but are common in the earlier document of Judaism, the Tarjum. Muhammad never studied the ordinance of later Judaism, but learnt their contents from oral tradition. We must presume his instructor to be a Jew, but not one of the Rabbis whose whole life was devoted to hypercriticism of Law and strict observance of its minor particulars. Such Rabbis were very sparsely, if at all, to be found in Arabia. Muhammad's instructor was in all probability a man of spiritually intermediate acquirements; he was more in touch with the Haggada, the Hebrew world of anecdotes and thoughts, than with the Halacha, the repository of each and every law; — an *Amm Hares* in short. Such a man endeavoured naturally to make Muhammad what he himself was, and Muhammad loved with a certain pride to bear the title of Ummi, that is to be Amm Hares, in compliment to the Jews of Medina, and put it beside his most exalted insignia Nabi or Prophet, styling himself **Nabi Ummi.**

But Muhammad shrank from one consequence of his instruction, from being reckoned a Jew by his heathen countrymen or from comporting himself as such. His highly developed sense of patriotism was the hindering block. The hopes of resurrection and the kingdom of David were inseparably connected with the Jewish doctrine. Every proselyte, therefore, who would truly call himself a Jew, must abjure the convictions of his national religion. But nothing could induce Muhammad to make that sacrifice. He did not return the obligations he owed to the Jews in Mecca by hostile opposition against their leaders. Not a word was uttered offensive to them as a race; rather Muhammad was prompted by a spirit of courtesy when he christened an Arab prophet of his own creation Hud, which is Arabic for Jew. At the same time he was kept from going over to Judaism from the consciousness of a momentous mission of his own. He felt the impulse to communicate to his heathen compeers the Light that was vouchsafed to him — an impulse which soon assumed the shape of a positive duty to be fulfilled at whatever cost. Cogitating over the strange phenomenon he interpreted it to himself as a divine commission to turn Jewish verities into Arabic speech and sermons.

In the course of the Meccan period, with the Jewish rudiments of Islam are mingled, as supplements and modifications, new thoughts which have a near affinity to Christianity, and which would seem to have been borrowed from it. Thus the insipid rigidity of the conception of God till now entertained was relieved by emphatic declaration of divine love and mercy, belief in certain dogmas was inculcated as duty, and many a figure of the new theology was put on a par with the saints and prophets of the Old Testament. But if Muhammad at this epoch betrays comparatively inconsiderable acquaintance with the doctrine and discipline of Christianity, still most of that knowledge which he displays in the Medina period must have been previously acquired. He wanted but opponents and opportunity to open a polemic on the teachings of Christ, which were thrown away upon him.

If we take a review of whatever in the *Qorân* accords with Christianity, the outcome of our inquiry is more negative than positive information on the sources from which Muhammad drew. In the first place, it seems certain that Muhammad had read as little of the Gospels as of

the Talmud, else he would not have fathered their authorship on Christ,[32] and would have had a more exalted perception of the nature and potency of the Saviour. Besides, the rest of the books of the New Testament were outside the pale of his knowledge, excepting perhaps the Second Epistle of Peter, various *Sûras* of the past Meccan period betokening its influence in their ideas and expressions. Of the secondary documents of Christianity there are only vestiges of the Gospel of Infancy in the *Qorân*.[33] But they are of a description such as could be straightway derived from folklore or legends. Yet there remains to be accounted for a series of observations on Christian dogma which are not in the remotest degree connected with any written authorities come down to us. They are the Trinity conceived as a triad composed of the Father, the Son, and Mary,[34] the docetical account of the apparent death of Christ on the Cross,[35] the descending of the table for the Lord's Supper, etc.[36] These, considered as a whole, could not have been learnt by hearsay from any Christian source, for no sect, be it ever so much corrupt or degenerate, represented a like confusion of curious symbolism. They have to be looked upon as things learnt at second or third hand, with the pristine stamp blurred and rubbed off.

Some part of the sacred history, as treated of in the *Qorân*, had its roots in **the creed of the Christians of Syria,** to wit, the account of the seven sleepers, of Dhul Karnain, Alexander the Great and of his expedition against Yajuj and Majuj. It found its way into the *Qorân* not direct from the original, but as filtered through popular legends.

The tradition mentions by name several Christians with whom Muhammad is alleged to have come in occasional contact, with the monk Nestor or Bahira, who greeted him, when the latter was in Basra on a commercial journey, as the future prophet, or with Abu Amir, the head of the Christian Settlement in Medina. But time and other circumstances tell against the assumption that the Prophet was any way influenced by this. The balance of probability points to one of the anchorites, not rare in Arabia then, to whom the *Qorân* in many places refers in terms of laudatory appreciation.[37]

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[32] *Sûra* 57, 27.

[And we sent Noah and Abraham; and placed in their seed prophecy and the book; and some of them are guided, though many of them are workers of abomination. Then we followed up their footsteps with our apostles; and we followed them up with Jesus the Son of Mary: *and gave Him the Gospel;* and we placed in the hearts of those who followed Him kindness and compassion. — *S. B. E.* IX. 269. — TR.]

[33] *Sûra* 3, 41 and 43: *Sûra* 4, 55; *Sûra* 5, 110.

[When the angel said, 'O Mary! verily, God gives thee the glad tidings of a Word from Him; His name shall be the Messiah Jesus the Son of Mary, regarded in this world and the next and of those whose place is nigh to God. And He shall speak to people in His cradle, and when grown up, and shall be among the righteous.' She said, 'Lord, how can I have a son, when man has not yet touched me?' He said, 'Thus God creates what He pleaseth. When He decrees a matter He only says BE, and it is; and He will teach Him the Book and wisdom and the Law and the gospel and He shall be a Prophet to the people of Israel, (saying) that I have come to you with a sign from God.' . . . . — *S. B. E.* IX. 52. — TR.]

[34] *Sûra* 5, 79 and 116.

[35] *Sûra* 4, 156.

[. . . and for their misbelief and for their saying about Mary a mighty calumny and for their saying 'Verily we have killed the Messiah, Jesus the Son of Mary the Apostle of God' . . . . but they did not kill Him and they did not crucify Him, but a similitude was made for them . . . . . They did not kill Him, for sure! Nay, God raised Him up unto Himself; for God is mighty and wise. — *S. B. E.* IX. 94. — TR.]

[36] *Sûra* 5, 112-115.

[When the apostles said, 'O Jesus, Son of Mary! is Thy Lord able to send down to us a table from heaven?' He said, 'Fear God, if ye be believers,' and they said, 'We desire to eat therefrom that our hearts may be at rest.' . . . . . Said Jesus the Son of Mary, 'O God, our Lord! send down to us a table from heaven to be to us a festival.' . . . . . . God said, 'Verily I am about to send it down to you, but who so disbelieves amongst you after that, verily, I will torment him with the torment which I have not tormented any one with in all the worlds.' — *S. B. E.* IX., 114. — TR.]

[37] *Sûra* 24, 36-37; 5, 85. See also Ibn Hisham, p. 348.

[Thou wilt surely find that the strongest in enmity against those who believe are the Jews and the idolators; and thou wilt find the nearest in love to those who believe to be those who say, 'We are Christians; that is because there are amongst them priests and monks and because they are not proud.' — *S. B. E.* VI., 109. — TR.]

[For Abu Amir, see Muir's *Mahomet*, p. 174. — TR.]

Jewish and Christian ideas remained during the Meccan epoch the corner-stone of the edifice of Muhammad's system. Excepting the original form of the fifty-third *Sûra*, which was subsequently rescinded, we obtain no glimpse of the tenets of heathen Arabs in the *Qorân*. Nor did the religion of Persia contribute anything, save obliquely, in the shape of Jewish doctrines which were tinged with Zoroastrianism.[38]

The period of Muhammad's mission in Medina beheld the continuation of the process of borrowing from the Book-religions, that is from Judaism and Christianity. The dogmatics at all events halted where they had been, nay, retrogressed. Their wings of philosophic speculation were closely clipped. But the doctrine of necessary obligations was expounded, and assumed a spirit of contracted formalism promoting the development of numerous minor ritualistic observances. But worse than the externalization was the effect of gradual relapse into the usages of ancient heathenism covered with a veneer of Islam.

The idol fane of Mecca was flaunted before the eyes of the faith as the palladium of Islam. The ancient pagan war-vengeance reappeared under the mask of religious crusade and fell into the category of works highly approved of by God. And when the road to the shrine of Mecca was made accessible, its bygone pilgrimages and sacrificial ceremonials were sanctioned by the *Qorân*. By this was introduced into the till then harmonious system of Islam, a discordant note which could be drowned in no amount of resonant rhetoric. If, despite its fine tendency, Islam has shown no enduring culture, if in every century it experiences renewed crises, the greater part of the blame must be attributed to the Prophet's last crude and ungrateful innovations.

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The splendid achievement which **Muhammad** made and left behind, after a labour of twenty-two years, may well be called religion, but not Church. However firmly the dogmatic and ethical foundations were laid, the superstructure altogether lacked ecclesiastical elements. This might appear surprising in view of the long time the Prophet had at his disposal, but not when we consider the manner in which he used to regulate the external relations of the order. His goal throughout the Medina period was **complete centralization into his own hands of all power, spiritual or secular.** To his office of Prophet, with the emoluments appertaining to the functions of a preceptor, he added his sacerdotal authority in so far as the latter was to be conceived as a medium between God and the faithful. And not content with this, he claimed legal jurisdiction, which he had originally acquired by a covenant with the Medinites, even in the spiritual sphere, and exercised it in his lifetime in a theocratical sense. The *Qorân* conceded a certain reverent obedience to the old tribal heads,[39] and probably their privilege to advise and to aid in the solution of difficult problems was also recognized by Muhammad,[40] they being allowed to be arbiters in the case of two contending factions in the fraternity.[41] But their time-honoured prerogative to judicially pronounce their decisions was suspended while he lived.

The sole public functions in which the Prophet tolerated co-operation were of an executive description. And here, too, he appointed no absolute officials, but only deputies who represented a fraction of the authority focussed in him. The command of an army in war was committed to a general only for the time the campaign lasted, and so much as the collection of the annual taxes was entrusted to ever-changing hands.

Nevertheless the authority which Muhammad possessed he regarded as of divine origin. It was vouchsafed to him as an act of unmerited grace, and by consequence not transferable

38 [See Dr. Kohut's *Zoroastrian Legends and their Biblical Sources*; also Tisdal St. Clair's *Religion of the Crescent*, where it is proved, *inter alia*, that the expression assumed to be peculiar and most characteristic of Islam, *Din*, is a loan-word from the Avesta *daena*, which means religion or creed. But perhaps the most recent contribution to the subject all-important to the Parsis is by Dr. Erik Stane, entitled *Über den Eeinfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum.* (On the Influence of the Parsi Religion on Judaism). — TR.]

39 *Sûra* 4, 62.

40 *Sûra* 4, 85.

41 *Sûra* 4, 87, and 49, 9, refer to this.

to another human being. If the concentration of exclusive rights and powers in the hands of a single individual, like Muhammad, guaranteed the successful issue of great political and martial enterprises, all that he had won for himself was imperilled the moment the bearer of those extraordinary prerogatives was dead and buried. On dogmatic grounds it was beyond the authority of the Prophet to invest a successor with them, so that it was through no inadvertence of his that he failed to make the *Qorân* provide for his succession.

Hence the consternation into which the tidings of his death threw the believers is easily comprehensible. The most prominent of the companions acting in the interests of Islam, though on their own responsibility, presently assembled together and resolved to elect a provisional representative or **Khalifa of the Prophet**, without being themselves clear as to what extent it was possible to have the latter represented at all. Their choice fell upon the modest Abu Beker, whose conception of his high office was only that of *primus inter pares* in the brotherhood. In his inauguratory sermon he said: "I have been made your superior, though I am not the best of you. If I act justly, support me, but if not, oppose me."[42] Fate rendered his function easy for him in that he elected to continue the belligerent policy begun by Muhammad, whereby external events retarded the outbreak of internecine feuds. Abu Beker was succeeded by Omar whom he had recommended. His idea of the Khalifate was essentially different. He was the first to assume the title of "Prince of the Faithful," which signified not less an exalted dignity than it connoted a position of power. Both his successors, Othman and Ali, too, came to the Khalifate by popular suffrage. But soon their claims were repudiated. owing to the absence of a well-defined and acknowledged central power. From the resultant civil wars of Islam sprang, on the one hand, a monarchy, and on the other a schism in the Church. In the eastern provinces of the Empire the wholly un-Qoranic doctrine of the transmissibility of the spiritual authority, gaining more and more ground, fostered the apparition of numerous Imams or leaders, who, on the most shadowy grounds, pretended to secular as well as religious hegemony. The west was for a time split into two halves. The first or Syria, following the example of Moawiya, their prince, saw in Islam a scourge of God for the contiguous kingdoms. The other half, which embraced the classic seats of Mecca and Medina and the first places of the birth and growth of Islam, Kufa and Basra, occupied itself diligently with the observance of the Qoranic canons and the collecting of the Prophet's oral traditions, aiming at the same time at political independence. The swords of Yezid and Abdel Malek once more united the two halves, calling into being a state governed by a hereditary and absolute potentate who was also the ecclesiastical pontiff. Subsequently the Islamic world rejoiced in such autocrats as Omar II. and Hisham devoted to the *Qorân*; but their free-thinking successors landed the house of the Omayyads, based on the might of arms, back into discredit. In the east the shibboleth of the Shias was, "The Khalifate must revert to the family of the Prophet." A revolutionary movement was set on foot. The wave of unrest passed over from one people to another till it swept the kingdom and the royal house of the Omayyads off the face of the earth. A descendant of the crafty uncle of Muhammad Abul Abbas, the Abbaside, was undeservedly elevated to the throne of the Khalifs. Now the Khalifate, in keeping with the spirit of Shiaism, laid claim at once to secular and religious suzerainty, and steadfastly maintained its hold on both, though political exigencies compelled the rulers to turn Sunni. But though this Khalifate was looked upon as a temporary institution, which was at no time upheld by a united Islam, the Abbasides wielded down to the time of their decline a spiritual authority which no member of the posterior dynasties, either of the east or the west, bedecked with the title of Khalif, had ever enjoyed.

While theological erudition toiled to define the term Khalifate, acknowledging to be the legitimate successor of the Prophet him alone who, being a scion of the Koreshite sept, combined the supreme virtues of knowledge and sense of justice with energy and bodily as well

[42] Suyuli, *History of the Khalifas*, Cairo, 1305 A. H, p. 27.

as mental vigor and sanity,[43] the confidence of the masses in the supporters of the title gradually disappeared. Their yearning for a regulated conduct and policy of Church and State beget in their minds the image of the Mahadi, in whom we note a reflex of the Jewish Messiah with slight modifications. A man, it was hoped, at the end of time would arise from among the progeny of Muhammad to strengthen religion, restore justice, to put himself at the head of the faithful and to extend his empire over all Musalman lands.[44] This singular expectation is still alive in the hearts of the bulk of the followers of the creed. Nor is it quenched by the appearance of pseudo-Mahadis and impostors. It was not quite a score of years ago that the world witnessed the spectacle of vast masses of people imposed upon by a benighted fanatic.

Politically, Islam at present commands neither moral force nor physical resources, and is in the process of slow disintegration. Such circumstances, perhaps, point to the conclusion that the day is not at all too far off when the edifice of Islam will collapse at the impact of the culture of Christian Europe.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WESTERN HINDÎ, INCLUDING HINDOSTÂNÎ.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S.

(Concluded from p. 179.)

ADDENDA.[1]

SECTION I.

Morisy, John, — *Inquiry into the Existence of a pure Passive Voice in Hindustani. Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. VIII., Pt. ii. (1862), pp. 197 and ff.

" " *On Hindustani Syntax. Ib.*, Vol. IX., Pt. iii. (1866), pp. 263 and ff.

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[43] Ibn Khaldun, I. 161.

[44] Ibn Khaldun, I. 260 *seq.*

[See Darmesteter's Monograph on *Le Mahdi, depuis les origines de l'Islam jusqu'a nos Jours.* — TR.]

[1] There are entries which were omitted from the main list. I have taken the opportunity of giving lists (so far as I could) of the works of the four acknowledged masters of modern Urdû, Âzâd, Ḥâlî, Sarshâr, and Sharar. For many of the entries I am indebted to Captain R. St. John, M.A., Teacher of Hindōstānī, and Mr. J. F. Blumhardt, M.A., Teacher of Bengali, at the University of Oxford.

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THE MEANING OF PIYADASI.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.).

The records commonly described as the Aśôka inscriptions never mention the emperor's personal name Aśôka, or Aśôka Varddhana. The only inscription which mentions the great Maurya by his personal name Aśôka is the celebrated Sanskrit document on the Jûnâgaṛh rock, dated in the reign of the Satrap Rudradâman, and commemorating the restoration "in a not very long time" of the embankment which had burst in the 72nd year (of the Śaka era), equivalent to A. D. 150.[1]

In his own inscriptions Aśôka invariably designates himself by mere titles or epithets. Sometimes he is content with the wholly impersonal royal title *Devânaṁpiya,* equivalent to 'His Sacred Majesty,' or 'His Majesty.' At other times he adopts the unpretending style of Râja Piyadasi, or Piyadasi Râja, and more frequently uses the complete formula, Devânaṁpiya Piyadasi Râja.[2]

[1] *Ante,* Vol. VII. p. 262. [2] *J. R. A. S.,* 1901, pp. 485, 577, 930 ; Rock Edict VII. ; *Asoka,* p. 124.

When "Piyadasi, king of Magadha," sends greeting to the clergy,[3] or "King Piyadasi, in the thirteenth year of his reign," bestows a cave-dwelling on certain ascetics,[4] the formula used in each of these cases certainly produces the impression that the word Piyadasi must be interpreted in the Aśôka inscriptions as having practically the force of a proper name.

Much the same impression is produced by the language of the **Dîpavaṁsa**, a Ceylonese chronicle compiled in the fourth century A. D. The chronicler states that "Piyadassana was anointed king" 218 years after the death of the Buddha, and in a series of passages uses Piyadassi and the nearly identical form Piyadassana as synonyms for the proper names Aśôka or Aśôkadhamma.[5]

The form Piyadasi with one *s*, used in the inscriptions, is, of course, the same word as Piyadassi, with the double *s*, used by the Pâli writer. Both forms represent the Sanskrit *priyadarśî* or *priyadarśin*, which is actually used in the Panjâb versions of the inscriptions. The Pâli Piyadassana, which represents the Sanskrit *priyadarśaṉa*, does not occur in the inscriptions.

In my book on Aśôka I adopted a **rendering published by Professor Kern many years ago**, and stated that Aśôka in his edicts uses the name Piyadasi, "which means '**the Humane**,'" and I further interpreted this name, title or epithet, as being the emperor's "name in religion," as distinguished from his secular, personal name.[6]

M. Sylvain Lévi in a friendly review has criticized my translation and interpretation, and stated that **he considers Piyadasi (Priyadarśin) to be a generic epithet** belonging to the formula of the royal style (*protocole royal*), and **expressing nothing more individual than the words 'Majesty' or 'Sire.'**[7] The learned critic has developed this proposition in his very suggestive article on certain terms employed in the inscriptions of the Western Satraps. I translate his observations into English for the benefit of Indian readers to whom French may not be familiar.

"The official value," he observes, "of the expression *bhadramukha* as a mode of address to royal princes suggests a respectable history for this commonplace formula. In fact, it is difficult to distinguish this invocation of the 'propitious countenance' from an analogous title made illustrious by a famous example of its use."

Bhadramukha is undoubtedly merely another notation of the idea expressed by the word *priyadarśin* — in Prâkrit, *piyadassi*. *Priyadarśin* is 'a person who looks amiable,' or 'has an amiable appearance.' Whilst the Satraps bestow upon themselves the epithet *bhadramukha*, King Śâtakarṇî Gotamîputra, the contemporary, neighbour, rival, and conqueror of the Satraps, receives in a posthumous panegyric the still current epithet of *piyadasana* (Sanskrit, *priyadarśana*).[8]

The formula devânaṁpiya piyadasi lâja[9] of the Aśôka inscriptions is therefore wholly composed of general designations borrowed from the royal style, without a single word referring individually to the author of the inscriptions. Notwithstanding the current practice, it is no longer permissible to speak of 'King Piyadasi,' any more than of 'King Devânâmpriya.' **Aśôka**, whatever his motives may have been, must have **intentionally avoided inserting his personal name in his inscriptions.**[10]

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[3] Bhâbra Edict. Dr. Bloch has rightly pointed out that the word *mâgadhe* (also read as *mâgadhaṁ*, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 165) must be taken as in the nominative case. *Mâgadhe* seems to be the correct reading. The translation in *Asoka*, p. 142, is therefore erroneous.

[4] Barâbar Cave Inscription A.

[5] The passages are fully quoted in *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, p. 828.

[6] *Asoka*, pp. 16, 41.

[7] *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1902, p. 285.

[8] *Râjarano Gotamiputasa* . . . . *patipuṇachaḍamadalasa sirika-piyadasanas*, etc. (No. 18, Nâsik, No. 14, pl. liii., p. 108, *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV.).

[9] *Lâja* is the Mâgadhî form of *râja*.

[10] *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-Fev. 1902, p. 105.

After the publication of M. Lévi's essay I consulted Professor Kern, who courteously replied as follows :—

"I do not see in *priyadarśin* a title, but an epithet. It means 'showing a friendly face' and 'having a pleasant look'; passing into the meaning of 'promising something pleasant.' I had done better to translate it by 'friendly' than by 'humane.' *Bhadramukha* is about equivalent to the English 'my good friend,'—a phrase of kindly greeting."

I think it is clear that the compiler of the Dîpavaṁśa in the fourth century A. D. used the epithets *piyadassi* and *piyadassana* practically as proper names, but that in so doing he departed from the normal use of the words, which are, as Prof. Kern rightly observes, rather epithets than formal titles. In the Queen-mother Balaśrî's inscription (c. A. D. 156) *piyadasana* is merely one of a string of laudatory epithets applied to her deceased son, king Gautamîputra Viḷivâyakura, and is translated by Bühler by the phrase "whose appearance was agreeable." [11]

Aśôka, on the other hand, employed *piyadasi* more as a formal title than as an epithet, sometimes describing himself as Râja Piyadasi, or Piyadasi Râja, sometimes as Devânaṁpiya, and sometimes by the combination of both titles or epithets.

Clear proof has been given that *devânaṁpiya* is the equivalent of a phrase such as 'His Sacred Majesty,' or 'His Majesty,' like the shorter *Deva* preferred by the Gupta emperors in the fourth century.

Piyadasi is used by Aśôka in the same way, and may be rendered correctly as 'His Gracious Majesty' or 'His Grace.' The translation 'the Humane' must be given up, and with it the interpretation of the title or epithet as being the emperor's "name in religion."

Aśôka's full regal style, *Devânaṁpiya piyadasi Raja* may be appropriately rendered by the formula 'The King's Sacred and Gracious Majesty.' **M. Sylvain Lévi is right in saying that "it is no longer permissible to speak of 'King Piyadasi'** any more than of 'King Devânâmpriya.'"

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(*Continued from p. 143.*)

[11] *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV. p. 108. The name or title Viḷivâyakura is obtained from the coins. My disquisition on the Andhra Dynasty is in the press and will appear in the *Z. D. M. G.*

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(Concluded from Vol. XXVIII. p. 159.)

XLIII.

THE CAT AND THE MOUSE.

A Tale of Village Philosophy.

THERE was once a large banyan tree in the midst of an extensive forest, covered with many kinds of creepers, which was the resort of a number of birds and animals. A mouse of great wisdom lived at its foot, having made a hole there with a hundred outlets, and in the branches there lived a cat in great happiness, daily devouring many birds.

Now it happened that a Chandala came into the forest and built a hut for himself, and every evening after sunset he spread his traps, made of leathern strings. Many animals fell into his traps every night, and it so happened that one day the cat, in a moment of heedlessness, was caught.

As soon as his foe the cat was caught, the mouse came out of his hole and began to rove about fearlessly. While trustfully roving through the forest in search of food, the mouse after a little while saw the meat that the Chandala had spread in his trap as a lure. Getting upon the trap the little animal began to eat the flesh, and even got upon his enemy entangled hopelessly in it. Intent upon eating the flesh, he did not mark his own danger, until suddenly he saw another terrible foe in the person of a restless mungoose with fiery eyes, standing on his haunches, with head upraised, licking the corners of his mouth with his tongue. At the same time he beheld yet another foe sitting on a branch of the banyan tree in the shape of a sharp-beaked night-jar.

Encompassed on all sides by danger, and seeing fear in every direction, the mouse, filled with alarm for his safety, made a high resolve. Of his three enemies the cat was in dire distress, and so the mouse, conversant with the science of profit and well acquainted with the occasions on which war should be declared

or peace made, gently addressed the cat, saying : —

"I address thee in friendship, O cat! Art thou alive? I wish thee to live! I desire the good of us both. O amiable one, thou hast no cause for fear. Thou shalt live in happiness. I will rescue thee, if indeed thou dost not slay me. An excellent expedient suggests itself to me, by which thou mayest escape and I obtain great benefit. By reflecting earnestly I have hit upon that expedient for thy sake and for my sake, for it will benefit both of us. There are the mungoose and the owl, both waiting with evil intent. Only so long, O cat, as they do not attack me, is my life safe. Possessed of wisdom as thou art, thou art my friend and I will act towards thee as a friend. Without my help, O cat, thou canst not succeed in tearing the net, but I can cut the net for thee, if thou abstain from killing me. Thou hast lived on this tree and I have lived at its foot. Both of us have dwelt here for many long years. All this is known to thee. He, upon whom nobody places his trust, and he who never trusts another, are never applauded by the wise. Both of them are unhappy. For this reason, let our love for each other increase, and let there be union between us. The wise never applaud endeavour when the opportunity for success has passed away. Know that this is the proper time for such an understanding between us. I wish thee to live, and thou also wishest me to live. This our compact also will bring happiness to us both. I will rescue thee and thou wilt also rescue me."

Hearing these well-chosen words, fraught with reason and highly acceptable, the cat spake in reply: — "I am delighted with thee, O amiable one, blessed be thou that wishest me to live. Do that, without hesitation, which thou thinkest will be of use. I am certainly in great distress. Thou art, if possible, in greater distress still. Let there be a compact between us without delay. If thou rescuest me, thy service shall not go for nothing. I place myself in thy hands. I will wait upon and serve thee like a disciple. I seek thy protection, and will always obey thy behests."

Thus addressed, the mouse, addressing in return the cat who was completely under his control, said these words of grave import and high wisdom :—"Thou hast spoken most magnanimously. It could scarcely be unexpected from one like thee. Listen to me as I disclose my expedient. I will crouch beneath thy body and so shalt thou save me from the owl and the mungoose, and I will cut the noose that entangles thee. I swear by Truth, O friend."

The mouse, having thus made the cat understand his own interest, trustfully crouched beneath his enemy's body. Possessed of learning, and thus assured by the cat, the mouse trustfully laid himself thus under the breast of the cat as if it were the lap of his father or mother. Beholding him thus ensconced the mungoose and the owl both became hopeless of seizing their prey. Indeed, seeing the close intimacy between the mouse and the cat, the owl and the mungoose became alarmed and were filled with wonder, and felt themselves unable to wean the mouse and the cat from their compact. So they both left the spot and went away to their respective abodes.

After this the mouse, conversant with the requirements of time and place, began, as he lay under the body of the cat, to cut the strings of the noose slowly, waiting for a fitting opportunity to finish his work. Distressed by the strings that entangled him, the cat became impatient and said :—"How is it, O amiable one, that thou dost not proceed with haste in thy work? Dost thou disregard me now, having thyself succeeded in thy object? Cut these strings quickly! The hunter will soon be here."

But the mouse, possessed of intelligence, replied with these beneficial words fraught with his own good:—"Wait in silence, O amiable one! Chase all thy fears away. We know the requirements of time. We are not wasting it. When an act is begun at an improper moment, it never becomes profitable when accomplished. If thou art freed at an unseasonable moment, I shall stand in great dread of thee. Do thou therefore await the opportunity. When I see the hunter approach the spot armed with weapons, I shall cut the strings at the moment of dire fear to both of us. Freed then, thou wilt ascend the tree. At that time thou wilt not think of anything but thy own life, and it is then that I shall enter my hole in safety."

The cat, who had quickly and properly performed his part of the covenant, now addressed the mouse, who was not expeditious in discharging his :—"I rescued thee from a terrible danger with great promptness, so thou shouldst do what is for my good with greater expedition. If I have ever unconsciously done thee any wrong, thou shouldst not bear this in remembrance. I beg thy forgiveness. Be a little quicker."

But the mouse, possessed of intelligence and wisdom and knowledge of the Scriptures, replied with these excellent words:—"That friendship in which there is fear, and which cannot be kept up without fear, should be maintained with great caution, like the hand of the snake-charmer at the snake's fangs. He who does not protect himself after having made a covenant with one that is stronger, finds that covenant productive of injury instead of benefit. Nobody is anybody's friend, nobody is anybody's well-wisher; persons become friends or foes only from motives of interest. Interest enlists interest, even as tame elephants help to catch wild individuals of their own species. When a kind act has been accomplished, the doer is scarcely regarded. For this reason, all acts should be so done that something may remain to be done. So when I set thee free in the presence of the hunter, thou wilt fly for thy life without ever thinking of seizing me. Behold, all the strings of this net but one have been cut by me, and I will cut that in time. Be comforted."

While the mouse and the cat were thus talking together, both in serious danger, the night gradually wore away, and a great and terrible fear filled the heart of the cat. When at last morning came, the Chandala appeared on the scene. His visage was frightful. His hair was black and tawny. His lips were very large and his aspect very fierce. A huge mouth extended from ear to ear, and his ears were very long. Armed with weapons and accompanied by a pack of dogs, this grim-looking man appeared on the scene. Beholding one that resembled a messenger of Yama, the cat was penetrated through and through with fright. But the mouse had very quickly cut the remaining string, and the cat ran with speed up the banyan tree. The mouse also quickly fled into his hole. The hunter, who had seen everything, took up the net and quickly left the spot.

Liberated from his great peril, the cat, from the branches of the tree, addressed the mouse:—"I hope thou dost not suspect me of any evil intent. Having given me my life, why dost thou not approach me at a time when friends should enjoy the sweetness of friendship? I have been honored and served by thee to the best of thy power. It behoveth thee now to enjoy the company of my poor self who has become thy friend. Like disciples worshipping their preceptor, all the friends I have, all my relatives and kinsmen, will honour and worship thee. I myself, too, will worship thee. Be thou the lord of my body and home. Be thou the disposer of all my wealth and possessions. Be thou my honored counsellor, and do thou rule me like a father. I swear by my life that thou hast no fear from us."

But the mouse, conversant with all that is productive of the highest good, replied in sweet words that were beneficial to himself:—"Hear how the matter appears to me. Friends should be well examined. Foes also should be well studied. In this world a task like this is regarded by even the learned as a difficult one, depending upon acute intelligence. Friends assume the guise of foes, and foes of friends. When compacts of friendship are formed, it is difficult for either party to understand why the other party is moved. There is no such thing as a foe. There is no such thing in existence as a friend. It is the force of circumstances that creates friends and foes. He who regards his own interests ensured as long as another person lives, and thinks them endangered when another person will cease to live, takes that other person for a friend and considers him such as long as those interests of his are not interfered with. There is no condition that deserves permanently the name either of friendship or hostility. Both arise from considerations of interest and gain. Self-interest is very powerful. He who reposes blind trust in friends, and always behaves with mistrust towards foes without paying any regard to considerations of policy, finds his life unsafe. He who, disregarding all considerations of policy, sets his heart upon an affectionate union with either friends or foes, comes to be regarded as a person whose understanding has been unhinged. One should never repose trust in a person undeserving of trust. Father, mother, son, maternal uncle, sister's son, all are guided by considerations of interest and profit.

"Thou tellest me in sweet words that I am very dear to thee. Hear, however, O friend, the reasons that exist on my side. One becomes dear from an adequate cause. One becomes a foe from an adequate cause. This whole world of creatures is moved by the desire of gain in some form or other. The friendship between two uterine brothers, the love between husband and wife, depends upon interest. I do not know any kind of affection between any persons that does not rest upon some motive of self-interest. One becomes dear for one's liberality, another for his sweet words, a third in consequence of his religious acts. Generally

a person becomes dear for the purpose he serves. The affection between us two arose from a sufficient cause. That cause exists no longer. On the other hand, from adequate reason, that affection between us has come to an end. What is that reason, I ask, for which I have become so dear to thee, besides thy desire of making me thy prey? Thou shouldst know that I am not forgetful of this. Time spoils reasons. Thou seekest thy own interests. Others, however, possessed of wisdom, understand their own interests too.

"Guided, however, by my own interests, I myself am firm in peace and war that are themselves very unstable. The circumstances under which peace is to be made or war declared are changed as quickly as the clouds change their form. This very day thou wert my foe. This very day again thou wert my friend. This very day thou hast once more become my enemy. Behold the levity of the considerations that move living creatures. There was friendship between us as long as there was reason for its existence. That reason, dependent on time, has passed away. Without it, that friendship has also passed away. Thou art by nature my foe. From circumstances thou becamest my friend. That state of things has passed away. The old state of enmity that is natural has come back. Through thy power I was freed from a great danger. Through my power thou hast been freed from a similar danger. Each of us has served the other. There is no need of uniting ourselves again in friendly intercourse. O amiable one, the object thou hadst has been accomplished. The object I had has also been accomplished. Thou hast now no need for me except to make me thy food. I am thy food. Thou art the eater. I am weak. Thou art strong. There cannot be a friendly union between us when we are situated so unequally. I know that thou art hungry. I know that it is thy hour for taking food. Thou art seeking for thy prey, with thy eyes directed towards me. Thou hast sons and wives. Seeing me with thee, would not thy dear spouse and thy loving children cheerfully eat me up?"

Thus soundly rebuked by the mouse, the cat, blushing with shame, addressed the mouse:—"Truly I swear that to injure a friend is in my estimation very censurable. It doth not behove thee, O good friend, to take me for what I am not. I cherish a great friendship for thee in consequence of thy having granted me my life. I am, again, acquainted with the meaning of duty. I am an appreciator of other people's merits. I am very grateful for services received. I am devoted to the service of friends. I am, again, especially devoted to thee. For these reasons, O good friend, it behoveth thee to re-unite thyself with me. O thou that art acquainted with the truths of morality, it behoveth thee not to cherish any suspicion in respect of me."

Then the mouse, reflecting a little, replied with these words of grave import:—"Thou art exceedingly kind. But for all that, I cannot trust thee. I tell thee, O friend, the wise never place themselves, without sufficient reason, in the power of a foe. Having gained his object, the weaker of two parties should not again repose confidence in the stronger. One should never trust a person who does not deserve to be trusted. Nor should one repose blind confidence in one deserving of trust. One should always endeavour to inspire foes with confidence in himself. One should not, however, himself repose confidence in foes. In brief, the highest truth of all in reference to policy is mistrust. For this reason, mistrust of all persons is productive of the greatest good. One like myself should always guard his life from persons like thee. Do thou also protect thy life from the Chandala who is now very angry."

While the mouse thus spake, the cat, frightened at the mention of the hunter, hastily leaving the tree ran away with great speed, and the mouse also sought shelter in a hole somewhere else.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PROPOSALS FOR A GLOSSARY OF INDIAN RELIGIOUS PHRASEOLOGY.

It has been well observed that 'the vocabulary of ordinary life is almost useless when the region of mysteries and superstitions is approached,' in the case of races in a different stage of civilization from our own, and the difficulty has been felt in attempting to merely translate accounts of religious rites, beliefs and superstitions. I propose then to attempt the compilation of a Glossary of Modern Religious Terms.

In collecting material for such a Glossary it will have to be borne in mind that the two great religions, Hinduism and Islam, have totally

different vocabularies, and that it is important to distinguish them.[1] Indeed, to be on the safe side, it will be best to distinguish all the religions, noting against each term if it is confined to the Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Muhammadans (Sunnîs or Shiâs), *or to any sect or order among these.*

To illustrate what is required, I take a few words from the *Glossary of the Multani Language, 1881*, and other sources:—

Specimens for the Glossary.

Akharha, s. m. — Literally, an arena, a court. **Kharha**, special meaning, an indigo ground consisting of one or more sets of indigo-vats; the hole into which the water from the vats is run off; and the place where the indigo is dried.

Autark, s. m. — A childless man. **Autari**, s. f. — A childless woman. Panjabi "*aut*" and "*aunt*"; Hindi "*ut.*"

Buhal, s. m. — A yearly gift made to a *murshid*, or spiritual teacher. The *murshids* go round to their disciples' houses and demand their buhal in the most shameless manner, and even carry off articles by force. If the disciples are slow in giving, the *murshids* curse them and pour most filthy abuse on them. Refusals are rarely made. The *murshids* known as "*phulsage-walas*," *i. e*, who give amulets to their disciples, are notorious for this kind of extortion.[2]

Paluta, s. m. — An evil wish, a curse. It is the fear of the **Paluta** of religious mendicants that makes the people so subservient to them.

Palita, s. m. — A piece of paper on which a *murshid* writes some words or marks, and which he gives to a person attacked by *jins*, to drive them away. The possessed person sits with a sheet round him, and the **Palita** is lighted, bran and *harmal* are added, and allowed to smoulder under him.

Pareva. (*Not traceable in dictionaries.*)

Phul, s. m. — (1) Literally, a flower. **Phul Chunnan** (literally, to pluck flowers) is part of the ceremonies at Muhammadan marriages which are distinct from the religious service. A *mirasin* places on the bride's head a flock of cotton which the bridegroom blows away. This is done seven times. (2) The bones which remain after the corpse of a Hindu has been burnt and which are collected and taken to the Ganges. (3) An amulet, a charm. The belief in the power of amulets is universal. Those who give, or rather sell, amulets are, firstly, Sayyids and Qorêshîs, who are considered more pleasing to God than others; secondly, the incumbents of shrines and their sons; thirdly, impostors who can persuade people of the efficacy of their amulets It is not essential that a person should be either learned or moral to establish his character as a giver of efficacious amulets. Amulets are asked and given for almost every human want or to avert every possible ill, and to cure every kind of sickness. The following are the most common:— (1) *Bilanin da phul.* — A charm to win the heart of a woman. (2) *Dushmani da phul.* — To make two persons quarrel, especially a married couple, and the husband to divorce his wife. (3) *Halakat da phul.* — To make an enemy die. (4) *Nazar da phul.* — To avert the evil eye. (5) *Mati da phul.* — To produce much butter in the churn. (6) *Sinhari da phul.* — The charm of the churndasher — to attract all the butter in his neighbours' churns into his own. (7) *Mula da phul.* — To avert "*mula,*" a blight. Amulets are written on pieces of paper and on leaves, and sometimes consist of legible words as "*ya Allah,*" but more often of unintelligible signs. The price paid is called "*mokh,*" and whenever the desired result is attained a present is made in addition.

Pokhu, omen (Western Panjabi). *Bhara-pokhu-wala*, a child born under a good omen. *Halka-pokhu-wala*, a child born under a bad omen.

Topu Jopu, Kangra. (*Meaning unknown.*)

Chapri, s. f. — A small flat piece of wood about a span long and of the width of a finger. Spiritual guides, "*murshids,*" sell to their disciples **Chapris** of *ak* wood with the following words written on them: — "*Ghark shud lashkar-i-Farundar darya-i-Nil* — "Drowned was the army of Pharoah in the river Nile." The disciples wear these **Chapris** round their necks as prophylactics against remittent fever.

Chung, s. f. — (1) A handful; (2) that share of the crop which under former Governments was paid to the *kotwal* or incumbents of shrines either by Government or land-owners. It is still given in some parts to incumbents of shrines.

Chhanchhan, s. m. — (1) The planet Saturn, Saturday; (2) a small mound at the cross streets of towns on which Hindus offer oil and lamps on Saturdays in order to avert the evil influence of Saturn. Sindhi, "*Chhancharu*"; Hindi, "*Sanichar.*" "*Chhanchhan bale Kul bala tale,*"

[1] See *Panjab Census Report*, 1902, ch. VI. § 18, p. 287.

[2] *Cf. phul* below.

"when *chhanchhan* burns, all calamities are averted." Hindus repeat these words as they place the lamps as offerings.

Chelri, s. f. — A woman possessed by a *jin*, or evil spirit. Women so afflicted repair to certain religious shrines, — Jalalpur in Multan, Shahr Sultan in Muzaffargarh, Uch in Bahawalpur, Pir Katal in Dera Ghazi Khan, — to have the evil spirits cast out. The patients sit together, bareheaded, on the ground, and sway about their arms and bodies to the beating of a drum. An attendant of the shrine goes round beating them with a whip, while another gives them scented oil (*phulel*), on their heads, and to drink. The performance ends by the exhausted women being dragged away by their relations. **Chelri** is the feminine diminutive of *chela*, a disciple.

Rakhri, s. f. — (Literally, a little protectrix, from "*rakhan*," to keep or guard.) A protecting amulet. The incumbents of Muhummadan shrines sell to pilgrims scraps of paper, with the name of God or a text written on them, which are inserted in wooden lockets and tied round the necks of cattle to protect them from harm. Skeins of cotton or woollen threads are similarly sold at shrines and worn by pilgrims round the neck. Hindus also buy skeins of thread from Brahmans and wear them round the wrists. All such amulets are called **Rakhri**.

Rangin, s. f. — (1) The vesssel in which cloth is dyed; (2) a bath of heated sand. At the shrine of Pir Jahanian in the Muzaffargarh district people suffering from leprosy or boils get the incumbent to prepare baths of heated sand in which the diseased part or the whole body is placed. The efficacy of the remedy is ascribed to the saint.

Sami, s. f. — The niche or shelf in the western side of a Muhammadan's grave. The corpse lies in the **Sami** with its head towards the north and its face to the west. Hindustanis and Panjabis use the Arabic "*lahad*" for a grave-niche.

Sava, adj. — Green, grey. The feminine form *savi* is euphemistically used by Muhammadans for *bhang*. Hindus, also avoiding the name *bhang*, call it *sukha*, the pleasurable. [The Jogis call *bhang*, *bijia* or *Shivji-ki-buti*, and *charas* they call *suta*. These various names for hemp are of interest and a complete list is wanted.]

Saga, s. m. — A thread or rag given by spiritual advisers to disciples as a charm against evil. They exact a price for each.

Soran, v. a. — (1) To ask aid of a saint or spiritual adviser; (2) to add fuel to a fire.

Ganesh, s. m. — The share of a commercial enterprise, or of the harvest, which is given to the Brahmans. It is given from the harvest by both Muhammadans and Hindus.

Nirgun, a worshipper of God, as opposed to Surgun, a worshipper of images. (*Not in dictionaries.*)

Remarks.

1. The ordinary dictionaries are practically useless in this connection.

2. The difference in meaning between *chelri* and *chela* will be noted. Has *chelri* any other meaning? We may compare *Jogni*, which, though apparently the feminine of *Jogi*, seems to have acquired at least one very different meaning. What are the meanings of *Jogni?*

3. *Avatarak*, *Avatari*, seem clearly derived from *avatar*. A connected word (in Gurgaon) is *avagaun*, transmigration. Any other connected words might be noted together with their various meanings.

4. It is of special importance to note all the words for 'life,' 'soul,' 'spirit,' etc., with all their meanings.

5. Terms like *panth*, *phirka* (? sect), *dhuna*, *mat* (? order), *gachha*, *gana* (?), *nmasi* (Pashto), etc., have hitherto been translated at random. A complete list of all the words denoting a religious *sect*, *order*, or school is wanted, with a precise definition of each.

6. Words for religious offerings, rites, spells, charms, spiritual beings, — in short, all words connected with religion and popular beliefs might be included.

7. I should be glad to receive lists of religious terms, with such notes on each word as can be conveniently sent on the lines of those quoted above from the *Multani Glossary*.

H. A. ROSE,

Superintendent of Ethnography, Punjab.

July 21st, 1902.

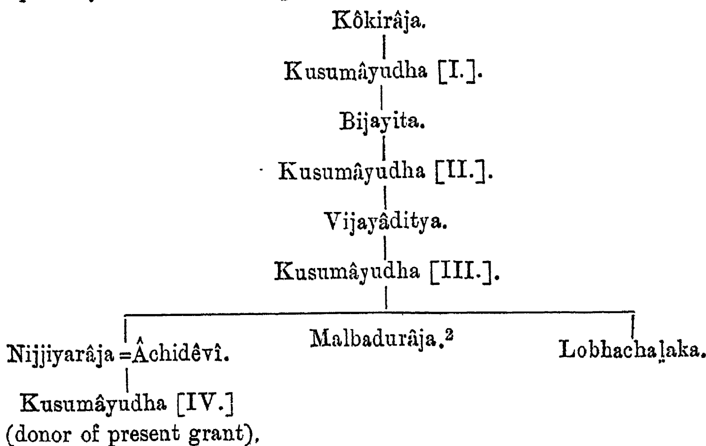
GRANT OF KUSUMAYUDHA IV.

BY C. BENDALL, M.A., M.R.A.S., PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, CAMBRIDGE.

THIS inscription is now edited for the first time. Its existence was discovered by me during my stay at Haidarâbâd (Dekhan) in March 1899, when **the original plates** were lent to me from the Treasury of H. H. the Nizam, to which they belong, for the purpose of publication. They number five and measure $6\frac{1}{2}''$ by $3\frac{5}{8}''$. As is usual also in the case of MSS., the first and last were originally written on one side only; but apparently somewhat after the main document was finished a few lines of Telugu were added in a different handwriting. The **language** is otherwise Sanskrit. All the rims are slightly raised. The **ring** is about $\frac{3}{8}''$ thick and $5''$ in diameter. The **seal** securing the extremities of the ring is obliterated. It seems to have been oval. The **characters** are those of Chalukya inscriptions of about the eleventh century or later; compare Burnell, *South-Indian Palæography*, Plates VII. and VIII., and Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, Table VIII., cols. v. to vii. The more remarkable forms of letters, as far as they can be indicated without a plate, which hardly seems to be called for, are as follows: — *A* (initial) is of the general form shown in cols. ii., iv., and viii. of Bühler's Table already cited; but it very closely coincides in shape with *l*, so closely indeed that the shape of *both* letters will be best seen by reference to the forms of that letter in the Table cols. xii. and xv., line 37. The *t* has often a long flourish to the left, as in col. vii., line 25, of Bühler, VIII.; in one case (Pl. I., l. 6) the flourish is curved round so far, over the top of the letter, that the characteristic angular addition at the top, used in the Telugu country, is placed not immediately over the main part of the letter but over the flourish. In the matter of **orthography** we may notice (*e. g.*, l. 42) the use of the labial-sibilant, rare, I think, at so late a date. The lingual *r* and *l* are duly employed in Dravidian forms. A few mistakes are corrected in the text. The chief are: — *n* for *ṇ* (l. 5); *ṭh* for *ś* (l. 7); *th* for *t* (l. 8); but *tta* for *ttha* in 52; *ji* for *bi* (44); *vri* for *vṛi* (51). The more confused spellings are duly recorded in the footnotes.

I regret that I have not identified the **localities** recorded in the grant. Koṇḍapaḷḷi (l. 23) ought to be the 'Condapilly'[1] of the Indian Atlas, near Bezwada; but I cannot find satisfactory traces of the other place-names anywhere near. This Koṇḍapaḷḷi and also the persons addressed in the grant are described as in the region or district (*vishaya*) of Maṁchikoṇḍa.

The most interesting feature of the record is the mention of **a new line of rulers** claiming to be allied to the Chalukyas. The branch of the family was called the **Madugoṇḍa-Chalukya of Mudugoṇḍu** (ll. 8, 9). The founder of the dynasty was **Kôkirâja** whose brother (not named) conquered **Chiyyârâja**. The Polakêsi and Raṇamarda mentioned in the earlier part of the inscription are possibly ancestors of the queen-mother, Âchidêvî. The pedigree runs thus: —



[1] Especially as this 'Condapilly' was once in the Nizam's dominions. Mogalu (some 5 miles N.-E. of Bhimavasam) is noted by Sewell as an ancient place; but the surrounding names (in the Indian Atlas, sheet 94) give no help.

[2] See note 28 below.

The **record** is a grant of the village of **Mogaluchuṛuvulu,** free of taxes, to the brahman Doneya of the Kutsita gôtra at the winter solstice of a year not specified.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakalabhuvana-saṁstûyama[4]-
2 mâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hâriti-putrâṇâṁ
3 Kauśikî-vara-prasâda-labdha-râjyânâm=Mâtṛi-
4 gaṇa-paripâlitânâṁ Svâmi-Mahâsêna-
5 pâd-ânudhyâtânaṁ bhagavan-Nârâyanâ(ṇa)-
6 prasâda-samâsâdita-vara-vara[râ]ha-lâṁ-
7 chchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaṭhî(śî)kṛit-ârâti-maṇḍalânâm=a-
8 śvamêdh-âvabhṛitâ(tha)-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-vapushâm=**Madu-**
9 **goṇḍa-Chalukyânâṁ** kulam=ala[ṁ]karishṇu[r*] **Mudugoṇḍu-**

Second Plate; first side.

10 **ru**-va(vâ)stavyaḥ **Kôki-râj**-ânuja[ḥ*] sênânî[5]-kṛi[6]-
11 tya sa kshôṇîṁ jugôp=âpratiśâsanaḥ [।*]
12 **Chiyyârâjaṁ** vinnirjjittya(vinirjitya) gṛihîtaṁ Garu-
13 ḍa-dhvajaṃ [।*] Râvaṇôrjjita-Vêtâ-
14 la-dhvajaṁ ch=âsme(smai) ni(nya)vêdayat [॥*] Ayôdhya[7]-
15 siṁhâsaṇa-râjya-chihnaḥ parair=ayô-
16 dhyô vijigîshur=âḍhyaḥ [।*] bhrâtrâ hy=araksha-

Second Plate; second side.

17 n=nikhilân=dharitrîn=nishkaṇṭakîkṛitya sa **Kôkirâjaḥ** [॥*]
18 **Polakêsir**=apy=avâdîd=anujân=pratibaddhâ(ddha)-paṭṭam=a-
19 vantu mat-putra-pautrâṇâm=iti sâmanta-sannidhau [॥*]
20 tatrâ=nvayê bhûpatir=âvirâsîd=raṇê-
21 shu Râmô **Raṇamardda**-nâmâ [।*] yat-kanyikâṁ
22 châru-**Chalukya-vaṁśô** dhattê hṛidi shva[8] kuladê-
23 vatâṁ cha [॥*] **Maṁchi-koṇḍa**[9]-vishayam=manôharaṁ **Ko-**
24 **ṇḍapallim**=achakram=âgatas=tatra tatra nava-śâsa-
25 nî-kṛitaṁ(tâṁ) grâma-sampadam=adh(th)=ânva(nu)bhuktavân [॥*]

Third Plate; first side.

26 **Kôki-râjâ** vairiniṇnirjjitya[10] tat-sutân=â[na*]mya
27 nṛipavaraḥ tat-sûnuḥ **Kusumâyudhaḥ** tad-â-
28 tmajô **Bijayitaḥ** tat-sutaḥ **Kusumâyu-**
29 **dhô** vinîtajanâśrayaḥ tat-sutô **Vijayâ-**
30 **dityaḥ** tat-sutaḥ **Kusumâyudhaḥ**
31 tat-pitâ **Malbadu-râjaḥ** tad-anujô **Lôbhacha-**
32 **ḷaka**[ḥ*] [॥*] tasy[11]=âgrajô **Nijjiyarâja**-nâmâ babhûva
33 vîrô dhṛitabhûmi-bhâraṁ(°raḥ) [।] yad-aṁgam=âlôkya sa

[3] From the original plates.
[4] Read °*stûyamâna*°.
[5] Probably metrical (ślôka).
[6] Employed confusedly for some word of subduing.
[7] Metre: Upajâti.
[8] Read probably *svê.*
[9] Metre: Rathôddhatâ. In the second line *achâkram* is an exceptional scansion in later Sanskrit.
[10] Read *vairiṇô nirjitya.*
[11] Metre: Upajâti.

Third Plate; second side.

34 Kâmadêvô manyê svayaṁ lajjitavân=ana[ṅ*]gaḥ [॥*]
35 anêna râjñâ svayam=**Âchidêvyâṁ** babhûva
36 vîraḥ **Kusumâyudhô**=yam [।*] yadhasvarêṇ[12]=Âṁ-
37 bikayâṁ[13] Kumâraḥ kula-dvayê kîrtti-
38 dharô raṇôgraḥ [॥*] lâvanya(ṇya)vân=indur=a—[14]ndya
39 têjâs=tathâpi bhûpaṁ **Kusumâyudh**-âkhyaṁ [।*] viśêsha-
40 tâ(tô) n=ânukarôti nityaṁ paksha-dvayê=py=akshara-
41 châru-kîrtti[ṁ*] [॥*] sa **Kusu[mâ]*yudhaḥ**=parama-

Fourth Plate; first side.[15]

42 ma[16]-mahêśvaraḥ=parama-brâhmaṇyâ[17] **Maṁchikoṇḍa-**
43 vishaya-nivâsinô râshṭrakûṭa-pramukham[18]-
44 kuṭuṁji(bi)nas=samâhya(hû)y=êttham=âjñâpayati [।]*
45 Kutsita-gôtrâya Doneyaśarmma-
46 ṇa(ṇê) vidava(tha?)dâga[19]-pâragâya **utta-**
47 **râyaṇa**-nimit[t]ê **Mogaluchu(vu?)ṟuvulu-**
48 nâma-grâma[ṁ*] sarva-kara-parihârîkṛitya ma-
49 yâ dattam viditam=astu vaḥ [।*]

Fourth Plate; second side.

50 asy=âvadhayaḥ [।*] pûrvataḥ Munnashâka-pola-mêra(re)-
51 y=arjjuna=vṛi(vri)kshe adhômukhe sîmasilaḥ[20] [।] âgnêyataḥ Kro-
52 vveṟu vula pola-mêra aśvatta(ttha)-vṛikshe na(?)kopa-sîḷa(ma)
53 silaḥ [।] dakshiṇataḥ koravi-pola mukâra-ku-
54 ṇḍa-sîma-silaḥ [।] nairṛitya[ta*]ḥ O(?)tai(?)lu-kshétra [।]
55 paśćimataḥ Ḻuvvu-sîla sîmam [।*] vâyavyataḥ Palû-
56 ṁ ruṁ bâlagaṇḍi-sîma-silaḥ [।*] uttarataḥ Tividi-giri [।] î-
57 śanyata[ḥ] Nâvulameṭṭa-sîma-silâḥ [।*] **uttarâyana(ṇa)-**
58 nivi(mi) ttam=munana donamayyam muppaṇḍru

Fifth Plate; first side.

59 brahma nulaku-bhara naḥ(?naṃ) buge siri madhvaśajaḥ=para-
60 mahîpati jâśca pâpâd=apêtamanasâ bhuvi châ (bhâ)vi-
61 bhûpâḥ yê pâlayanti mama dharmmam=idaṁ samasta[ṁ*] têsh[âṁ*]
62 mayâ virachitô=ṁjalir=êsha mûdôḥ[21] [।*] svadattâṁ paradattâṁ
63 vâ yô harêti(ta) vasuddha(ndha)râṁ shashṭiṁ varâhasahatrâṇî[22]
64 vishṭâ(shṭhâ)yâṁ ja(jâ)yatê krimi[ḥ] bhûmiṁ yaḥ=pratigṛihnâ(hṇâ)ti
65 yasya bhûmiṁ prayachchhati [।] ubhau tau puṇyakarmâṇau niyatau
66 svarggavâsinau sâmânyô=yaṁ dharma-sêtu[r] nṛipana(ṇâ)ṁ kâlê kâlê
67 pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ sarvân=êtâṁ(tân) bhâvinaḥ pârtivêndraḥ[23]
68 yô bhûyô ya(yâ)chatê Râmabhadraḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûta[ṁ*] bhû-
69 tasya tasya sadâm=(tadâ)=pa(pha)laṁ [॥] sna da oṟe julaṇî oya kha bhâ-

---

12 Read *yathêśvareṇ=*. *Îśvarêṇa* of course for *Śivêna*.
13 Here grammar is sacrificed to metre.
14 An *akshara* is missed; read probably *anindya*.
15 The numbering of this plate is incorrect; the figure for '4' having been erroneously placed on the obverse side. Possibly the mistake arose owing to the erroneous repetition of the syllable *ma*.
16 Erroneously repeated; compare last note.
17 Read either °*ṇyô* or °*ṇyân*.
18 Possibly to be deciphered as °*an*; in any case to be understood as °*ân*.
19 A proper name or corrupt word (*vidatha*° ?).
20 Several other corruptions of *sîmâśilâ* appear below.
21 *mudâ* ?
22 *varshasahasrâṇi*.
23 *pârthivêndrân*.

Fifth Plate; second side.

70 raṇa Donamayyuru me ḻovajulako
71 luku Bhîma naku śâsana jukaṇḍa
72 ri vi nanatka sâla ta naṁ bunu
73 ri ru vuṭṭi lâ (? â) dû paṭṭuvu û(?)du
74 vadu paṭṭu râjamânam=i-
75 chche [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail![24] the family of **the Madugoṇḍa-Chalukyas** are glorious, belonging to the gôtra of the Mânavyas praised through all the world; who have acquired sovereignty by the excellent favour of Kauśikî; who have been cherished by the assembly of the Mothers; who meditate on the feet of Svâmi-Mahâsêna; who have the territories of their foes made subject to them instantly at the sight of the excellent sign of the Boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa; and who purified their bodies by ceremonial bathings after aśvamêdhas. Ready to adorn this family, the younger brother of **Kôkirâja,** living at **Mudugoṇḍuru,** after subduing the earth protected it. (himself) subject to the behest of none. (L. 12) After winning from **Chiyyârâja** his captured Garuḍa-banner and his Vêtâla-banner mighty as Râvaṇa, he thus announced to him: — My brother **Kôkirâja,** flourishing, victorious, irresistible to his foes, bearing the insignia of royalty of an irresistible[25] throne, has become the guardian of the whole world, now that he has weeded it of his enemies. **Polakêsi** too declared to his brethren in the presence of his vassals that they[26] were to support the encircling diadem of his[26] sons and grandsons.

(L. 20) In his lineage appeared a very Râma in battles called **Raṇamarda,** whose daughter the fair race of **the Chalukyas** cherishes in their heart and as a family-goddess. He came to the delightful region of **Maṁchikoṇḍa,** to **Koṇḍapalli,** untraversed by wheels,[27] and in his turn enjoyed the fortune of the town to which then and there a new proclamation was granted.

(L. 26) **Kôkirâja,** when he had conquered his foes and brought their sons low, was the chief of kings. His son was **Kusumâyudha [I.],** whose son was **Bijayita.** His son was **Kusumâyudha [II.],** a refuge to the lowly; his son was **Vijayâditya;** and his, **Kusumâyudha [III.].** His father[28] was **Malbadurâja,** whose youngest brother was **Lôbhachaḻaka.** His eldest brother was named **Nijjiyarâja,** a hero who bore the burden of the world. Kâmadeva the bodiless god when he beheld his form felt himself put to shame, I trow. That monarch had as a son by (his consort) **Âchidêvî** the present **Kusumâyudha [IV.],** fierce in battle, renowned in two races, just as Lord Śiva begot on Ambikâ Kumâra. The moon is beauteous, and blameless her radiance; yet she follows not especially king Kusumâyudha; for he has fair glory undimmed for ever, in one fortnight even as in the other.

(L. 41) This **Kusumâyudha [IV.],** the great lord of high brahman lineage, hereby summons the inhabitants of the district of **Maṁchikoṇḍa,** headed by the *Râshṭrakûṭas,* being householders, and thus orders them: — 'Be it known to you that I have given to the brahman *Doneya* of the Kutsita[29] gôtra, who has reached the furthest shore of . . . . , the village called **Mogaluchuṟuvulu** on the occasion of the **winter solstice** and have hereby freed it of all taxes." [Boundaries specified; and followed by epic verses of imprecation. The boundaries are: E. Munnashâka; S. E. Krovveṟu°; S. Koravi°; S. W. Otailu (?); W. Ḻuvvu; N. W. Palûmṟu°; N. the hill Tividi; N. E. Nâvulameṭṭa.]

[24] See Vol. VII. 17 above, where the exordium is the same.
[25] It would be tempting to read *Âyôdhya(-ka),* 'throne of Oude,' and thus get a pun instead of tautology.
[26] The phrase contains a curious mixture of *oratio obliqua* and *directa.*
[27] Or, if we read *avakram* for *achakram,* 'straight to Koṇḍapalli.'
[28] So the Sanskrit; but 'son' must apparently be meant; unless Malbadu-râja be a title of Vijayâditya.
[29] Not known as a gôtra-name: but doubtless a connection with the ṛishi Kutsa is intended.

THE RELIGION OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLES.

BY THE LATE PROF. C. P. TIELE.

(*Translated by G. K. Nariman.*)

(*Continued from Vol. XXXI. p. 378.*)

CHAPTER II.[49]

Earliest History of the Zoroastrian Religion — Introduction — Geography, Ethnography, and General History of Iran.

With the Medo-Persians and their near kinsmen the Baktrians or East Iranians, who for close on three centuries followed the Babylonians and Assyrians in the suzerainty of Western Asia, and who, albeit for a brief space and with little success, overran Egypt and Greece, there enters on the stage of universal history **an Aryo-European or Indo-Germanic nation** to play on it a not inconsiderable part. The territory it occupied in its prosperous times stretched from the Caspian Sea to the Araxes, and the Oxus, the sea of Aral in the North, and the Hindu Kush, the table-land of the Pamirs, and the Indus and its tributaries in the East, as far as the Erythrian or Persian Gulf in the South, and Elam, Babel, and Assyria in the West. It is usually denominated **Iran**, *i. e.*, the land of **the Iranians or Aryans**, and the most important parts of which it is made up are Persia, Greater Media or Media Proper, Lesser Media or Atropatane, Parthia, and Baktria, together with the Eastern provinces. Elam or Susiana is, too, frequently included therein. It is, as contrasted with the fertile colony watered by prodigious torrents in which the Semites settled, a mountainous country traversed by scanty rivers, with an **extremely unstable climate,** — here and there, and particularly in the valleys, a considerably fertile but mostly ungrateful soil, which exacted enormous exertion from its children. For the greater part it is arid, an extensive waste separating the west from the east. But the eastern regions are distinguished by fruitfulness and a temperate clime; while many of them may be esteemed as true paradises. We shall observe that this nature of the lands of Iran is co-related not only with the manner of its inhabitants, but has also **influenced the character of their religion.** Herodotus[50] extols the sagacity of Cyrus, who, to the suggestion of Artembares and certain others of the nobility for an exchange of their poor and parched habitat for a more productive and affluent country when it was in their power to do so, said in reply that they would then degenerate from the rulers into the ruled. Thus the Greeks perceived, and may be the Persians too, that the nature of the soil and the climate of the country had made a shrewd, hardy, warlike race of them, a race which for a time dominated the civilized world. These natural characteristics are reflected in the prosaic, practical, and severely austere moral trend of the Zarathushtrian religion.

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[49] [In this Chapter, when a pair of names is joined by a hyphen, the first indicates the *Avesta* and the second the corresponding Indian term: *e.g.*, in Haoma-Soma, Haoma is the *Avesta* expression and Soma the answering Vedic equivalent. — TR.]

[50] Herodotus, 9, 122. [Artembares, the grandfather of this Artayctes who was hoisted aloft, was the person who originated a remark which the Persians adopted and conveyed to Cyrus in these terms: "Since Jupiter has given the sovereign power to the Persians, and among men, to you, O Cyrus, by overthrowing Astyages; as we possess a small territory, and that rugged, come, let us remove from this and take possession of another, better. There are many near our confines, and many at a distance. By possessing one of these we shall be more admired by most men; and it is right that those who bear rule should do so; and when shall we have a better opportunity than when we have the command of many nations and of all "Asia"? Cyrus, having heard these words, and not admiring the proposal, bade them do so; but when he bade them, he warned them to prepare henceforth not to rule, but to be ruled over; for that delicate men spring from delicate countries, for that it is not given to the same land to produce excellent fruits and men valiant in war. So that the Persians, perceiving their error, withdrew and yielded to the opinion of Cyrus; and they chose rather to live in a barren country, and to command, than to cultivate fertile plains and be the slaves of others. — TR.]

Ethnography.

The people, after whom the land is called Iran in contradistinction to the Turanian countries, and who rose to be the ruling nation, had not been always dwelling there. They gradually supplanted more primitive tribes, whom they to all appearance did not hunt down, but in a great measure absorbed in themselves. They designated themselves **Aryans,** just as the Indians discriminated their own people by the same appellation from the rest of the masters of the Indian peninsula. In the *Avesta* occasionally we come across Aryans and Aryan territories. The Achæmenides prided themselves on their being not Persians merely, sons of Persians, but also Aryans, sons of Aryans, and, as already remarked, the Medes, according to Herodotus, were previously called *Αριοι*. It does not follow from this that the Medes were the only ones to bear the name, because the historian was unaware that other septs, too, laid claim to it. Even the sparse Ossites[51] of the Caucasus, who speak an Iranian tongue, assume the denomination of *Iron*. Aryan signifies noble — those born of pure blood, the *ingenui*. Whatever the diversity of the idioms they employ, in actuality and at least originally they composed but one language. Its dialects fall probably into two large groups, of which one had spread from Afghanistan in the South over the whole East Iran and the North. To it, *inter alia*, belonged the idiom of the *Avesta* or the Baktrian, while the other swayed the West, that is, to speak with greater precision, Media and Persia. Sufficient data are by no means forthcoming to regard the Avestaic speech as that of Media. To judge by the names of the Medes familiar to us, this dialect need not have radically differed from the Persian. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that the huge inscriptions which Darius Hystaspes had incised on the rock of Behistun, like those in Persia Proper, have been composed in old Persian, new Susian, and Assyrian or Babylonian tongues. Had the current language of Media been totally other than the Persian, he would have substituted the latter by the former. For the assumption that the second of the languages in question was Median is grounded on misapprehension. It is assuredly the language of Susiana, most intimately akin to the Elamite, in which likewise inscriptions are preserved in two dialects, one more archaic than the other. Now it is quite possible that the aborigines of Media, subjugated by the Aryans, employed a language of the same family with the Elamite; but in the time of the Achæmenides and the Aryan supremacy it was unquestionably not the recognized speech of the country. The domination of Media was Aryan. The names of the vast majority of kings of whom Herodotus makes mention, and some of which recur in the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, go to prove this. Oppert's attempts to explain the names presented by Ktesias (in lieu of those of Herodotus) by means of the Susian, *i. e.*, the so-called Median, must, despite all the ingenuity expended over them, be reckoned abortive.

In reference to religion **all Iranians** constituted a real unity — we leave out of account presumably local peculiarities, — although there is little about them which we know with absolute certitude. And in antiquity, unity of faith usually goes hand in hand with uniformity of language. They all **adopted,** if not without modifications, **the Mazdayasna creed.** Auramazda is to Darius and his successors, as in the *Avesta*, the Supreme Deity, the Creator of all, notwithstanding their perpetual veneration along with Him of local divinities in pursuance of local tradition. And howsoever Cyrus and Kambyses, as conquerors of alien dominions, may have shaped their Church policy, there are no grounds to warrant the supposition that they were not adorers of Mazda. The Magians, a Median sept according to Herodotus, were for both the nationalities the sole and legitimate leaders of the cultus and the guardians of religious usage. Without them no sacrificial rite could be validly performed. This clearly indicates that in this respect the Medians were not distinguished from the Persians. In this regard they were differentiated from the other Iranians — at least from those among whom the *Avesta* originated. Among the latter the sacerdotal class are styled ***Atharvans,*** or fire-priests, a designation which Strabo still met with in Capadocia. The name of the

[51] [Dr. Hübschmann contributes a dissertation on their language to the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie.*—TR.]

Magi in the sense of priests does not occur in the *Avesta*.[52] The prevalence, however, even in Media of the Zarathushtrian religion is inferable from the names of two of the most considerable kings, Fravartis and Uvakhshatara (Phraotes and Kyaxeres), names which both connote unmixed Mazdo-Zarathushtrian ideas, to wit, "the professor" and "the promoter of growth." And they undeniably held sway in the East and North of Iran, where lay at all events most of the lands which the first *Fargard* of the *Vendidad* enumerates as created by Ahura Mazda for his worshippers and provided with all blessings. Moreover, the legendary accounts transfer to Atropatene the birthplace of Zarathushtra. It is admitted on all hands that the service of Mazda was extended as far as Armenia.

We have naturally no records of the religion of the Iranians anterior to the genesis and introduction of Zarathushtrianism. But that it was the same in all the tribes may be considered certain. The Iranians constituted one of the two septs of the Aryans, of which the Indians were the other. And we purpose to show that both originally were adherents of a common worship; wherefrom it directly follows that the ancient religion of the Iranian tribes, apart from local divergences, was one and the same, being a ramification of the more primitive Aryan faith.

When and whence the **Aryans immigrated into Iran,** and how they diffused themselves over the country is, a problem admitting of **no conclusive solution.** At first it was held that the opening chapter of the *Vendidad* furnished a clue to it. In this catalogue of countries,[53] beginning with the lands of the Aryan fraternity and ending with the valleys of the Indus and the Rangha or Xexartes, some read a narrative of the exodus of the primordial Aryan settlers in Iran. Others combat this view on diverse grounds, and, *inter alia*, because of the inclusion in the list of mythical territories. But the latter objection is yet far from substantiated. **Aryanem Vaejo,** the Aryan *stem-land*, is decidedly not a fanciful region, notwithstanding that latterly, and also to the glossators of the *Fargard*, it became a legendary land, the rendezvous of Ahura Mazda, Yima, and Zarathushtra — in other words, a paradise. It is a very real country where the weather is unendurable, and which on that account appears to have been abandoned of men. Subsequently the phantasy of latter-day generations came to glorify it. Varena, too, though we are unable to verify its site, is as much or as little imaginary as the ancient countries figuring in the military annals of Egyptian and Assyrian princes, the situation of which is obscure to us. Nor is it to be relegated to the domain of the unreal because it was the theatre of the legends of Thraetona and Azi Dahaka. For in that case Babel, too, were a mythical city, where another passage locates Azi Dahaka's abode. And how many myths of antiquity do not allude to actual and extant places? The explanation above referred to seems to me not so untenable. The apparent anomaly with which the author now and again springs from one end of the land to another confirms me in this hypothesis. Did we but reflect on the regions whose situation is established, we should get a clear notion of the gradual expansion of the nation. Issuing from Airyanem Vaejo, where colonization was first sought,[54] the Aryans settle in the desolate Sughdha, or Sogdiana, and progress onward to the neighbouring Margiana and Nisaea,[55] from the last named to Haraina, the Areia of the Greeks and modern Herat; thence to Vakereta, which is probably Kabul, and to Harakhraiti, the modern Helmend. Between

[52] The only passage, *Yasna* 65, 7 (Spiegel, 64, 25), where it is supposed to be found must be interpreted differently. See the Monograph *Over de Oudheid vant Avesta*, blz. 8.

[Mill's version of the passage is admittedly based on the Pahlavi gloss. — TR.]

[53] [Of the sixteen lands, nine are identified with certainty. For the rest the Pahlavi commentary is our only guide. — *S. B. E.* IV. 1 *seq.* Dr. W. Geiger's *Geographaie von Iran* in the *Grund. Iran. Phil.* is a storehouse of condensed information and completely quotes the literature. As regards modern Persia, even in point of geography, Lord Curzon's work stands pre-eminent. — TR.]

[54] Note that here we have obviously to deal with a Colony; the Aryan land is called not Sughdha, but Gava which is in Sughdha. The chapter contains more similar expressions.

[55] Nisaea is said to lie between Bakhdhi and Mouru. Literally this is not correct. May it not indicate that it was colonized by emigrants from both?

whiles settlements were attempted in the Northern Hyrkania and the adventurers had wandered forth up to Ragha.

Next follow, to omit the unidentified Varena and Chakhra (conjecturally both lay somewhere in the vicinity of the Caspean Sea), the Haptâ Hindu in the South-east. and Ragha, which latter, a land of inclement cold, must have occupied more northern latitudes. Be that as it may, the document the editor of the *Fargard* employed to his edifying end bears every trace of hoary antiquity. It exhibits the geographical horizon of the original author in its entirety. His Iranian world does not extend beyond. Media and Persia were situate outside of these limits.

History.

The above exposition derives corroboration from the records of the wars of the Assyrian kings. Several times they made incursions, and prior to the Babylonian conquerors, far into **Media**. Though they did not completely overthrow it, they pursued the object of terrorizing the populace by ceaseless raids and predatory inroads, and there founded sporadic colonies. Now well nigh all the names of the Median localities and tribes they mention have a non-Aryan ring about them, at any rate till the reign of Saragon II. This evidences that the bulk of the Aryans before the eighth century B. C. had not pressed forward so far to the west. Still we encounter stray exceptions. In near propinquity to the eastern border of Assyria the country or the clan of Paršuaš is spoken of, which appear to have dwelt east of Elam at the time of Senacherib. Perhaps they were the Persians, though the name might equally be an Assyrian disguise for the Parthavas or Parthians. In the annals of Salamanassar II., ninth century B. C., he relates of a victory over a certain Artasar who lived not far from Paršuaš, and speaks of a prince of Hubushka, now called Data, and again Datana.[56] Both names are certainly Aryan. Tiglatpiesar III. names as the lord of Kummukh, *i. e.*, Kommagene, far in the west, a Kushtaspi, in which uncouth expression we recognize the unmistakable Vishtaspa. Saragon II. captures in Man a Dayaukku, which word he considers a proper name, but which signifies a landgrave *dahyuka*. A similar oversight we discover in Herodotus who calls the founder of the Median Monarchy Deiokes.[57] Finally, Ashurahiddan advanced up to Patischaria, Patusharra, the old Persian Patishuvari, and there waged war on two rulers whom he denominates Eparna and Siterparna, names in which occurs the Zarathushtrian idea of *frana*, the Baktrian *hvarena*, the sacred *gloria*. Consequently, the Aryans, though settled in the east and north, appear to have but tardily progressed to the west and south portions of Iran, till at last they grew in puissance enough to establish an empire.

According to an ancient tradition available to the Greeks, **Baktria** was, previous to the founding of the Median hegemony, a powerful principality with a tolerably advanced civilization. It is hard to account as history a tradition which sounds highly improbable and which has but a slender basis. However, it is perhaps not altogether groundless and is capable of being sustained by the circumstance that the Aryan at first betook himself to Baktria and the adjoining districts before Media and Persia owned him overlord. Since the explorations of the past few years the remote antiquity of culture has been more and more established, and there is little warrant to urge the impossibility of such domination here and at such an obscure period of the past. An undisputed precedence over other eastern principalities is accorded to Baktria in the Iranian and Indian sources. Better data witness to the existence of the Median dynasty, though we are not left much detail. As noted above, Deiokes, to whom Herodotus ascribes the founding of the empire, is in all probability but the title of the landgrave. The

[56] Black obelisk, line 171 *seq.*, 161 and 177. By "Aryan" is meant here by no means "Perso-Aryan." There were also Aryan or Indo-German Scythians whose language was evidently akin partly to the Iranian. The name of the country of Khubushka sounds quite Scythian.

[57] Comp. my *Babylonisch-Aisyresche Geschichte*, p. 263.

other names which he specifies, Phraotes and Kyaxares, are good Persian ones, and are familiar to us through the inscriptions of the Achæmenides. A revolutionary under Darius claims descent from Uvakhshastar (Kyaxares). Another, a Mede, is called Fravertes, and names himself Khshathrita, while obviously he is designated Kashtaritu prince of Media in an Assyrian fragment.[58] Presumably, Khshathrita was the last legitimate ruler of Media, and Astyages, whom Nabunaid, the last autocrat of Babel, dubs Ishtuvegu, a Scythian or Kimmerian usurper.

It is definitely known that Astyages was vanquished by Cyrus, and that his own army delivered him up to the Persian conqueror. With Cyrus the stock of the Persians in the first half of the sixth century B. C. assumed paramount power. The Persian dynasts, who, after Hakhamanishya, their ancestor, were known as the **Achæmenides,** were, it would seem, till now under the subjection of the Median rulers. But while the power of the Medes rapidly declined on account of the incursions and occasional government of the Scythians, hardy Aryan clans hailing from the North, the Persian might constantly increased. Since the time of Cishpis (Teispes) they possessed themselves of Elam, which had previously received from Asurbanipal its *coup-de-grace*, and thenceforward assumed, by preference, the style of princes of Anzan, at the same time[59] that they were the regents of Persia as well. Cyrus the Great, second of the name, the third according to some authorities,[60] was the first king of kings of Persian lineage, who, not content with the homage of all Iranian nations, annexed Lydia to the Asiatic possessions of his empire, and reduced by his victorious arms the whole of West Asia. The sovereignty remained from this time in the hands of the Achæmenides. But after the death of Kambyses II., the son of the Great Cyrus, and of the pseudo-Smerdes, Bardia, and of Gaumata, the Magian, the dynasty was transferred with Darius, Daravush, son of Hystaspes or Vishtaspa, to the younger branch. More than once the successor to the throne was not a lineal descendant but a distant kinsman of the preceding sovereign, and one who waded through blood to the sceptor. This formidable empire, however, despite its bad government, would not so soon have fallen to pieces, had the genius of the general Alexander to cope with a Cyrus or a Darius, son of Vishtaspa, and "the lances of Persian manhood," of which Darius boasted that they had reached far and wide, not been committed to the charge of an incompetent and vainglorious despot, who, too pusillanimous to die on the battlefield, was assassinated by one of his own satraps. With his fall commenced a new era, not only for the people at large, but likewise for the religion he had professed. The alien hegemony was not propitious to the native faith. Its renaissance was inaugurated with the rise of the Parthian house, which was Iranian. And this religious revival was consummated under the **Sassanides.** But that lies outside the province of our present research. The historical outline we have presented, and which was our objective, must suffice for a background to **the evolution of Zarathushtrian religion down to Alexander.** But before we embark on the latter exposition, we have to examine the soil into which the religion struck roots — to inquire (to put it differently) on what anterior worship it was superposed.

2. The East Iranian Religion.

Of the religion out of which Zarathushtrianism was evolved, or at least which it superseded, we are left neither original records nor direct accounts. And yet it is possible to picture to ourselves its features, collocating for comparison the religious conceptions and usages of the cognate tribes and establishing their common traits. The Iranian's next-of-kin in religion is the

[58] In another Assyrian text he is called town-bailiff of Karkašši, and with him is mentioned Mamitiarsu, the town-bailiff of the Medes. Comp. my *Babylon.-Assyr. Geschichte*, p. 334 *seq.*, and especially p. 335, note 1.

[59] In my paper on "Het land Anzan — Aušan" (Leyden, 1894) I have endeavoured to establish that Anzan or Ansan here signifies the part of Elam in which lay the capital of Susa. It is well known that this city was the favourite residence of Persian monarchs.

[60] Nöldeke who infers this from Herod. 7, 11. I think that Herodotus presents as *one* the genealogies of Xerxes and of Cyrus, and places them both by mistake one after the other. See his *Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte*, p. 15. [These valuable essays have been contributed in an English version to the *Encyclopœdia Britannica.* — TR.]

Indian. Both are the two enormous ramifications of a people which distinguished itself from its neighbours by the appellation of Aryan betokening its superiority to them. The languages which the two peoples spoke bear closer affinity than any others of the Aryo-European or Indo-Germanic family of languages to which they belong, especially with reference to their primitive structure. Grammar and vocabulary, phraseology and declension, accord to a degree which compels us to derive them from one and the same antique tongue. **Indians and Iranians,** then, employed of yore **one language** which may best be christened **Aryan**, or, if the term should cover the whole family, the **East Iranian.** And it directly follows that they at one time dwelt in immediate vicinity, nay, in the self-same locality, and composed but one nation. *Where* this has been the case we need not inquire here. All manner of conjectures have been advanced and advocated, but not one has till now won universal concurrence. We would have had to be satisfied with the answer "somewhere in Asia," but for the theory which some have enunciated of the European origin. But for us the problem is of subordinate significance. Suffice it to know that Iranian and Indian have been one folk. This postulate will elucidate the striking harmony in their tone of religious thought and will help us exhibit the salient characteristics of their common creed, so far as the vestiges thereof bequeathed to us render the task feasible. It is not germane to our purpose to retrograde still backward and to propound the question whether the entire race which comprehended the Asiatic or East Iranian and kindred peoples constituted whilom a unity not linguistic alone but religious as well.

But first of all we stand face to face with the suggestion, which seeks to ascertain if whatever of religious basis the two peoples share in common cannot be looked upon as the consequence of a reciprocal intercourse, that is, as concepts and customs which they adopted the one from the other. And as a matter of fact this assumption has been made to explain all the instances of consonance in mythology and cult, in the names of deities and rites, and thus the nugatory results of the science of comparative religion and mythology are demonstrated, the whole structure erected by the latter with so much ingenuity and erudition crumbling to the ground. Sound strictures these capable of demonstrating the extravagance of the comparative method and the vindication of other methods of exposition, which latter in many a case strike the right nail on the head.

It is a pity, however, that the new theory falls into exactly the same insularity as the older one and stultifies itself by its extravagance. However that may be in general, borrowing is out of the question in our particular instance. It may be urged the Iranians and the Indians were something more than cognate; they resided in the closest proximity. Their bounds merged into each other at the Indus. Afghanistan affords an apt illustration. The language of this country is Pashtu. We are justified to number it among the Iranian dialects; and yet it so abounds with Indian ingredients that many a scholar has set it down as an Indian dialect, or at any rate an independent tongue very nearly akin to the Iranian.

What holds good of language, may not that have been true of religion in the earlier centuries? There is nothing intrinsically to militate against the possibility. But actually it is precluded. To indicate the most important objections alone: The common traits they disclose, from the religious standpoint, are not of the essence; at least they have no bearing on the more prominent conceptions of the several systems. They relate to the elements allowed on sufferance or those re-admitted after resistance. The points of contact, even when scrutinised individually, point to what we must regard as survivals of a bygone age. And these relics again, when separately examined in either religion, show that they have developed independently and peculiarly. They are at the same time in unison and apart from each other *toto caelo*. Mutual adoption would have involved, on the part of the Iranians, the assimilation of Indra and Agni; on the part of the Indians the absorption of Ahura Mazda and Vohumano. But Ahura Mazda and Vohumano have remained unknown to the Indians; and as for Indra,

to the Iranian he is of the realm of the evil. What most claims our attention is that there is so much that is the same in the two creeds, but which in spirit and nature is wholly antagonistic, standing poles apart. In respect of one point we are doubtful, namely, touching the **Haoma-Soma worship.** The service of Soma in the Indian cult is a cardinal circumstance, but is so only in the later stage of Zarathushtrianism. It is nowhere alluded to in the Gathaic literature. The evident inference, consequently, is that a feature which takes a principal rank in the oldest document of a people, and which rises to importance at a subsequent period in another, is a loan from the former to the latter. Additional force is lent to the deduction when we remember that Haoma does not play anything like so prominent a part among the Iranians, which it enjoys among the Indians; that the Indians have dedicated one entire *maṇḍala* of the *Rig-Veda* to it in its form of *Pavamana*; that its votaries, Indra foremost, indulge in boundless potations of the beverage, winding up with larceny and mortal fracas; and that they have an inexhaustible dictionary of its honorific epithets and a vast number of compounds, one of whose components is represented by Soma. The Iranians, on the contrary, are poor in this respect, less lavish, sparing even to parsimony in conferring titles on Haoma. To the Soma-imbibing Indians we find no parallel in the *Avesta*. It at the same time merits attention that in the solitary passage in all the Gathaic texts where Haoma is mentioned, in the later addendum to the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*[61] we simultaneously come upon the Atharvans or Fire-priests "who come from afar." All this tends to make one suspicious as to the Soma-Haoma doctrine and as to the cult of it being the relic of the East Aryan epoch. It is indubitable that the East Aryans were acquainted with an immortalizing drink, for we find it among the Iranians, and it is equally traceable to the old Aryan or Indo-Germanic age. The myths and customs under consideration are at once ancient and universal. Their vestiges can be traced even to the non-Aryans. I am speaking only of the peculiar shape with which they are invested in the Soma-Haoma *latria*, and this form I am inclined to set down as comparatively later. Again, I am not of opinion that the Iranians adopted the Haomo direct from the Vedic Indians, and that "the Atharvans who came from afar" proceeded from the opposite bank of the Indus. It were then not so fundamentally divergent in its agreement with Soma, nor would it have been evolved so independently in Iran. And in that case it were not easy to differentiate it from Indra and Twahstra. In all probability the parent-land of the Haoma-Soma worship has to be sought on the Iranian river **Harakhvaiti,** whence it would disseminate itself east, north, and westward. In the name **Sarasvati,** then, which was bestowed by the Vedic Indians on the invisible stream between the Indus and the Ganges and on the banks of which they originally settled, we would have to look for a reminiscence of the holy river in whose vicinity the peculiar cult arose.[62]

We now pass on to give **a conspectus of the religion of the East Iranians,** of the yet inseparate Indians and Iranians.

If they had still clung to a goodly number of animistic ideas and usages, nevertheless their religion was dicidedly polytheistic. The beings they invoked they addressed by a variety of honorific epithets: — The celestials (*deva* — *daeva*), the spirits (Asura — Ahura), the affluent donors or lot-dispensers (*bhaga*, — *bagha*, *baga*), the revered (*yajata* — *yazuta*). Of these appellations the first two are of the most frequent occurrence in both the creeds; the last two are perhaps more in vogue in one clan than the other. Two of these, *deva* and *bhaga*, were current even prior to the East Iranian period, the first being very general, the second at least among the Slav people. Asura has its counterpart in the old Norse Asen, while Yajata is a congener of the Greek ἅγιος.

[61] *Yasna*, 42, 5.

[62] This coincides with Hillebrandt's conjectures, *Vedesche Mythologie*, I. 100. But all his hypotheses cannot be accepted.

The divinities were nature-gods, and the sagacity and science with which men credited them must have been taken, to a large measure, for sorcery or a sort of supernatural wisdom not to be acquired in the way of ordinary meditation, a special divine endowment which none but the elect of humanity shared with the heavenly existences. But when these intelligences are credited with a beneficent government (*sukshatra* — *hukhshathra*) and are styled self-willed (*sajosha* — *hazaosha*), therein resides the germ of a belief in a definitely-ordained world.

At the head of the supernal world stand seven supreme spirits. And it is not without reason that **the seven Adityas of India** are thought to answer to as many **Amesha Spentas of Iran.** We say not without reason because the figure remains constant, notwithstanding the objection that at times more than the well-known seven mentioned by Plutarch are reckoned, and that all the deities recognized as Adityas in the aggregate transcend the number. An enormous importance attaches to this sacred number in both the religions. To illustrate our claim by a few out of numerous examples, the Indian equally with the Persian divides the terrestrial sphere into seven continents, the *dwipas* of the one, the Keshwaras of the other; seven sacred rivers which are not to be distinguished from the seven tributaries of the Sarasvati; seven sacred minstrels (Saptarshi) of the Indians, whom the Iranian depicted in the seven stars of Ursa Major (Haptoirenga), and diverse symbolical, ritual operations in which the number recurs again and again. The number is both ancient and primival, invested with religious sanctity by both. It has its prototype again in the celestial world. The Zarathushtrian reformers added to the number their supreme spirits, inclusive of Ahura Mazda, but simultaneously replaced a couple of them by others, thus keeping to the original figure. The Indians styled them the sons of Aditi; but reckoned among them likewise Varuna and Mitra and Aryaman, and filled the remaining places at pleasure mostly by personification of abstractions. Now it happens that **Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman** are precisely divinities of a category other than the one which appertains specially to the Vedic mythology and which are revered most in the Vedic period. Varuna, at any rate, takes more after a Semitic than an Aryan god. In his capacity of sovereign and lord of all (Samraj) and controller of the moral system of the world is he the dispenser of precious blessings, but he is at the same time feared as the judge of all transgressions which are brought to his knowledge, however concealed they remain from the eyes of others. To the Iranian, Mithra is principally the avenger of violated faith and the redoubtable guardian of pledge or truth, or compact. In the Vedic panthean the deity is not in her element. Mitra recedes in the background, and, as a nature-god, is supplanted by Indra and others. Only in conjunction with Varuna, with whom she forms a Dyad (*dvandva*), she retains something of her importance. Aryaman appears rarely alone in the *Rig-Veda*, much oftener in company of Varuna and Mitra or with one of them or with one or more of the rest of the Adityas, but most commonly with the two first named, and once as forming an intimate triad.[63] Mitra and Aryaman are synonyms and properly connote 'friend' and 'bosom friend,' the second oftenest in the sense of 'friend of the bridegroom,' παρα νυμφιος, and this signification is yielded both in the *Veda* and the *Avesta*. Accordingly there is adequate ground to claim the inclusion of the three among the seven highest in the East Aryan period. The Zarathushtrian reformers elevated others to their position and allotted to Mitra and Aryaman a place outside of the seven. Mitra was the potent divinity of lumination, thrust back in the Gathic period, but so intertwined with the popular beliefs that in a subsequent age he was of necessity reinstated among the Zarathushtrian Yazatas. His office it was to befriend and succour the faithful in fight, and he was, as we saw, protector of Veracity and Justice. Aryaman, whose presence the fraternity desiderate, perhaps was, as the name leads us to surmise, the guardian genius of the Aryan nation, the promoter of their prosperity and the cherisher of

[63] *Rig-Veda*, VII. 38, 4. Bergaigne, *Relegion Vedique*, III. 98, and note to p. 102. [The *Avesta* form of the god is Mithra, the Vedic form being Mitra. — TR.]

their fertility. And perhaps we may descry in Varuna the celestial reflex and god-head of the king, in Mitra that of the contumacious nobility, and in Aryaman that of a loyal populace.

For, that Varuna is of the cycle of the East Aryans reposes on a well-founded hypothesis. We may leave it undecided whether he was so early adored under that appellation or whether this designation is still older and is connected with the Greek Uranos. The first alternative has the weight of greater probability. We believe that the personified abstraction which passes under the name of Varuna in the Vedic times is more primival than the religions, either Vedic or Avestaic. So its absence among the Iranians is tolerably explicable. Such as embraced the Zarathushtrian creed were unable to place another supreme deity in juxtaposition with Mazda Ahura, the omniscient Ahura. In the new scheme Varuna is superseded by a god, who is his equal in several respects, and who, similarly to him, is Ahura (Asura) *par excellence.* Varuna among the Indians was so intimately associated with the ethical and phenomenal world (which they denoted by the word *ṛta*) that he to a certain extent coincides with the latter, so much so that not without a show of reason is he characterized a personification of *ṛta*. Analogously, Mazda is as good as identical with Asha, the Iranian parallel of *ṛta*, whom the Zarathushtrians have also in a manner personified. Again, as Mitra is associated with Varuna in the *Veda*, so too is Mitra with Ahura in the younger *Avesta*.[64] It is neither proved nor probable that this Ahura is another being than Ahura Mazda. There is equally meagre evidence for the supposition that the highest God of Zarathushtrian system has supplanted Dyaus[65] (who is conspicuous by his absence among the Persians), but was not able to supersede the celestial deity Varuna. On the contrary, he unites in himself the importance of both who both are many times curtly styled Asura. But in most aspects Ahura Mazda is in unison with Varuna, Dyaus is a most primivæl nature-god dating back to anti-East Aryan times. In the *Veda* he occupies a place in the dogma, but in the liturgical exercitation he has sunk into nonentity.[66] Not, however, that Mazda Ahura is distinguishable from Varuna-Asura only by name. Mazda is a creation of the Zarathushtrian protestantism. But they are too similar the one to the other for both to be simultaneously adored ; and thus Varuna had to yield. When latterly Mitra was transferred from the popular creed to the Zarathushtrian scheme of religion, he could not remain conjoined with Varuna, but must stand in the same relation to Mazda which formerly he occupied with regard to Varuna.[67]

Recently the hypothesis has been assailed which imputed to the Indo-Iranian the loan of **the sacred number seven** from the Semites, and which sought to explain the figure by a reference to nothing more than the sun, moon, and the five planets. Varuna (and Ahura Mazda ?) was supposed to be the moon, Mitra the sun, the remaining five the real or apparent minor luminaries.[68] This theory gives

[64] In the dual number and in different cases.

Yasna, I. 11.

[Mill notes, *S. B. E.* XXXI. 199 : The star Jupiter has been called Ormuzd by the Persians and Armenians, and it may be intended here, as stars are next mentioned, but who can fail to be struck with the resemblance to the Mitra-Varuna of the *Rig-Veda*. Possibly both ideas were present to the composer. — TR.]

Yasna, II. 11.

Yasht, 10, 113.

[This passage is remarkable as showing the struggles of the faithful with the unbelievers : may Mitra and Ahura, the high gods, come to us for help when the poniard lifts up its voice aloud, when the nostrils of the horses quiver . . . ., when the strings of the corns whistle and shoot sharp arrows ; then the brood of those whose libations are hated fall smitten to the ground, with their hair torn off (*S. B. E.* XXIII. 148-49). — TR.]

[65] Διά, in Herod. I. 131, is the accusative of Ζεύς, not of Dyaus. Herodotus means to express Ahura Mazda.

[66] The view here opposed is advanced by P. von Bradke, *Dyaus Asura, Ahura Mazda und die Asuras*; Halle, 1885.

[67] With reference to the whole problem, consult H. W. Wallis, *The Cosmogony of the Rig-Veda*, p. 100 — about Ṛta and Varuna, *ibid.* p. 92. See A. Hillebrandt, *Mitra und Varuna*; Bohenberger, *Der Altindische Gott Varuna nach den Liedern des Rig-Veda*, 1893. Spiegel, who first in his *Eranischen Alterthumskunde* accepted the original unity of the Amesha Spentas and Adityas, has latterly receded from his position. *Cf. Die Arische Periode und ihre Zustände* ; Leipzig, 1887, p. 19, and comp. C. Harlez, *Les Origines die Zoroastrianisme.* The text will show that I am unable to second the latest theories.

Oldenberg, *Die Relegion des Veda*, pp. 185 and 193 *seq.* See my notice of it in the *Theol. Tigdsche*, 1895.

rise to serious doubts. The connection of the seven revolving heavenly bodies with the seven most exalted divinities is not so ancient as is supposed, and their identification has never been made out. Seven highest gods existed much earlier. Besides, the number is not Semitic by origin. It is Sumeric; and in all probability it is an idea as much belonging to the Sumerians as the pre-Semitic nations of West Asia. The sacred number of the Semites was three and also four, but their holiest was the product of the two or twelve. These they discarded in favor of the Sumerian seven, and probably the East Aryans, too, were indebted for it directly to the Sumerian. It is of a truth remarkable that to the Aryans or Indo-Germans the number seven has had little import. And the Aryans or the Indo-Germans came in contact neither with the Sumerian nor with the Semites.

Beyond these seven, the East Aryans had withal other divinities, the wind-god Vayu, the belligerent god of heaven, the dragon-smiter Vṛtrahan, who reappears among the Indians as Indra and revives among the Persians as the genius of triumph, Verethraghna, and who is not always distinct from Tishtar (the latter's identification with the star Sirius cannot be aboriginal); and Armaiti who is represented in the *Veda* and the *Avesta* as the divine personification of piety and the head of the material world, and whom Zarathushtrians received among the satellites of Ahura Mazda, but who is not reckoned in India among the Adityas.[69] Dyaus, too, must have been worshipped, otherwise the Vedic Indian would not have preserved the memory of him.

There are unmistakable marks which point to the cognisance of East Aryans with **demi-gods or heroes**, if many of them were not already deities, who at a subsequent age were degraded in rank. This fate may have befallen Trita Aptya or Traitana, the Thrita or Thraetoṇa Athwya of the *Avesta*, originally the same water-god, or rather the god of light contending in the heavenly waters; witness the resemblance of their names and the change of their rôles. And a like fall was not impossibly experienced by others of the heavenly beings. To the minor divine creatures belong Manu, the lumiferous god and father of mankind, of whom the *Veda* has a vivid recollection, and the *Avesta* a fainter one in Manus-Chithra; Yama, in a measure a duplicate of the preceding, whom as Yima he wholly ousted in the *Avesta*, — a mythical king of the primordial humanity since perished, and the judge of the dead; Kṛçashva-Keresaspa, the vanquisher of monsters like Thraetona, and mentioned as his son in the legend; finally, Kṛshanû-Kereṣani, the archer who watches over the ambrosia and discharges his darts at him who would rifle the same for humanity.[70] Besides, the much older and universally spread legends which Herodotus transfers to Cyrus the Great must already at this period have assumed the shape they present to the Indian and the Iranian. Furthermore, holy minstrels or sages were spoken of as a class of seers or sorcerers (Kavi, Kavya, Kavan), who were endowed with supernatural prescience, and from which class the later Persian tradition has derived an entire line of sovereigns. Of these were the sapient Ushanas (Kava Usa or Usadhan), his son-in-law Yayati, and his grandson Sushravas (Husravangh). The Indians recognize Ushanas as the magician preceptor of the Asuras, he who forged weapons for Soma and Indra and who awakes the dead. With the Iranians, he dominates the demons and makes an unsuccessful attempt at a journey to heaven. This journey the Indians attribute to Yayati. Husravangha is the prince of adventurers, and, in Iran, avenges the death of his grandfather on the Turanian miscreant Franrase. The basis of this folklore must have lain in a period preceding the East Aryan, that is, in old Aryan times, for we are spontaneously put in mind of Daedalus and Wieland the smith.[71] If such cunning wizards were reverenced, there were others, fabulous male enchanters called Yatus, whose machinations men

[69] The form of the name in the *Avesta* is Armaiti, but the metre teaches that it must have been pronounced, also, Aramaiti in the *Gâthas*. The traditional significance of the word is in two places in the *Rig-Veda*, as in the *Avesta*, "the earth." It is not relevant here if this interpretation of Sayana is correct. It only shows that people still held fast to this sense even in India.

[70] About the Vedic Puraṁdhi and the Avestaic Parendi or Pârendi, whose identity has been doubled by many, and, among others, by Spiegel, *Die Arische Periode*, p. 208 *seq.*, compare Pischel in the *Vedische Studien*, I. 205, who holds them to be identical and explains as the "fruitful." Tradition accords her dominious over the shades.

[71] Roth in *Z. D. M. G.*, II. 223.

Spiegel, *Beiträge*, IV., 41 *seq.*, and *Arische Periode*, pp. 281-287.

dreaded, noxious spirits Druhas (Av. Drujas), the spirits of mendacity, and perhaps also the Danavas, fiendish demons who laid snares for man on all sides. Their craft was black magic, a terror to men, and for which they invoked the succour and protection of gods and heroes, but particularly the help of the aforesaid sages. The palm of satanity was assigned, as is evident from the honorific epithet of Vṛtrahan-Verethraghna mentioned above, and which is found among both the peoples, to Vṛtra the fiend, the exponent of the might of darkness. We cannot claim with absolute positiveness that the conflict of light and darkness, between the protectors of humanity and their foes, was not merely mythical and religious, but bore the ethical significance of victory of truth over falsehood and deceit, of right over wrong. The characters of the foremost gods, pre-eminently Varuna and Mitra, go to countenance the supposition. And it is certain that the East Aryans venerated their dead as valiant opponents of cruel spirits (Shûrâsas = Surao) and as the righteous ones (ṛtavanas = ashaonish) and believed that they tasted of the heavenly water conferring immortality.

The concord in the cult of the Indians and the Iranians, characteristic divergences of the religions notwithstanding, shows that the germs thereof are traceable to the East Aryan period. **The cardinal or central point in the cult was, among both, the fire.** Only the great fire-god of the Indian bears another name than that of the Iranians. The former name it Agni, the latter Atar. The name Agni is an archaic word, as witness the Latin *ignis*. But it is more. It designates likewise an ancient Aryan deity; compare Ogün, the name of the Slav or Wendish god of fire. Why it has been extinct among the Iranians can no more be determined; nor do I feel called upon to hazard a guess. They had in common other ancient names of fire and of a sort which never could have denoted fire as such. One was *apam-napat*, the offspring of water, and Narashansa — Nairyosangha which is usually understood to imply "laud of men," "the eulogized of men." By *apam-napat* is doubtless meant the lightning dazzling out of the clouds, the medium between heaven and earth, god and humanity. Narashansa is equally a messenger of the deity, in which capacity Nairyosangha figures in the *Avesta*. But before all, his being the same existence with whom the blest abide in heaven is an illuminating circumstance.[72] He is, perhaps, a kind of *psychopompus*, and his appellation must be interpreted as "he who rules over men, the human habitants of heaven." However that may be, the Iranian god of flames has been called Atar from immemorial antiquity — a name which became obsolete with the Indian, whilst derivatives of it continued to occur. One of these derivatives is Atharvan, fire-priest, which is the Iranians' usual and universal name for priest, but with the Indians as applied only to the primitive mythical servants of fire who brought the element down from the heavens. The fourth *Veda* is called after it. This *Atharva Veda* is, as a collection, the youngest, but is the least advanced so far as religious evolution is concerned. Take all this in connection with the impossibility of explaining[73] the word as such out of Iranian languages, and the inference is apparent that the denomination of the fire-god most in vogue in the East Aryan period was Atar, and that of its priest Atharvan. Naturally, all the myths which relate to the heavenly fire and the deity presiding over the element — its origin, its miraculous potency and blessings, the stealing of the celestial fire, which the gods would preserve from men — how ancient so ever, and however universally disseminated, are posterior to the ceremonies observed at its ignition, renewal, and perpetual continuance. The ceremonies primarily constituted no cult of fire regarded as a divine existence, but were mystic, magical operations which did not grow into a cult till fire had attained to the dignity of one of the superior powers and its effects were held to influence celestial phenomena as well. And both the peoples have conserved somewhat of its original character in the sacrifices to fire.

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[72] *Vendidad*, 19, 31 *seq.*
Bergaigne perceives in the name the prayer, literally, "the formula of men," which is not in keeping with the Iranian or the East Aryan god's character.

[73] Some derive it from *ad*, to eat, *adtar*, the eater, the devourer, which at least is not impossible.

The Indians and Iranians lived in the closest proximity, yet borrowing and imitation on part of either are out of the question with reference to fire-worship. This service has unfolded itself among each of the folks so independently and peculiarly, the legends associated herewith have been developed on such independent lines, that they defy the explanation of mere borrowing. Each instance of similarity must be considered as arguing that the cult was remarkable, even at the epoch of their first existence, for the special veneration of fire. It is, as we saw, somewhat otherwise with the Soma worship. We very much doubt that Soma, the god who derived his name from the intoxicating beverage which was extracted from a plant, and which was diluted with honey, milk, and water, in order to be consecrated to the deity — a drink which was indulged in to intoxication — was an East Aryan god, and that the rite was then in common practice. But our scepticism refers to this particular form or phase alone. The East Aryans were unquestionably acquainted with a hallowed spirituous liquor, of whatever description and name, a counterpart of the celestial draught conferring immunity from death yclept Amṛta, which means ambrosia. This designation the Indians repeatedly bestow upon Soma. The sacred twins Haurvatat and Ameretat represent the food and the drink of the denizens of heaven to the Iranians, and, in fact, are a personification of them. The most ancient mythical priests, the Indian Vivasvat, Yama, Trita Apatya, probably belonged originally to the same class and were subsequently converted into the devotees of Soma, while in Iran, Vivanghat, Yima's father, Thrita and Athwya were the oldest adorers of Haoma. But so early as the East Aryan era this beatific inebriation was not unknown. In it the unsophisticated natural man beheld a new and loftier life, invigoration of heart and energy, superhuman inspiration, but, before all, a way to prevision, prescience, and wisdom transcending human faculties. The term which they employed to express this mental condition, *mada* (Av. Madha),[74] has, with but a slight modification, the like significance for both the nations, and hence it cannot but have been in vogue at the time of their co-inhabitance.

It goes without saying that the *latria* of fire and the worship of the drink of immortality as a divine existence, and the magical operations appertaining to it, did not originate first in the East Aryan period. Without having recourse to the maze of comparative mythology one may take it for demonstrated that both the forms of the cult date from anterior times. Even though not a few of the corresponding features which the mythologists flatter themselves to have discovered in all Aryan or Indo-Germanic fables,[75] relating to the god of fire and the celestial potion, are not free from suspicion and objection; there remains a good deal which has been positively established and which points out that the roots of these concepts and customs lie deeper than in the Indo-Iranian stratum. There is no dearth of indications permitting the assumption that the existence of these forms of the cults extend beyond the Aryan world and warranting the conjecture that the worship of Dionysos, a divinity of fertility and of higher life as the consequence of a supernal beverage, has emanated from the Semites, or that even they had it a loan from a preceding civilization. Let us not, however, trench upon this far removed region. Here we have only to exhibit that both the cults constituted but one form among the East Aryans, and that it has prolonged its term of life into the Indian and Iranian ages, though it has had a development proper to itself in each people and has by consequence been subjected to alterations.

In the sacrifice the central point was the **prayer**, the spoken word. The priest is called the "invoker, the supplicator," which designation is retained in the Indian *hotṛ*,[76] Iranian *zaotar*.

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[74] This word occurs as early as in the *Gâthas*. The traditional interpretation of it is "sagacity," "knowledge," but it can only mean the supernatural "science" which results from the inspiration consequent upon the intoxicating drink. As for *madhu*, "sweet," — German *meth*, English "mead" — which is employed to signify Soma as well as honey and wine, it is either another word, or, according to Weber (*Vedische Beiträge in Sitz. Ber. der K. Akad.* Berlin, 1894, p. 13 *seq.*), the same word used only latterly in this sense.

[75] Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks bei den Indogermanen*.

[76] *Hotṛ* can be derived from *hu*, to pour out (sacrificial drink), as also from *hû*, to express, to pray, and the latter agrees with the primary meaning of the term for priest.

And both the folk have from the remote past, when they were one people, preserved a variety of technical expressions along with these names, — terms connected with the invitation to the offering, the presents and their bestowal, the axioms, the prayers, the hymns, the adoration and glorification of ethereal existences, the consecrated water, the operation of the sacrifice and the physical state in which they must be conducted. So much as the very quaint views like a belief in the purificatory virtue, in a religious sense, of the urine of cattle which were necessarily sacred animals from immemorial antiquity, and the solicitude with which the desecration of fire and water was avoided are alike shared by the Indian and the Iranian, which shows that they have been transmitted from the ages of their unity.

But the result of the greatest moment of a comparison of the two religions is that the East Aryans must have already built a community, a community invested not with a national alone, but with a very definite religious character also. Provisionally, men were admitted into the creed immediately after birth with certain rites. But when the neophyte had attained to years of discretion, and was brought up to his proper status, he was initiated. The symbols of the initiation were a sacred girdle and a cord. The mental training which qualified a man to be a member of the order is concentrated in one word, which has no exact equivalent in our language, and all the various shades of its meaning it is impossible to convey through a single word in another tongue. It comprises all that is becoming, befitting, in conformity with, the community, and at the same time in an exalted sense connotes what with reference to the fraternity is righteous, erect, equitable, holy. It is applied to observance of religious obligations, to obedience, to prescriptive usages.[77] An unprejudiced investigation of the word requires the recognition of its two-fold import in the *Veda* as well as the *Avesta*. And it is not improbable that early in the East Aryan period it bore, along with an ecclesiastical, an ethical sense or significance.

3. The causes of the diversity of the Indian and the Iranian religions, notwithstanding their common descent.

We endeavoured in the preceding section to give a cursory sketch of the East Aryan faith, basing our delineation on the relics to be met with in the Indian and Iranian religions, which prove that these two have sprung, if mediately, from the former. The coincidences cannot be fortuitous, and so they admit of no other explanation save that of sameness of origin. But we shall not call it into question that the Vedic and the *Avesta* religions are conspicuously divergent in respect of their peculiar dogma, their character, with regard to their cult, and in point of their ethics. The problem before us is: wherein lie the causes of this vast dissimilarity in their common heritage? Nay, dissimilarity is too weak and inadequate an expression. The religions are diametrically opposed. To the devout Zarathushtrian those beings are evil genii whom the Brahman adores, the Vedic ritual of Soma offering a revolting *orgie*, the Brahman's cremation an abominable sacrilege to the sacrosanct fire, his recluse life in solitary contemplation, a repudiation of the grand law of practical activity which sanctifies the earth and cripples the might of the demons. Whence this sharp contrast? The answer which suggests itself at the first blush is that the making or the formation of the two religions is different; nor is the solution incorrect. **The Vedic religion has sprung**, that is, has by degrees evolved itself under the influence of the leading families and Brahmanic schools out of the materials of the East Aryan religion. It is the organization of the peculiar form which the latter assumed when its professors settled in new places of habitation and saw themselves encircled by the representatives of an alien cult, which, if it was not lower, at least corresponded to social conditions other than their own. Though their own cult, therefore, was but slightly modified, figures of new deities were associated with those they continued to pay homage to, and were pushed to the

[77] *Arta*, wherefrom Sk. *ṛta*, Baktrian *asha*. The word expressive of the genuinely pious man, as they conceived him, is the same among the Indians and the Iranians: *ṛtavan — ashavan*. Bergaigne, Darmesteter, and others have laid stress upon the neglected ritualistic significance. But more correct is Spiegel, *Die Arische Periode*, 13 and 30. De Harlez, in his *Origines du Zoroastrianism* (p. 74 *seq.*), perhaps idealizes too much.

forefront, infusing fresh blood into their polytheism. On the other hand, **the Zarathushtrian faith** has been what **we are accustomed to designate founded** — in other words, has issued from the gospel of a certain prophet or the combination of a seer and sage, who, in the name of Zarathushtra, apostle of God, proclaimed a new doctrine. It has, therefore, been evoked by a reformation. (That the movement was a reformation will be discussed in the ensuing chapter.) But that is not the whole solution. The religious innovation of every nation is rooted in the past of the soil, saving when the new teaching is of outlandish origin, like Islam in Persia, Christianity in Germany, or Buddhism in China. Then it stands contrasted with the national creed. It combats it, it endeavours to oust it, but is eventually constrained in order to secure a footing, to respect certain old ineradicable prejudices, traditions, and customs which it seeks, as best it may, to bring in a line with its own. But whatever foreign influence affected the constitution of the Zarathushtrian religious discipline (a question to which we return in the sequel) nothing exists in the sacred writings to justify the assumption of its being an exotic in the soil of Iran, or that it grew first among a people other than Iranians. Its religious books are neither wholly nor in part translated from an alien speech. Not a name of its Ahura, Amesha Spentas or Yazatas, but has an Aryan ring — most of them are, as we shall see further on, quondam popular gods modified. An imported religion bears an aspect totally different.

Now, if the Zarathushtrian religion is called forth by a reformation, this religious upheaval could not have taken place prior to the separation of the Indo-Iranians. It was initiated at a later date. The contrary is at all events advanced in the well-known theory of Martin Haug, which makes the disruption of the East Aryans into Iranians and Indians the result of a religious schism. This view,[78] to which now but few scholars adhere, derives its plausibility from the striking circumstance among the two races, that while both have so many religious concepts and practices in common, the gods of the one are the wicked spirits of the other, and, conversely, the intelligences which here are abominated and warred against are there the recipients of adoration. Devas (Daevas), Asuras (Ahuras), were both undeniably names applied to divine beings from times immemorial. The first term was probably generic, betokening all heavenly powers, inclusive of terrestrial potentates; the second was less indiscriminately employed, being reserved for the most exalted ones. It is true that Asura has gradually acquired with the Indian, partly in the Vedic era, a derogatory significance in that the spirits so styled are hostile to the Devas, who have perpetually to be on their guard against their magic and nefarious arts; with the Iranians Ahura remained the name of reverence for their supreme deity, always in a favourable sense. Again, while the Indian kept on calling his gods *devas*, *daeva* came to be synonymous with the Iranian's *drukhsh*, "the spirit of falsehood," and was employed to exclusively denote the creatures and servants of evil, that the God-fearing Mazdayasnian must combat with all his might. There is no denying these facts, but the conclusions sought to be educed therefrom do not hold water. More penetrating examination reveals that they must be elucidated in another way.

In the first place, long after the Indians had settled on the banks of the Sarasvati and the Ganges, the word **Asura** retained its elevated sense. In the hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, the word, with most of its derivatives, is still an honored epithet of the most exalted and the mightiest of the gods of the old East Aryans, and, above all, of the foremost of them, Varuna. Nor is it confined to them. The younger genuine titulary deities of India — Indra, Agni, Soma, Rudra — are all spoken of as Asuras. Only occasionally, and for the most part in the later books of the Ṛk, it is that we have to suspect a reference to wizard spirits inimical to the celestials.[79] And not till we come

[78] This hypothesis of Martin Haug was accepted thirty years ago by me and also by eminent specialists.

[79] In the oldest books the name occurs a few times — II. 30, 4, and VII. 99, 5; once in the youngest book — X. 138, 3, where it is assigned to a certain spirit. The 8th book, which is not of the oldest, speaks of the non-daivic Asuras. The three remaining places, where the word is used in the plural of the existences hostile to the Devas, belong to book 10. They are, 53, 4; 151, 3; and 157, 4. In the derivative Asurahan, Asura-killing, which sometimes we meet with as an honorific epithet, the first member has naturally an unfavourable significance. Asura and Asurian denote as often the divine as the demoniac. Then, again, in the compound *muradeva*, the insane *deva*, applied also to sorcerers (VII. 104, 24), *deva* has a bad sense.

down to the *Atharva Veda* and the *Brahmanas* that this sense is found to preponderate. But even then the Asuras are exhibited to us in the light not of creatures diabolical by nature, not of fiends proper, but as rivals of the *devas* and obnoxious to their devotees. The word which, *per se*, originally conveys the general sense of "spirits or beings" itself occasioned its twofold employment. At all events, the modification in question has been brought about unforced, by degrees, and on Indian soil, and has no connection with any religious reformation in Iran or with the establishment of the latria of Mazda.

On the other hand, the Iranians have more than one god to whom the Indians pray as to *devas*, to wit, Mitra, Aryaman, Soma. The Iranian comprehends them under the general appellations of Yazata and Bagha, without belying his Zarathushtrian creed. Only a couple of passages[80] characterize a few solitary Indian deities as hostile to the Zarathushtrian Yazatas — passages which are very late, and which surely cannot be assigned to the incipient stage of the Mazdayasnian fraternity.

In fine, throughout the *Veda* there is no trace of a conflict with the dogma of Zoroaster and not the faintest testimony that the minstrels and the Brahmans were cognisant of the worship of Mazda, which would have been the case to a certainty had hostility to the reform movement led the Indians to secede from their union with the cognate sept and to wander far afield in search of a separate habitat of their own.

Accordingly, though we cannot subscribe to the hypothesis that the Vedic and the Zarathushtrian religions sprang when both the tribes were still flourishing together, and that the rise of religious innovations occasioned dissension, perhaps a crusade, still it has an atom of validity in it. No external circumstances in themselves are capable of explaining the radical differences which obtain between the two systems that have issued from one and the same source. The centrifugal or diverging tendencies in both must have been present at least in an embryonic stage in the East Aryan period subsequently to break out with such distinct sharpness. That they culminated in an open rupture is probable. The split was presumably more acutely felt than overtly avowed. It, however, contributed to an estrangement between the brother clans, and it strikes me as likely that this was what in fact happened. Nevertheless, the birth of the Vedic as well as the Zarathushtrian religion was posterior by far to their separation. Neither of the systems is the direct outcome of the East Aryan religion. A considerable interval must have elapsed between their genesis and the disjunction of the old Aryan community during which the archaic faith unfolded itself in diverse mutually antithetical currents. The probabilities are that subsequently to the settlement in India the one tendency first attained to consolidation, and that Zarathushtrianism represented the other tendency long after, and, inasmuch as it answered to the spirit or genius of the Iranian nation, it found its way among them.

But external circumstances likewise co-operated to bring about the result. The fertile India lying under a warm sky, with its luxuriant vegetation and its superabundance of everything, made sustenance, without considerable exertion, possible, conducing in the end to indolence, tranquil meditation, and self-absorption. Surrounded on the two sides by ocean and cut off in the North and North-west from other peoples by high chains of mountains and a great river, the new in-dwellers of India were deprived of all opportunities to participate in the historical development proceeding in the West. The Indian Aryans began by waging war upon the autochthonous tribes who disputed with the intruders the possession of the land. In many Vedic hymns we perceive the echo of their struggles. The martial Soma-drinking Indra, with his stormy Maruts, at whose head was the terrible Rudra, were more than Varuna and his circle, the dominant gods appropriate to the stirring times. Even Agni, more of a divinity of the priest than the warrior, engaged several times in Indra's battles. But after the termination of the conflict between the new lords and the natives, the might of the latter being broken and the supremacy of the Aryans assured, when the internecine feuds which the Aryans carried on to their immense detriment had subsided, and when there was little

[80] Indra, Sauru (*çarva? i. e., çiva*) and the Naonhaitya (Nasatya). — *Vendidad,* 10, 9; 19, 43.

incentive to deeds of valour, little occasion for eruption and invasion, the people would yield themselves in their undisturbed prosperity to their predilection for speculation or philosophy.

Iran, on the contrary, is, as we said before, in comparison to India, an indigent country, fertilized by no great rivers, having an arid soil, and a frequently unfriendly and very unequal climate. He who would enjoy there the sweets of life must work in the sweat of his brow and extort scanty produce from a reluctant soil. Protected by nature only in the east, and but partially in the west, its northern frontier is entirely exposed to the incursion of wild hordes, who, famishing in a still more sterile region, inundate the land in serried masses as often as they can reckon on a successful foray. Along its western marches it was abandoned to the ambition and ferocity of the Babylonian and Assyrian monarchies. A people who took up their abode in such a clime must be perpetually on their guard and under arms, else, as it happened not rarely, it was ravaged by a merciless enemy; and the moment the authority of the invaders declined, there followed the inevitable inroads on their side to avenge the discomfiture. Such latitudes breed no anchorites or ascetics, nor speculative thinkers either, but men of action who conceive life as a constant struggle against the powers of darkness and evil. Vigilance and energetic activity, the grand commandments of the Zarathushtrian *daena*, were laws which nature imposed on the land long before they stood inscribed in the *Avesta*.

(To be continued.)

SUBHASHITAMALIKA.

Translated from German Poets.

BY PROFESSOR C. CAPPELLER, PH.D., JENA.

Work.

1

Wem wohl das Glück die schönste Palme beut?
Wer freudig thut, sich des Gethanen freut.

GOETHE.

तस्योपैति नरस्याङ्कं लक्ष्मीरधिकदुर्लभा ।
यः करोति सुखी कर्म कृतकार्यश्च तुष्यति ॥

tasyôpaiti narasyâṅkaṁ lakshmîr adhikadurlabhâ ı
yaḥ karôti sukhî karma kṛitakâryaś cha tushyati ıı

Cf. Hitôp. Introd. 30.

2

Arbeit macht das Leben süss,
Macht es nie zur Last;
Der nur hat Bekümmerniss,
Der die Arbeit hasst.

BURMANN.

लघयत्युद्यमो भाराञ्जीवनं प्रीणयत्यपि ।
स एवार्तिसमापन्न उद्यमाद्यो जुगुप्सते ॥

laghayaty udyamô bhârâñ jîvanaṁ prîṇayaty api ı
sa êvârtisamâpanna udyamâd yô jugupsatê ıı

Cf. Bhartṛi. II. 74.

3

Benutze redlich deine Zeit :
Willst was begreifen, suchs nicht weit. GOETHE.

उद्यमेन नयेः कालं विधिनादेशितं तव ।
नान्विष्येश्चातिदूरेण स्वीकर्तुं यदभीप्ससि ॥

udyamêna nayêḥ kâlaṁ vidhinâdêśitaṁ tava ।
nânvishyêś châtidûrêṇa svîkartuṁ yad abhîpsasi ॥

4

Säume nicht dich zu erdreisten,
Wenn die Menge zaudernd schweift ;
Alles kann der Edle leisten,
Ders versteht und rasch ergreift. GOETHE.

प्रारभस्वाविषण्णात्मा पश्यतां जडचेतसाम् ।
सर्वं शक्यमुदारेण दक्षेणाक्लिष्टकर्मणा ॥

prârabhasvâvishaṇṇâtmâ paśyatâṁ jaḍachêtasâm ।
sarvaṁ śakyam udârêṇa dakshêṇâklishṭakarmaṇâ ॥

Cf. Bhartṛi. II. 73.

5

Zwischen heut und morgen
Liegt eine lange Frist.
Lerne schnell besorgen,
Da du noch munter bist. GOETHE.

अद्य श्वश्चैतयोर्मध्ये दूरमत्यन्तमन्तरम् ।
यावत्स्वस्थशरीरोऽसि कुरु यत्कार्यमस्ति ते ॥

adya śvaś chaitayôr madhyê dûram atyantam antaram ।
yâvat svasthaśarîrô 'si kuru yat kâryam asti tê ॥

Cf. M. Bh. XII. 6335-6337.

6

Früchte bringet das Leben dem Mann, doch hangen sie selten
Roth und lustig am Baum, wie uns ein Apfel begrüsst. GOETHE.

उच्चावचानि लोको दर्शयति नरं फलानि संभोक्तुम् ।
यद्यपि सुखलभ्यानि द्रुमशाखायां न लम्बन्ते ॥

uchchâvachâni lôkô darśayati naraṁ phalâni saṁbhôktum ।
yady api sukhalabhyâni drumaśâkhâyâṁ na lambantê ॥

7

Wohl unglückselig ist der Mann,
Der unterlässt das was er kann,
Und unterfängt sich was er nicht versteht :
Kein Wunder, dass er zu Grunde geht.

GOETHE.

धिक्तं नरं यो विजहाति कार्यं
जानाति यद्यत्करणे त्वनीशः ।
यत्नेन तत्प्रारभते विधातुं
किमद्भुतं गच्छति यद्विनाशम् ॥

dhik taṁ naraṁ yô vijahâti kâryaṁ
jânâti yad yatkaraṇê tv anîsaḥ ।
yatnêna tat prârabhatê vidhâtuṁ
kim adbhutaṁ gachchhati yad vinâsam ॥

Cf. Kâm. Nîtis. XV. 25.

Art and Science.

8

Das ists ja was den Menschen zieret
Und dazu ward ihm der Verstand,
Dass er im innern Herzen spüret
Was er erschuf mit eigner Hand.

SCHILLER.

अलंकारो मनुष्यस्य बुद्धेश्चैतन्महाफलम् ।
अन्तरात्मनि जानीते यत्कृतीर्निजहस्तयोः ॥

alaṁkârô manushyasya buddhês chaitan mahâphalam ।
antarâtmani jânîtê yat kṛitîr nijahastayôḥ ॥

9

Im Fleiss kann dich die Biene meistern,
In der Geschicklichkeit ein Wurm dein Lehrer sein,
Dein Wissen theilest du mit vorgezognen Geistern ;
Die Kunst, o Mensch, hast du allein.

SCHILLER.

भृङ्गोऽप्यलं शिक्षयितुं तवोद्यमं
चित्रं कृमीणामपि भाति नैपुणम् ।
विद्या प्रजानामपि दिव्यजन्मनां
शिल्पं तवैकस्य मनुष्य मण्डनम् ॥

bhṛiṅgô 'py alaṁ sikshayituṁ tavôdyamaṁ
chitraṁ kṛimîṇâm api bhâti naipuṇam ।
vidyâ prajânâm api divyajanmanâṁ
silpaṁ tavaikasya manushya maṇḍanam ॥

10

Kannst du nicht allen gefallen durch deine That und dein Kunstwerk,
Mach es wenigen recht, vielen gefallen ist schlimm. SCHILLER.

सर्वेषां यदि नो शक्यं रोचितुं क्रियया तव ।
द्वित्राणामेव रोचस्व बहूनां दुष्ठु रोचितुम् ॥

sarvêshâṁ yadi nô śakyaṁ rôchituṁ kriyayâ tava ।
dvitrâṇâm êva rôchasva bahûnâṁ dushṭhu rôchitum ॥

Cf. Śak. v. 2.

11

Wenn deine Kunst dem Kenner nicht gefällt,
So ist das schon ein schlimmes Zeichen;
Doch wenn sie gar des Narren Lob erhält,
So ist es Zeit sie auszustreichen. GELLERT.

न रोचते चेद्विदुषे क्रिया ते
विप्रत्यया तां प्रति बुद्धिरस्तु ।
स्तुतिं तु मूर्खस्य समाप्य चिन्त्यं
हा धिक्क्रिया मे विफलीकृतेति ॥

na rôchatê chêd vidushê kriyâ tê
vipratyayâ tâṁ prati buddhir astu ।
stutiṁ tu mûrkhasya samâpya chintyaṁ
hâ dhik kriyâ mê viphalîkṛitêti ॥

Cf. Subhâshitâvali 2750.

12

Einem ist sie die hohe, die himmlische Göttin, dem andern
Eine tüchtige Kuh, die ihn mit Butter versorgt. SCHILLER.

एकस्मै महती विद्या देवी यज्ञैर्वषट्कृता ।
अन्यस्मै जीवनायैव गौर्यथा दुग्धदायिनी ॥

êkasmai mahatî vidyâ dêvî yajñair vashaṭkṛitâ ।
anyasmai jîvanâyaiva gaur yathâ dugdhadâyinî ॥

Cf. Mâlav. v. 16.

13

Wie die Biene Blumensäfte, also sammle Weisheit ein:
Ist die Blüthenzeit vorüber, wird der Blüthen Honig dein. W. MÜLLER.

षट्पद इव पुष्परसं संचिनु विद्यामनवरतं यत्नात् ।
कुसुमसमये व्यतीते मधु पुष्पाणां भविष्यति ते ॥

shaṭpada iva pushparasaṁ saṁchinu vidyâm anavarataṁ yatnât ।
kusumasamayê vyatîtê madhu pushpâṇâṁ bhavishyati tê ॥

14

Sprachkunde, lieber Sohn, ist Grundlag' allem Wissen!
Derselben sei zuerst und sei zuletzt beflissen!
Einleitung nicht allein und eine Vorbereitung
Zur Wissenschaft ist sie, und Mittel zur Bestreitung,
Vorübung nicht der Kraft, um sie geschickt zu machen,
Durch Ringen mit dem Wort, zum Kampfe mit den Sachen. RÜCKERT.

विद्योत्तमा पुत्रक शब्दशास्त्र-
मभ्यस्य तां ज्ञानमहाप्रतिष्ठाम् ।
प्रस्तावनामध्ययनस्य बुद्धे-
र्विवर्धनीं चार्थवचोमयत्वात् ॥

vidyôttamâ putraka śabdaśâstram
abhyasya tâṁ jñânamahâpratishṭhâm ।
prastâvanâm adhyayanasya buddhêr
vivardhanîṁ chârthavachômayatvât ॥

Cf. Pañchat, Introd. 5.

Self and Others.

15

Möge jeder still beglückt
Seiner Freuden warten;
Wenn die Rose selbst sich schmückt,
Schmückt sie auch den Garten. RÜCKERT.

सर्वो दधीत हर्षानात्मसुखं चिन्तयेच्च संप्रीतः ।
पुष्यत्स्वामेव श्रियमलंकरोति कुसुमं वाटीम् ॥

sarvô dadhîta harshân âtmasukhaṁ chintayêch cha saṁprîtaḥ ।
pushyat svâm êva śriyam alaṁkarôti kusumaṁ vâṭîm ॥

16

Sich selbst bekämpfen ist der allerschwerste Krieg;
Sich selbst besiegen ist der allerschönste Sieg. LOGAU.

आत्मनात्मानमायोद्धुमस्ति युद्धं न तत्समम् ।
आत्मानमात्मना जेतुं विजयो नास्ति तादृशः ॥

âtmanâtmânam âyôddhum asti yuddhaṁ na tatsamam ।
âtmânam âtmanâ jêtuṁ vijayô nâsti tâdṛiśaḥ ॥

Cf. Subhâshitâvali 3361.

17

Ist wohl der ein würdiger Mann, der im Glück und im Unglück
Sich nur allein bedenkt, und Leiden und Freuden zu theilen
Nicht verstehet, und nicht dazu vom Herzen bewegt wird? GOETHE.

किमार्यवृत्तिः प्रतिभाति ते नरो
विचिन्तयन्यः सुखदुःखयोः सदा ।
आत्मानमेकं हृदि न प्रियाप्रियं
विभक्तुमन्यैः सह संव्यवस्यति ॥

kim âryavṛittiḥ pratibhâti tê narô
vichintayan yaḥ sukhaduḥkhayôḥ sadâ ।
âtmânam êkaṁ hṛidi na priyâpriyaṁ
vibhaktum anyaiḥ saha saṁvyavasyati ॥

18

Vielen theile deine Freuden,
Allen Munterkeit und Scherz,
Wenig Edlen deine Leiden,
Auserwählten nur dein Herz. SALIS.

स्वहर्षं बहुभिः सार्धं सर्वैः प्रीतिं च नर्म च ।
उदारैरेव दुःखानि द्वित्रैः स्वहृदयं भज ॥

svaharshaṁ bahubhiḥ sârdhaṁ sarvaiḥ prîtiṁ cha narma cha ।
udârair êva duḥkhâni dvitraiḥ svahṛidayaṁ bhaja ॥

19

Wohl kann die Brust den Schmerz verborgen halten;
Doch stummes Glück erträgt die Seele nicht. GOETHE.

शोकशल्यं समर्थोऽहमन्तरात्मनि गूहितुम् ।
न तु शक्नोमि मौनेन हृदि संवरितुं सुखम् ॥

ṡôkaṡalyaṁ samarthô 'ham antarâtmani gûhitum ।
na tu ṡaknômi maunêna hṛidi saṁvaritum sukham ॥

20

Wer glücklich ist, kann glücklich machen:
Wers thut, vermehrt sein eignes Glück. GLEIM.

भवति यः स्वयमेव जनः कृती
सुखयितुं परमप्यलमस्ति सः ।
परसुखाय तु यो यतते सुखं
स्वमपि वर्धयतीति मतिर्मम ॥

bhavati yaḥ svayam êva janaḥ kṛitî
sukhayituṁ param apy alam asti saḥ ।
parasukhâya tu yô yatatê sukhaṁ
svam api vardhayâtîti matir mama ॥

21

Kannst du dem, der vor dir geht, seine Mängel bald erblicken,
Wird dir auch die deinen sehn, wer dir nachsieht, auf dem Rücken. LOGAU.

यथा पश्यसि रन्ध्राणि त्वत्पुरोगच्छतां स्वयम् ।
दोषास्तथैव दृश्यन्ते तव पृष्ठानुगामिभिः ॥

yathâ paśyasi randhrâṇi tvatpurôgachchhatâṁ svayam ।
dôshâs tathaiva dṛiśyantê tava pṛishṭhânugâmibhiḥ ॥

22

Willst du dich selber erkennen, so sieh, wie die andern es treiben;
Willst du die andern verstehn, blick in dein eigenes Herz. SCHILLER.

आत्मानमेव जिज्ञासुरन्येषां पश्य चेष्टितम् ।
अन्यानिच्छसि चेज्ज्ञातुं वीक्षस्व हृदयं निजम् ॥

âtmânam êva jijñâsur anyêshâṁ paśya chêshṭitam ।
anyân ichchhasi chêj jñâtuṁ vîkshasva hṛidayaṁ nijam ॥

23

Trage geduldig und sanft der Menschen Gebrechen und Fehler.
Was der heute gethan, thuest du morgen wohl selbst. BUBE.

तितिक्षस्व मनुष्याणां दोषांश्च स्खलितानि च ।
अद्य यद्ध्यकरोदन्यस्त्वं श्वः कर्तासि तत्स्वयम् ॥

titikshasva manushyâṇâṁ dôshâṁś cha skhalitâni cha ।
adya yad dhy akarôd anyas tvaṁ śvaḥ kartâsi tat svayam ॥

Cf. M. Bh. V. 1019.

24

Ertragen muss man was der Himmel sendet;
Unbilliges erträgt kein edles Herz. SCHILLER.

सोढव्यमविषादेन विधिना यदुपानतम् ।
खलानामपराधास्तु प्रतिकार्या महात्मना ॥

sôḍhavyam avishâdêna vidhinâ yad upânatam ।
khalânâm aparâdhâs tu pratikâryâ mahâtmanâ ॥

Cf. M. Bh. V. 4525 ; *Śiśup.* II. 46.

25

"Hat man das Gute dir erwiedert?"
"Mein Pfeil flog ab, sehr schön befiedert;
Der ganze Himmel stand ihm offen,
Er hat wohl irgendwo getroffen." GOETHE.

किं सुक्रियाया भवतोऽभवत्फलं
प्रसृष्टवानस्मि शरं सुतेजनम् ।
दिङ्मण्डलं तस्य बभूव गोचर-
स्तन्मे मतिर्यत्कथमप्यसज्जत ॥

kiṁ sukriyâyâ bhavatô 'bhavat phalaṁ
prasṛishṭavân asmi śaraṁ sutêjanam ।
diṅmaṇḍalaṁ tasya babhûva gôcharas
tan mê matir yat katham apy asajjata ॥

26

Wer die Sache des Menschengeschlechts als die seine betrachtet,
Nimmt an der Götter Geschäft, nimmt am Verhängnisse Theil. HERDER.

अर्थं यः सर्वलोकस्य स्वार्थमेव समीक्षते ।
स नरो लोकधातॄणां कुर्वन्कर्म विभाति मे ॥

arthaṁ yaḥ sarvalôkasya svârtham êva samîkshatê ।
sa narô lôkadhâtṛîṇâṁ kurvan karma vibhâti mê ।

Cf. Bhâg. Pur. VIII. 7, 44.

Fathers and Sons.

27

Wohl dem, der seiner Väter gern gedenkt,
Der froh von ihren Thaten, ihrer Grösse
Den Hörer unterhält, und still sich freuend
Ans Ende dieser schönen Reihe sich
Geschlossen sieht. GOETHE.

भद्रो नरो यश्चरितं पितॄणा-
मनुस्मरन्स्तौति नृणां सभासु ।
परंपराणां रमते च पश्य-
न्नात्मानमन्त्यावयवं शुभानाम् ॥

bhadrô narô yaś charitaṁ pitṛîṇâm
anusmaran stauti nṛiṇâṁ sabhâsu ।
paraṁparâṇâṁ ramatê cha paśyann
âtmânam antyâvayavaṁ śubhânâm ॥

28

Wenn du als Jüngling deinen Vater ehrst,
So wirst du gern von ihm empfangen;
Wenn du als Mann die Wissenschaft vermehrst,
So kann dein Sohn zu höherm Ziel gelangen. GOETHE.

यूना त्वया यद्यभिपूज्यते पिता
सुखेन लब्धास्यमुना यदर्पितम् ।
विद्यां यदि प्रोन्नयसि स्वयं तदा
पुत्रस्य ते भावि फलं महत्तरम् ॥

yûnâ tvayâ yady abhipûjyatê pitâ
sukhêna labdhâsy amunâ yad arpitam ।
vidyâṁ yadi prônnayasi svayaṁ tadâ
putrasya tê bhâvi phalaṁ mahattaram ॥

Cf. M. Bh. I. 1728.

29

Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,
Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen. GOETHE.

पित्र्यं ते यद्भवेद्वित्तं पारंपर्यक्रमागतम् ।
तत्तत्त्वेन यथा ते स्यादर्जयस्व पुरार्जितम् ॥

pitryaṁ tê yad bhavêd vittaṁ pâraṁparyakramâgatam ।
tat tattvêna yathâ tê syâd arjayasva purârjitam ॥

(To be continued.)

GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(*Continued from Vol. XXXI. p. 382.*)

(2) Festivals.

THE Singhalese, in common with their Aryan brethren, celebrate their **New Year,** the entering of the Sun into *Aries,* with much enthusiasm ; the festivities of the occasion are heralded in every hamlet by the strains of the tambourine-shaped *rabâna*; women and girls sit round and play on it with their hands, and every home vies with the other in friendly rivalry.

The ephemeris of the year is drawn up by the village astrologer, and the necessary information for the observance of the festive rites is obtained by presenting him with sweetmeats and a palmful of 40 betel-leaves (*bulat hurulla*).

The New Year generally falls on the 12th of April; there is an intervening **unlucky space of time** (*nônagatê*) between the end of the old and the commencement of the new. Before the interval commences all bathe in an infusion of the margosa-leaf, and cease from work; during it they only visit temples, starting with their left leg foremost.

With the advent of the New Year special food is cooked and eaten, all facing a **particular direction,** cloth of a **specified colour** is worn, calls are exchanged, the head of the village is visited with *pingo*-loads of vegetables, *kevum* and plantains, and journeys are started with the right leg foremost.

For a couple of days there are no observances, the people make merry, and indulge in their national games till the auspicious day and moment comes for every one to begin his usual work looking for a bright and prosperous future: the labourer clears some underwood with his jungle hook (*wal-dẹketta*) and axe (*porova*) or digs the ground and banks it up with his hoe (*udẹlla*) ; the toddy drawer, girt with a pointed stick (*ukunilla*) and knife (*mannê*), climbs a palm-tree and lets down a chatty full of toddy ; the goldsmith, with his bamboo blow-pipe, his clay crucibles (*kôva*), and his earthen pot full of saw-dust, begins an article of jewellery ; the smith beats an iron in his primitive furnace that has a pair of bellows attached (*mînahama*) ; the potter shapes a vessel with the help of a wooden wheel (*sak pôruva*), a smooth stone (*mitiwana gala*) and a spatula (*mẹtialla*) ; the servant asks from his master a small sum of money and carefully lays it by till the next year ; the women pound rice in the mortar (*wangediya*), scrape cocoanuts, and collect firewood; and the fisherman puts his boat to sea equipped with nets (*del*), hook and line (*yot*).

Eight days after the New Year is **the ceremony of anointing the head.** An infusion of *kokun* leaves (*Swietenia febrifugia*), *kalándurn* yams (*Cyprus rotundus*), and *nelli* fruits (*Phylanthus emblica*) is mixed with oil, and an elder of the family rubs a little of it on the two temples, on the crown of the head, and on the nape of the neck of each member, saying: —

Kalu kapuṭan sudu venaṭuru
Ẹhẹla kanu liyalana turu
Gerandianta aṇ enaturu
Ekasiya vissaṭa desiya vissak
Maha Brahma Râjayâ atinya
Âyi bôvan âyibôvan âyibôvan.

"This (anointing) is done by the hand of Mâha Brâhman; long life to you, long life to you, long life to you! may you, instead of the ordinary period of life, *viz.*, 120 years, live for 220 years; till rat-snakes obtain horns, till posts of the Ẹhẹla tree (*Cassia fistula*) put on young shoots, and till black crows put on a plumage white."

While being anointed the person faces a **particular direction,** having over his head leaves sacred to the ruling planet of the day, and at his feet those sacred to **the Regent of the previous day.** For each of the days of the week, beginning with Sunday, belong respectively the cotton tree (*imbul*), the wood-apple (*diwul*), the Cochin gamboge (*kollan*), the margosa (*kohomba*), the holy fig-tree (*bo*), Galidupa arborea (*karanda*) and the banyan (*nuga*).

This rite is followed by the wearing of new clothes, after a bath in an infusion of screw-pine (*wẹtake*), Luffa acutangula (*wẹtakolu*), Evolvulus alsinoides (*Vishnu-krānti*), Artistolochia indica (*sapsaṇda*), Crinum zeylanicum (*goda-mânẹl*), roots of citron (*nasnāran mul*), root of Ægle marmelos (*belimul*), stalk of lotus (*nelum danḍu*), Plectranthus zeylanicus (*irivēriya*), Cissompelos convolvulus (*gẹtaveni-vẹl*), Heterepogon hirtus (*ītana*), and bezoar stone (*gorôchana*).

This festival is also observed at the Buddhist temples[2] when milk is boiled at their entrances and sprinkled on the floor.

The Singhalese lunar year commences in March and the Solar year about the end of April; on both these occasions **the new moon is gazed at,** and the eyes immediately after diverted to a plate of *kiribat* and other sweets, or to the face of a kind and well-to-do relative, who is sometimes kissed.

The birthday of the Founder of Buddhism is celebrated on the full-moon day of May (*wesāk*). Streets are lined with bamboo arches, which are decorated with the young leaves of the cocoanut-palm; tall supertructures (*toran*) gaily adorned with ferns, and young king-cocoanuts bridge highways at intervals; lines of flags of various devices and shapes are drawn from tree to tree; booths are erected at every crossing where hospitality is freely dispensed to passers-by; and at every rich house the poor are fed and alms given to Buddhist priests. Processions[3] wend their way from one temple to another with quaintly-shaped pennons and banners, and in answer to the deafening music of the tom-toms, cries of *Sâdhu, Sâdhu,* the Buddhist Amen, rise from hundreds of throats.

Three festivals connected with local deities are held in the month of Ẹsala (July-August) at Kandy in the centre of Ceylon, at Dondra in the South, and at Kataragama in the South-East.

The Kandy Perahẹra Mangalaya, of whose origin nothing is certain, begins at a lucky hour on the first day after the new moon. "A Jack-tree, the stem of which is three spans in circumference, is selected beforehand for each of the four *dêwâla* — **the Kataragama, Nâtha,**

[2] For particulars, *vide* Asiatic Society's *Journal of Ceylon* (1888), Vol. VII. p. 32.
[3] For a full description of a Singhalese procession, *vide Ceylon Literary Register* (1887), Vol. II. p. 348.

Saman, and Pattini; and the spot where it stands is decorated and perfumed with sandalwood, frankincense, and burnt raisins, and a lighted lamp with nine wicks is placed at the foot of the tree. At the lucky hour a procession of elephants, tom-tom beaters and dancers proceed to the spot, the tree is cut down by one of the tenants (the *waṭṭôrurâla*) with an axe, and it is trimmed, and its end is pointed by another with an adze. It is then carried away in procession and placed in a small hole in a square of slab rock, buried in the ground or raised on a platfrom in the small room at the back of the *dêwâla*. It is then covered with a white cloth. During the five following days the procession is augmented by as many elephants, attendants, dancers, tom-tom beaters and flags as possible; and it makes the circuit of the temples at stated periods. The processions of the several temples are then joined by one from the Daladâ Mâligâva (the temple of the sacred Tooth of Buddha), and together they march round the main streets of Kandy at fixed hours during the five days next ensuing. On the sixth day, and for five days more, four palanquins — one for each *dêwâla* — are added to the procession, containing the arms and dresses of the gods; and on the last day the bowl of water (presently to be explained) of the previous year, and the poles cut down on the first day of the ceremony. On the night of the fifteenth and last day, the Perahẹra is enlarged to the fullest limits which the means of the several temples will permit, and at a fixed hour, after its usual round, it starts for a ford in the river near Kandy, about three miles distant from the temple of the Sacred Tooth. The procession from the Mâligâva, however, stops at a place called the Ádâhana Maluwa, and there awaits the return of the others. The ford is reached towards dawn, and here the procession waits until the lucky hour (generally about 5 A.M.) approaches. A few minutes before its arrival the chiefs of the four temples, accompanied by a band of attendants, walk down in Indian file under a canopy of linen and over cloth spread on the ground to the waterside. They enter a boat and are punted up the river close to the bank for some thirty yards. Then at a given signal (*i. e.*, at the advent of the lucky hour) the four Jack poles are thrown into the river by the men on shore, while each of the four chiefs, with an ornamental silver sword, cuts a circle in the water; at the same time one attendant takes up a bowl of water from the circle, and another throws away last year's supply. The boat then returns to the shore, the procession goes back to Kandy, the bowls of water are placed reverently in the several *dêwâla*, to remain there until the following year; and the Perahẹra is at an end.[4]"

During the time of the kings, it was on this occasion that the provincial governors gave an account of their stewardship to their over-lord and had their appointments renewed by him. Kandy was the last Singhalese capital.

The festival at Dondra or Devundara (Devi Nuvera, the city of the god) commemorates a legendary event; when a king of Ceylon was reigning here a sandalwood image of Vishnu was found floating by the sea coast; this was carried to the city and a *dêwâla* built for it.

Seven days before the full moon six temporary structures are erected in the temple premises for Pattini, Vishnu, Nâtha, Saman, Kataragama Deviyô, and Alut Takinni; and their *kápurâlas* purify themselves with a bath, and carry in procession the sacred relics to a place by the sea (*sinhâsana*), followed by a long line of pilgrims who wash their offerings there and wrap them in white cloth. On their return the chief lay-incumbent (*basnâyaka nilamê*) makes his offering at each of the shrines, and the others follow. The *kapurâlas* stand at the entrance of their respective temples and mark each votary with sandalwood.

Here religion is combined with business, and a fair is held during the seven days of the festival, when traders from all parts of the island bring goods for sale.

The Kataragama celebration is in honour of Kârtikêya (Sing., Kataragama Deviyô) who halted on the highest of the seven hills close by on his homeward return to Kailâsa, after

[4] Asiatic Society's *Journal of Ceylon* (1881), Vol. VII. p. 33.

defeating the Asuras. Here he met his consort **Valli Ammâ**, whom he wooed in the guise of a mendicant; when his advances were scornfully rejected, his brother, with the head of a man and the body of an elephant, appeared on the scene, and the terrified maiden rushed into her suitor's arms for safety; the god then revealed himself and she became his bride.

The procession begins with the new moon, and is repeated twice every day at six in the evening and at ten at night till the full-moon day. First walk twelve women called *âlattu ammas* with their hands joined and the hair done up in a peculiar manner; the insignia of the god, his trident and spear (*vêl*) are next carried on an elephant, the man sitting with these having his mouth bandaged to prevent his breathing on them; and then follow the *basnâyaka nilamê*, with his two under-officers, *sadalgamuva adikâram* and *basnâyaka râla*. The procession halts at a distance of half a mile from the *dêwâla*, where Valli Ammâ is said to reside (*sinhâsana*). Here the weapons are taken down, and after an interval of half an hour they are replaced and carried back to the *dêwâla*. Some mystic mutterings and the lighting of wicks by the women complete the ceremony.

On the full-moon day, as in the other two festivals, the *kapurâlas* (the temple incumbents) draw a circle over the water of the neighbouring river (*diya kapanavâ*) and remove a chatty of it to the *dêwâla*.[5]

When the moon is full near Pleiades in *Il* (October-November) is held **the Festival of Lights called Keti or Kârtika Mangalya or Senakeliya. The Buddhist** temples are illuminated by small oil-lamps placed in niches of the walls specially made for them; in the olden times all the buildings were bathed in a blaze of light, the Royal Palace the best of all, with the oil presented to the king by his grateful subjects. This festival is now confined to Kandy.

The Alut Sâl Mangalya, the festival of New Rice, is now celebrated to any appreciable extent only in the Kandian Provinces, the last subdued districts of the island. In the villages the harvest is brought home by *pingo*-bearers on the full-moon day of January with rural jest and laughter, and portions of it are given to the **Buddhist priests**, the barber and the *dhobi* of the village; next the new paddy is husked, and *kiribat* dressed out of it.

In the capital, in the time of the kingdom, this festival lasted for four days; "on the first evening the officers of the royal stores and of the temples proceeded in state from the square before the palace to the Crown villages from which the first paddy was to be brought. Here the ears of paddy and the new rice were packed up for the temples, the palace and the royal stores by the *gabadânilamês* and their officers. The ears of paddy carefully put into new earthenware pots and the grain into clean bags, were attached to *pingos*. Those for the Mâligâva (where the Sacred Tooth was kept) were conveyed on an elephant for the temples by men marching under canopies of white cloth; and those for the palace and royal stores by the people of the royal villages of respectable caste, well dressed; and with a piece of white muslin over their mouths to guard against impurity. This procession, starting on the evening of the next day (full-moon day) from the different farms under a salute of jingals and attended by flags, tom-tom beaters, etc., was met on the way by the 2nd Adigar and a large number of chiefs at some distance from the city. From thence all went to the great square to wait for the propitious hour, at the arrival of which, announced by a discharge of jingals, the procession entered the Mâligâva where the distribution for the different temples was made. At the same fortunate hour the chiefs and the people brought home their new rice. On the next morning the king or governor received his portion consisting of the new rice and a selection of all the various vegetable productions of the country, which were tasted at a lucky hour."[6]

(To be continued.)

[5] This is a *resumé* of an article in *Young Ceylon* (1852), Vol. III. p. 86.

[6] Illustrated Literary Supplement of the *Ceylon Examiner* (1875), Vol. I. p. 8.

MISCELLANEA.

TRACES OF TOTEMISM IN THE PANJAB.

(Continued from p. 204.)

II.

A FEW more instances of totem-names have been obtained.

1. In the South-East Panjâb there are four *gôts* or sections, found among the Jat, Râjpût, and Nâî (barber) 'castes,' which are thus named:—

Caste.	*Gôt and meaning of name.*
Jat and Râjpût ...	Chhôkar, a kind of tree.
Jat and Nâî (barber)...	Banbhairon (*ban*, cotton-plant).
Jat	Karelnâ, from Karyal, a kind of tree.
"	Panwâr, *panwâr*, a kind of vegetable.

The Râjpût Chhôkars, however, do not believe that their *gôt* is in any way connected with the tree of that name, while the Nâî Banbhairoṅ attribute their name to Bhairoṅ, the god whom they reverence.

These four Jat *gôts*, on the other hand, do not cut or injure the plants and trees after which they are each named, though other *gôts* do so, because they consider them to be their origin, and it would be a bad omen to cut or burn them. Hence each *gôt* reverences or worships the plant or tree after which it is named.

A folk-etymology. — It should, however, be added that the Chhôkar Râjpûts give the following explanation of their name:—

Once upon a time the Râjpûts wanted to put a Rishi to the test, so they took a woman to him who had a *karâhî*, or iron-pan, tied to (? in front of) her abdomen and asked him if she would give birth to a boy or a girl. The Rishi replied 'chhuh'!, whereupon the iron-pan adhered to her body and had to be filed off. The filings were thrown into the Jamnâ, and when the Râjpûts bathed in that river they were all killed by the *paterâ* trees which had grown from the filings. Only one woman remained alive, and she was pregnant, so she went to the Rishi with a lamb in her lap and asked the same question as before, and received the same reply. She asked a second time, "*gôd kâ, pêt kâ?*" — "is it in the stomach or in the lap?" and the Rishi replied, "*gôd kâ*" (in the lap), whereupon the lamb died. Her son, when born, became therefore known as Chhuhkar or Chhôkar, and this *gôt* of the Râjpûts does not kill or eat sheep, because it regards a sheep as its origin.

2. The Arôrâs have two *gôts*, (i) Chîkur, a sub-section of the Sachdeos, so called because on a marriage in that section sweetmeats were as plentiful as mud (*chîkur*), and (ii) Narûlâ, from *nirâlâ*, 'unique,' so called because once a snake got into the churn when a woman was making butter, so the men of this section never churn, though its women may. A third section is called Rîhânî, because one of its members once received a *faqîr* cordially, and the *faqîr* blessed him, saying he should prosper like basil (*rîhânî*).

H. A. ROSE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE LEGEND OF BÂNÁSUR.

(A Note on Sir R. Temple's "Legends of the Panjab," Vol. III. p. 365.)

1. ACCORDING to the legend, Bânâ Sur, or "the hero Bânâ," had *four* sons: — Kachhrâj,[1] Udayâst,[2] Sangrâmjît, and Chandarbhân. It is perhaps worth noting that the inhabitants of three villages, Saungara (? Sangrama), Bhaba, and Jagâwan in Tahsîl Râmpur of the Bashahr State still worship images of the *three* sons of Bânâ, who were killed in the fight with Krishnajî.

2. The Kanêts on the confines of Tibet are called Jâd Kanêts. They are less strict about food and personal cleanliness than other Kanêts, and eat the flesh of the *chanwar* or *saragai* (*yak*). Are these the Jâdus of the legend? It is hardly possible, but the coincidence is a little curious.

H. A. ROSE.

YAM.

HERE is some fresh evidence for the history of this word: *vide* Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1711. On si nourrit de fruits, de poissons et de racines fort insipides appelées ignames. *Lettres Edifiantes.* Pere Faure's *letter* from the Nicobars, dated 17th Jan., 1711.

1711. Les insulaires vinrent dans quatorze canots nous apporter des ignames, des cocos et quelques poules pour les échanger contre de tabac en feuilles. *Lettres Edifiantes.* Pere Taillandier's *letter*, dated from the Nicobars, 20 Feb., 1711.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[1] Pp. 365, 379, 388, 393.

[2] Also called Bânâsur's *dîwân* (p. 385).

SOME DOUBTFUL COPPER COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY ROBERT SEWELL, M.R.A.S., I.C.S. (Retd.).

COLLECTORS of old coins in Southern India must always have been astonished at the immense number and variety of the small copper issues found there. In my own collection are many specimens which cannot be classified as belonging to any known dynasty or State; and I believe the truth to be that they were privately struck at the principal great temples. Just as every leading town in England at the close of the eighteenth century had its local pennies and half-pennies, so, probably, there were local issues of small copper coins in South India, generally connected with the most revered shrines, and circulating in their vicinity. I append a note shewing my reasons for this view.

The present list concerns a number of coins in my collection which I have had to class as "doubtful"; and I have to thank the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* for permission to publish these Plates. Perhaps readers will be so kind as to send me their views, or, better still, send their notes to this *Journal*, so that all may benefit by them. I pretend to no special knowledge, and shall not be at all surprised if many of these coins are at once recognized by experts, and my ignorance received with a smile; but even if so their publication can only do good, since it will enable other collectors to classify their coins correctly. Many of the specimens are dynastic; many, I think, local; and these last I venture to christen "Temple coins."

Temple Coins.

A very large and varied class of South Indian coins appears to consist of coins struck at the principal temples, and not connected with any regular State issues. In his *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*, Major Tufnell notices one (Pl. II. No. 23) with a little figure of a god on the obverse, and on the reverse the legend *Vijaya* in characters which may be classed either as Telugu or as Kanarese; and he quotes an extract from a letter regarding it written by Sir Seshiah Sâstri, K.C.S.I., as follows: — "It is coined locally" — (*i.e.*, in the Pudukottah State) — "in a rough way, and its greatest circulation is during 'Navarâthri' or 'Dusserah,' when it is issued (4 to each) along with the rice-dole every day during the nine days." If I read this aright it means that the coin is not a regular State issue, but is struck, like a small medal or like the local English pennies and half-pennies at the close of the eighteenth century, for local circulation; and that four of them are given by the Rajah of Pudukottah to each recipient of his rice-dole distributed in honour of the festival.

I imagine that probably the authorities of almost all the principal temples in Southern India similarly struck their own local coins, and issued them to worshippers; and that they may be distinguished from State currencies by the fact of their not bearing the device of any dynasty, nor the name of any king.

Thus it seems evident that the first of the series which here follow, *viz.*, those bearing the figure of a double-peaked mountain on the obverse and various devices on the reverses, were coined, not by any State, but by the authorities of the celebrated temple of Tiruvaṇṇâmalai, or Trinomalai, in the South Arcot District. The lofty hill at whose base the temple is situated rises to an elevation of 2668 feet above sea-level, and is a very conspicuous object in all the country round. The temple is dedicated to Śiva, and the *liṅgam* in the shrine is one of the *Pañcha-liṅgas* of Southern India, or the *liṅgams* of the five elements, — this one being the fire *liṅgam*. No. 1-C bears the legend *Aruṇâdri* on the reverse, which, with the variant *Aruṇagiri*, is a Sanskrit name of Tiruvaṇṇâmalai. (*Epi. Ind.* III. 240.) I have said that this identification "seems evident," but if it is correct we have yet to learn why the authorities of a Śaiva temple should have chosen to represent the figure of a Garuḍa on their coins.

No. 1-A. Copper —

Obv. — Garuḍa, passing to right; left knee up; right knee down; in a circle of dots.

Rev. — A double-peaked mountain, surrounded by an irregularly-shaped line, with dots outside. Moon above mountain.

No. 1-B. Copper —

Obv. and *Rev.* — Similar; but the figure of Garuḍa cruder, and the legs too small for the body.

No. 1-C. Copper —

Obv. — An inscription in Telugu characters "*Aruṇadri.*" A line and dot circle outside.

Rev. — Similar, but smaller, mountain. Double line circle, with circle of dots between the lines.

"*Aruṇâdri*" and "*Aruṇagiri*" are Sanskṛit names of Tiruvaṇṇâmalai in the South Arcot District. (*Epi. Ind.* III. 240.)

No. 1-D. Copper —

Obv. — An object which looks like a mountain, but may not be intended for one. There is a curve in this which is absent in the three last.

Rev. — Inscription in Nâgarî characters. The characters "— — *pu* — — *prati*" appear clear. This may belong to a totally different series of coins, but, if so, I cannot classify it.

No. 2-A. Copper —

The first of a series in my possession with similar reverses, but different obverses. All from Southern India.

Obv. — Vishṇu and Lakshmî, seated; a circle of dots.

Rev. — The legend *śrîvîra*, in characters which appear to be Telugu rather than Kanarese. The syllables *vîra* stand below the *śrî*. There are slight differences in almost all the coins. The second character, on some specimens, looks like *e* and even *u*, rather than *vi*.

No. 2-B. Copper —

Obv. — A god, or king, standing, under a canopy, with emblems to left that look as if derived from coins which bear the Chêra bow.

Rev. — Similar to 1-A.

No. 2-C. Copper —

Obv. — Standing figure of Narasiṁha.

Rev. — Similar to 1-A, but apparently corrupt.

No. 2-D. Copper —

Obv. — Apparently Vishṇu and Lakshmî seated on a horse *vâhana*, within a circle of dots.

Rev. — Similar to 1-A.

No. 2-E. Copper —

Obv. — Much injured, but apparently a single figure, seated on a *vâhana*.

Rev. — Similar to 1-A.

No. 2-F. Copper —

Obv. — Looks like a dancing Kṛishṇa, under a canopy.

Rev. — Similar to No. 1-A.

No. 2-G. Copper —

Obv. — A dancing Kṛishṇa, with snake.

Rev. — Allied to the type of legend on No. 1-A, but different. Apparently there are four characters here, and the second is *châ* in place of the *vî* of the others.

No. 2-H —

Obv. — Apparently some animal — *siṁha?* — with tail over back. Perhaps a *gaṇḍa bhêruṇḍa*, with elephant in beak.

Rev. — Similar to No. 1-A

Are these temple coins? Sir Walter Elliot who possessed two coins with similar reverses, but having a Nandi (bull couchant) on the obverse (*Coins of Southern India*, pp. 85-102, Plate III., Nos. 94, 95), connected them with the Kâkatîya sovereigns of Waraṅgal about the thirteenth century, but I do not know his reasons for this assignment. Capt. Tufnell (*Hints to Coin Collectors*, Part I., p. 19) attributes them to the Vijayanagara kingdom, or later. Mr. Lóventhal's No. 98, Plate IV. (*Coins of Tinnevelly*), is somewhat similar in that the inscription contains apparently the same word, namely, *śrîvîra*, within a circle of dots, but in characters which appear to be Kanarese rather than Telugu; the *ra* stands below the *vî*, on the right of the *śrî*; the obverse has a figure of Garuḍa. He attributes the coin to the time of the Nâyakas, and considers it a purely Tinnevelly coin, not current elsewhere. His Nos. 99, 101 seemingly belong also to this series, as well as Nos. 109, 110, 112, 114, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124. His No. 120 resembles No. 1-D above. With regard to his No. 124, Mr. Lóventhal classes it as undoubtedly a Nâyaka coin of Madura, roughly A. D. 1600 to 1736, and he states that "nearly all the Nâyaka coins from Madura and Trichinopoly and also the coins of the Vellore Rayars have that inscription on the reverse." I observe, however, that No. 124 appears to be of a corrupt type, the first character being drawn in a reversed position to that of my coins as now figured — turned the wrong way in fact — and it is the only coin which he has figured in which the characters resemble those given on my plate. If he is right in his assignment of No. 124 to the Madura Nâyakas, it is possible that these chiefs tried to copy an older coin, such as those in my plate. It is difficult, however, to judge from his illustrations.

The legend has been read *śrîdhara*, which is probably correct, though the aspirate mark does not occur in the second character on the coins. The word is an epithet of Vishṇu. We may call this the "Śrîdhara Series."

If they are temple coins, to which of the great temples do they belong?

Note that my No. 4-F also bears the same word *śrîdhara*. It may belong to this series, the the peacock being a variety of obverse.

No. 3-A. Thick copper "dub" —

Obv. — A Vishṇu *nâmam*, or trident-mark, with *chank* and *chakra* at sides.

Rev. — Legend in rough Nâgarî characters.

This is evidently a modern coin. But who coined it? Mr. Lóventhal's 60, 61, 62 have *nâmams*, but with Garuḍas on the obverse. (*Coins of Tinnevelly*, Plate III. pp. 13, 14.) The author cannot place them.

No. 3-B. Thick copper "dub" —

Obv. — Similar, but different die.

Rev. — Do. do.

No. 4-A. Copper —

Obv. — Peacock to left, inside a circle formed of triangles.

Rev. — Ins. in Persian — *falûs* — in circle of dots.

No. 4-B. Copper —

Obv. — Peacock to right, inside a similar circle.

Rev. — Similar to No. 4-A.

No. 4-C. Copper —

Obv. — Peacock to right.

Rev. — A legend in three lines, illegible. May be Tamil.

No. 4-D. Copper —

Obv. — Peacock to left, passant. Moon above.

Rev. — A king, or a god, standing; in right hand a staff or banner or spear, left hand hanging down. Beyond left hand two diamond-shaped figures; on king's right, dots.

A good little coin, said to have come from Tinnevelly.

Mr. Lóventhal (*op. cit.* Nos. 63, 64) has figured coins with peacocks, but the reverses have modern-looking Vishṇu marks on each side of a lamp (?). He thinks that they belong to the Hoysaḷa Ballâḷas, but his reasons are not very apparent. His numbers 92, 93, also have peacock obverses; and on No. 93 is the *Srîdhara* inscription of the former series (my No. 1).

No. 4-E. Copper —

Obv. — Peacock to right, passant, as a *vâhana* for gods.

Rev. — "*Veṅkaṭâ*" in Kanarese characters.

No. 4-F. Copper —

Obv. — Peacock to right, standing; tail down, in circle of small dots.

Rev. — "*Srîdhara*," as with coins No. 1.

This is the nearest approach that I have to Mr. Lóventhal's No. 93.

No. 4-G. Copper —

Obv. — Peacock to left, standing.

Rev. — A legend, which I cannot decipher.

No. 4-H. Copper —

Obv. — Peacock to right in a double circle, the inner one made of dots.

Rev. — A legend, which I am unable to read.

No. 4-I. Copper —

Obv. — Peacock, in circle of dots.

Rev. — Indistinguishable.

No. 5-A. Copper —

Obv. — Brahma, on his *haṁsa vâhana* (?).

Rev. — A double lamp with "*Râma*" in Nâgarî characters, on either side.

No. 5-B —

Obv. — Kârtikêya on a peacock *vâhana* (or perhaps Brahma on the *haṁsa*).

Rev. — A Siva *liṅgam* on an altar.

No. 5-C —

Obv. — ? Kârtikêya on the peacock. The tail represented very large.

Rev. — A Tamil legend, which I think reads "*Sêtupati*."

If this reading is correct, it establishes the coin as one of the Sêtupatis of Râmnâd, in the South; probably dating from the 17th or 18th century of our era. In such case it is not, of course, a temple coin.

No. 5-D. A thick copper coin —

Obv. — A god, standing, left foot crossed over right. Either he has many arms, or is overshadowed by a seven-headed cobra. Both the principal arms are down and hold some rod or sceptre transversely across the body. Below him is, apparently, a very rough rendering of a peacock *vâhana*, but this is doubtful. The figure might be intended to represent a Garuḍa, but, if so, it is unlike any image of that semi-deity that I have seen.

Rev. — (Apparently) a *siṁha*; tail up. Above, a sword or dagger.

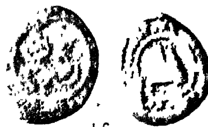
I only place this coin in this series on the off-chance that the figure below the god on the obverse may be intended to represent a peacock.

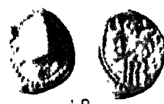
DOUBTFUL COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

Plate i.


1 A


1 B

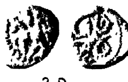

1 C


1 D

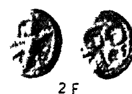

2 A

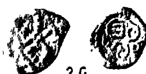

2 B


2 C


2 D

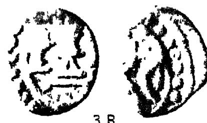

2 E


2 F


2 G


2 H


3 A

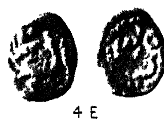

3 B


4 A


4 B


4 C


4 D


4 E


4 F

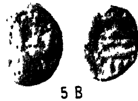

4 G


4 H


4 I

5 A




5 B

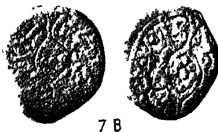

5 C

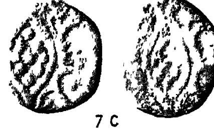

5 D


6 A


6 B

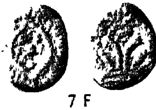

7 A

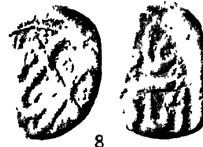

7 B


7 C

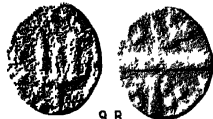

7 D


7 E


7 F

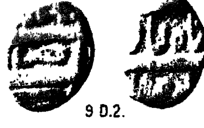

8


9 A

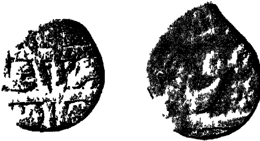

9 B


9 C


9 D.1.

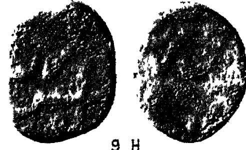

9 D.2.


9 D.3.


9 E

9 F


9 G


9 H

No. 6-A. Thick copper "dub" —

Obv. and *Rev.* similar; *viz.*, the character "*Râ*" in Kanarese within an ornamented scroll, open at top and bottom; a circle of dots round it. I have eleven of these coins.

No. 6-B. Thick copper "dub" —

Obv. — Similar design with the Kanarese character *Râ* in centre.

Rev. — Similar, but with the Kanarese *ma.* The word, of course, is *Râma.*

These coins are found in the Râyadrûg (Raidroog) tâlukâ of the Bellary district, one of the nearer and more direct dependencies of the kingdom of Vijayanagara. Who coined them? And when?

I possess only one coin of the "6-B" type. Are they temple coins, or issues by some local chieftain after the fall of Vijayanagara?

Series No. 7 consists of coins found in the Kûdligi tâlukâ, Bellary district. They are, as coins, of the same class as No. 6, being thick and heavy.

No. 7-A. Found by Mr. Bruce Foote on an old village site near Hurlihâl.

Obv. and *Rev.* — Same type, the principal object being a lozenge-shaped ornament with nine dots inside it; Hindustani or Persian lettering around.

No. 7-B. Similar, but the lozenge design smaller, and the lettering more prominent.

No. 7-C. Similar to 7-A as to size of lozenge, but a large portion of the field occupied by lettering.

No. 7-D. Similar, but larger lozenge; and less prominent, conventional-looking lettering. The dots here are eleven in number, the central nine assuming the form of a circle.

No. 7-E. Similar to 7-D, but having more lettering apparent.

No. 7-F. Similar lozenge, but with a squatting figure of Narasiṁha on the opposite side. [I have two, besides these, slightly different, and omitted in the plate to save space.]

No. 8. Thick copper —

Obv. — Crossed lines, dots in intervals. Is this a Persian inscription?

Rev. — A legend, apparently in some sort of Arabic characters.

[Nos. 8 to 14 are, of course, coins issued by some ruling dynasty, and have nothing to do with the temples.]

Set No. 9 consists of Muhammadan copper "dubs," mostly from the Bellary district.

No. 9-A. Square, thick, copper —

Obv. — To right a trident; to left an axe (?) between horizontal lines; dots in the spaces.

Rev. — A legend.

No. 9-B. Round, thick, copper —

Obv. — A trident, with dots.

Rev. — Legend.

No. 9-C. Thick copper —

Obv. — Lines which, viewed one way, look trident-like.

Rev. — Legend.

No. 9-D, 1, 2, 3. Copper.

Obv. — Legend, with strong horizontal lines.

Rev. — Do. do. do.

[Putting these three together some expert may be able to identify them.]

No. 9-E. Copper —

A coin found at Gâdiganûr, Bellary district, and kindly given to me by Mr. Bruce Foote.

Obv. — Inscription with crossed lines.

Rev. — (Obliterated.)

No. 9-F —

From Hampe (Vijayanagara). Also given to me by Mr. Foote.

Obv. — Inscription.

Rev. — (Obliterated.)

No. 9-G. Thick copper —

Obv. — Inscription.

Rev. — Do.

No. 9-H. Thick copper —

Obv. and *Rev.* — Inscription.

No. 9-I. Thick copper —

Obv. and *Rev.* — Inscription.

No. 9-K. Thick copper —

Obv. and *Rev.* — Inscription.

No. 9-L. Thick copper —

Obv. and *Rev.* — Inscription.

No. 10. Copper —

Obv. — *Siṁha* to right, paw uplifted. Scroll, or lettering, below.

Rev. — Two concentric circles with a circle of dots outside. Something in the centre, unrecognizable. Outside of this, traces of lettering.

The lion is, to all appearances, of the type of those on Maisûr coins of early 19th century, but there is no coin in Mr. Thurston's or Major Tufnell's Lists which corresponds with this.

No. 11. Copper —

Obv. — Inscription in Nâgarî characters in two lines, divided by two fish.

Rev. — Inscription in Kanarese characters. The former seems to read "— *gârapa*" above, and "*parâ*—" below. The latter "*maṅga*" above and "*kraṁpa*" below. I ascribe the coin to the West Coast on account of the fish device and the Kanarese inscription. If it were a Pâṇḍya coin, the characters would have been Tamil.

No. 12. Copper —

Obv. — A Vishṇu mark — *chank* or *chakra*, in a lined circle with circle of dots outside.

Rev. — (?) Double-line circle, on each side of circle of dots.

The design on the obverse leads me to attribute this coin to the West Coast.

No. 13. Copper —

Obv. — A sword, hilt at top ; dots on each side below cross-bar ; wreath of dots round it ; circles round, inner one a line, outer one dots.

Rev. — An inscription in a lined circle with circle of dots outside.

The device on the obverse leads me to assign this also to the West Coast.

No. 14-A. Copper —

Obv. — A very roughly designed *siṁha* (?) to left; tail over back; claws indicated.

Rev. — An inscription divided by four lines.

This may be a coin of king Sadâśiva Râya of Vijayanagara. (See *Inedited Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara*, by Messrs. Rangâchâri and Dêsikâchâri in *Ind. Ant.* XXIII. p. 26, No. 6 and plate.) They read the legend as (श्री) स (Śrî) Sa
दा शि (व) dâśi(va)
(रा य) (râya).

No. 14-B. Copper —
Obs. and *Rev.* — Similar but different.

No. 14-C. Copper —
Obv. and *Rev.* — Also similar, but different to either A or B.

No. 15. Copper —
I do not know how to class this coin. The lion would place it as a coin of some State, but in such case one would expect some lettering on the reverse, instead of the figure of Hanumân.
Obv. — A rampant lion, facing left; claws strongly marked; moon and *chank* above. Lined and dotted circle.
Rev. — A figure of Hanumân passing to left. Four circles round it; two of lines, two of dots.

No. 16. Copper —
Obv. — A conventional fish, possibly intended for a sword-fish; surrounded by a dotted circle.
Rev. — *Śrî* in Kanarese characters. As regards the fish, instances of it occur in Mysore coinage (*Thurston's Catalogue*, Pl. IV. 11; *Tufnell*, Pl. I. 21), but this is clearly not a Mysore coin. (See also *Numismatic Gleanings*, Elliot, No. 87.)

No. 17-A. Copper —
The following five coins, A to E, appear to belong to some great temple dedicated to Śiva, since all of them have the figure of the *liṅgam* and altar. The reverses are rather puzzling, but they may represent Śiva and Pârvatî. In each case the figures are divided by a sort of staff, except in E., where each holds a sceptre in the elevated right hand. In F. there is only one figure.
Obv. — Śiva and Pârvatî (?) standing, in a lined circle, with a lofty staff dividing them.
Rev. — A crude representation of the altar and *liṅgam* wreathed. Circles of lines and dots.

No. 17-B. Copper —
Similar, but not the same.

No. 17-C. Copper —
Similar, but not the same.

No. 17-D. Copper —
A smaller coin. Here the god and goddess are either sitting, or seated on their *vâhanas*.

No. 17-E. Copper —
Similar. See note under 17-A. Under the altar and *liṅgam* is a Nandi (Śiva's bull).

No. 17-F. Copper —
Obv. — A standing god, which apparently must be intended for Śiva. The arms are upraised.
Rev. — The altar and *liṅgam*, but no wreath, and the figure of Nandi below, facing right.

No. 17-G. Copper —
Obv. — God and goddess standing, as in 17-A.
Rev. — A very rough *liṅgam* and altar; dots above on each side.

No. 18-A. Copper —
Obv. — Gaṇêśa on his rat *vâhana*; in a lined circle.
Rev. — A very rough representation of a *liṅgam* on an altar, under a canopy; lined circle round.

No. 18-B. Copper —

Similar, but different. Above the *lingam* in this case, and under the canopy, are two dots, one on each side.

No. 19. Copper —

Obv. — In a lined circle some device which I cannot interpret. It may be a very rough representation of Vishṇu and Lakshmî on some *vâhana.*

Rev. — Tortoise.

No. 20-A. Copper —

Obv. — A very crude figure of a god standing under a canopy ; on left a staff or sceptre.

Rev. — On left a *śaṅkha*-shell. On right a twist, probably the Kanarese *Srî.*

No. 20-B. Copper —

Obv. — Similar to 20-A.

Rev. — *Chank* on right side. On the left is perhaps a worshipping Hanumân, but the coin is much injured.

No. 21. Copper —

Obv. — A rough Śiva *lingam* with a canopy, the end of which has a loop on the right side ; circle of dots round.

Rev. — Apparently an attempt at an inscription ; perhaps in Tamil characters.

No. 22. Copper —

Obv. — May be intended for a *lingam* and canopy ; or may be some lettering rudely copied.

Rev.— If this were a Buddhist coin I should interpret this design as a tree-symbol on left, and a sun-symbol on right. But it appears far too modern for this explanation.

No. 23. Copper —

Obv. — An inscription in Nâgarî characters.

Rev. — Apparently an inscription ; but in what characters ?

No. 24-A. Copper —

Obv. — Vishṇu standing leaning on a tall staff held in left hand ; Lakshmî, smaller, under his left arm ; circle of dots.

Rev. — Hanumân standing to front ; head turned to his proper right ; tail twisting over his left shoulder ; circle of dots.

No. 24-B. Copper —

Obv. — Vishṇu (?) standing, holding a large bow (?) in left hand ; circle of dots

Rev. — An inscription — possibly (*Vi*)*jaya* — in characters which may be classed either as Telugu or as Kanarese ; circle of dots.

If my reading of the reverse is correct, this may be one of the Pudukottah Series. See extract from letter of Sir Seshiah Sâstri in the introductory remarks to this paper.

No. 24-C. Copper —

Obv. — A standing god ; staff below left arm ; circle of dots.

Rev. — Two letters of an inscription, probably Nâgarî characters, under some object defaced.

No. 25. Copper —

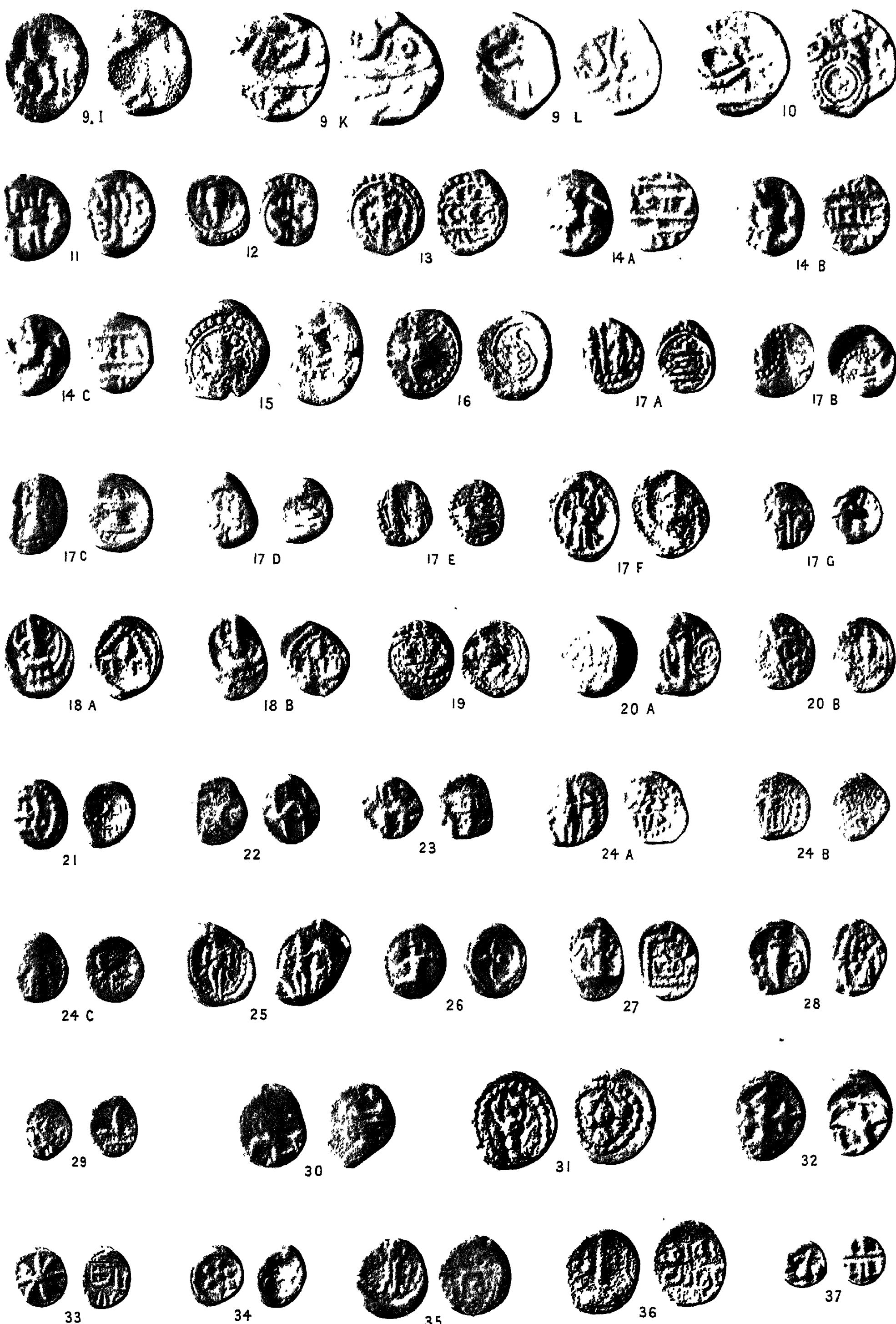
Obv. — A god, or king, facing front ; some object on right ; circle of dots. The head-dress falls to one side, and makes the figure look more like that of a Râjah than of a deity.

Rev. — Vishṇu standing, arms outstretched ; his two wives below the arms ; circle of dots.

No. 26. Copper —

Obv. — Vishṇu in his *matsya-*, or fish-, *avatâr.*

Rev. — A tendril, twisted, bearing three lotus buds.


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9 L
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14 A
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14 C
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17 A
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17 D
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AUTOTYPE

FULL-SIZE

No. 27. Copper —

A very puzzling coin. On the *obv.* is a standing figure, which may be Vishṇu in his *Narasiṁha avatâr*, with some other object to the left. From another point of view the design looks something like a figure of a Râjah seated with his left arm crooked, surrounded by a lozenge-shaped line, and having objects on each side of his head. The *rev.* has a dotted line in a square shape with a square prolongation on one side, and some lettering inside.

No. 28. Copper —

Obv. — A very crude figure of (?) Vishṇu standing under a canopy. His right hand holds an object — a sceptre, or a discus on a staff.

Rev. — A *chank*, surrounded by a lined circle. On left three dots; on right the letter *ri* in Kanarese (?).

No. 29. Copper —

Obv. — A well-designed little figure of Gaṇêśa on his rat *vâhana*, with a staff in his right hand.

Rev. — A very poor attempt at a Śiva *liṅgam* on an altar. A horizontal line runs across between the altar and the *liṅgam*.

No. 30. Copper —

Obv. — Garuḍa, passant, to left.

Rev. — A worn-out inscription, apparently in Nâgarî characters.

No. 31. Copper —

A complete puzzle. On one side what looks like a scorpion, surrounded by a ring of dots of rather unusual type — the dots being close together so as to make a continuous rope-like circle. They might even be a string of cowrie-shells. On the other side, within a similar circle, is some object or group of objects to which I can give no name.

No. 32. Copper —

[I cannot say if this is a coin at all.]

Obv. — A strongly marked equal-armed cross, each end forming a trefoil.

Rev. — Unintelligible.

No. 33. Copper —

Obv. — An eight-pointed star.

Rev. — Tamil lettering; probably "*kumpiṇi*" = "Company." This is, I think, a variety of the coin noted by Dr. Hultzsch as one struck by the British East India Company, — No. 25 of his List in *Ind. Ant.* XXI. 326, Pl. II., No. 25. His coin has dots between the star-points; mine has none.

No. 34. Copper —

Obv. — A six-pointed star, in a lined circle.

Rev. — (?)

No. 35. Copper —

Obv. — A god, standing on something hinted at rather than represented; probably a canopy was over his head.

Rev. — "*Veṅkaṭappa*," in a lined circle. This is probably a coin of one of the Veṅkaṭas of Vijayanagara, but I do not think that it has been figured in previous Lists.

No. 36. Copper —

Obv. — (?)

Rev. — An inscription in Tamil (?) characters.

No. 37. Copper —

Obv. — (?)

Rev. — A Nâgarî inscription.

No. 38. Copper —

[A much-injured little coin.]

Obv. — A sword hilt, and part of blade; hilt upwards, guard to left. A defaced inscription round.

Rev. — An inscription in characters that look like Tamil.

No. 39. Copper —

Obv. — A gracefully designed tree-branch with buds.

Rev. — An inscription in Nâgarî characters, evidently the name of a sovereign. The letters are, many of them, clear enough, but I have not been able, as yet, to assign the coin; and I prefer to submit it to be deciphered by others better informed.

I have never seen any other South-Indian coin with a similar obverse, and believe it to belong to the North. Is it Sikh?

No. 40. Copper —

Obv. — (?)

Rev. — Inscription.

No. 41. Copper —

Obv. — A standing god; arms upraised.

Rev. — Inscription.

No. 42. Copper —

Obv. — (?)

Rev. — Inscription in Arabic or Persian.

No. 43-A. Copper —

Obv. — Debased standing Chôḷa figure; some symbol on left side.

Rev. — Inscription in Tamil characters, "*Pudu* — —."

No. 43-B. Copper —

Obv. — Similar to 43-A.

Rev. — Inscription in Tamil characters, "— *duche* —." Are these legends "*Puduchêri*," *i.e.*, Pondicherry?

No. 43-C —

Obv. and *Rev.* — Similar. A better specimen of the same coin.

No. 43-D —

Obv. and *Rev.* — Similar. But here, under the *pu* is another character, which would prevent us from reading *Puduchêri*.

No. 44. Copper —

Obv. — God on *vâhana* (?).

Rev. — Inscription.

No. 45. Copper —

Obv. — A well-designed elephant, facing right; tail up, with a double end; Arabic character *alif* above. Double circle and circle of dots.

Rev. — (?)

This appears to me almost certainly a Mysore coin of Tîpû Sultân; but in those figured in Thurston's and Tufnell's Lists none have the tail uplifted, with double end, facing right, and the *alif* above.

No. 46. Copper —

Obv. — A roughly-designed elephant, facing to right; Arabic date above (?); foliated circle round.

Rev. — Inscription in Arabic characters.

This also looks like a Mysore coin of Haidar or Tîpû, but I do not find it in the published lists.

No. 47. Copper —

Obv. — Some animal, surrounded by a circle of dots.

Rev. — Inscription in Tamil.

No. 48. Copper —

Obv. — (?) Circle of dots round.

Rev. — (?)

No. 49. Copper —

Obv. — (?) Vishṇu and his two wives.

Rev. — (?) Inscription in Tamil.

No. 50. Copper —

Obv. — (?)

Rev. — An inscription.

No. 51. Copper —

Obv. — Bull, Nandi, facing left.

Rev. — (?)

This is a very thin coin, if it is a coin at all which I doubt. It appears to me more like a token or keepsake, perhaps issued by a temple.

No. 52. Copper —

Obv. — Vishṇu seated; *chank* and *chakra* on each side of his head; double lamp (?) below, on left.

Rev. — An inscription. The characters look plain, but I can make nothing of them. The lines are divided perpendicularly, and the letters in the middle appear to read *a* above, and *ma* in the centre.

This coin was found in the old fort of Dantavaktrunikôṭa in the village of Purushôttapuram, in the Chicacole tâlukâ of the Ganjam district.

No. 53. Copper —

Obv. — A single letter, in a circle of dots, apparently the Nâgarî *da.*

Rev. — (?)

No. 54. Copper —

Obv. — Gaṇêśa, on a plain field.

Rev. — An illegible Nâgarî inscription.

No. 55. Copper —

Obv. — Nandi, to left; the head very high above the body.

Rev. — A trident, or *triśûla*, with some lettering at sides.

A coin with a trident in Col. Biddulph's collection has a fish on the *obv.*, and is possibly Pâṇḍyan.

No. 56. Copper —

Obv. — A horse trotting, facing left.

Rev. — Apparently a number; horizontal lines below.

This may be one of the Mysore series of small coins having animals and other devices on the *obv.* and a chequer pattern with symbols on the *rev.*; but, if so, it is a variety. One of the Mysore coins noted on p. 29 of Mr. Thurston's Catalogue, No. 5 (Pl. IV. 2), has a horse, but the design is different, and on the *rev.* the symbols are not so prominent, the chequer pattern and symbols having all the same value. In my coin the lines are subservient to the numbers or letters.

No. 57. Copper —

Obv. — Obliterated.

Rev. — A Nâgarî inscription, which may be *Srî-Kṛishṇarâya*, but I am not certain.

This may be a Vijayanagara coin.

No. 58-A. Copper —

Obv. — Obliterated.

Rev. — Within a rayed circle an inscription in Nâgarî characters.

The coin is roughly stamped on a plate of copper.

No. 58-B. Copper —

Obv. and *Rev.* — Apparently similar. In this case it can be seen that the obverse had some design enclosed by a rayed circle, and that it was punched on to a copper disk, carelessly.

No. 59-A. Copper —

Obv. — In a lined circle within a dotted circle a very debased human figure, whether a god or a king is impossible to say. The head is like a moon, the arms are uplifted, there is a dot for the body, and lines below the awkwardly stretched-out legs, which remind one of the skirts of the kings represented on Chôḷa coins. On the right is a rosette of five dots, on the left some indistinguishable symbol, which may be meant for a club.

Rev. — In a lined circle within a dotted circle, a central staff or sceptre flanked by two lozenges; each lozenge stands on the apex of a triangle.

The set of coins marked 59-A to 59-F were carefully considered by Sir Walter Elliot, and deliberately omitted from his Catalogue (published in 1886), because they could not be identified. They are now published for the first time. General Pearse thought they were Chêra coins, or possibly Gaṅga.

No. 59-B. Copper —

Obv. — A small elephant of antique design, but badly executed, trunk uplifted, facing right; moon above; surrounded by a line circle and circle of dots.

Rev. — In a lined circle and circle of dots two lozenges divided by a staff or sceptre. Two dots above the lozenges.

I imagined at one time that the desgin on the *rev.* might represent a double axe, but the reverses of the other coins classed under this No. 59 seem to shew that this interpretation is incorrect.

No. 59-C. Copper —

Obv. — Small elephant facing left; *chank*; *chakra*; moon; and a lozenge on a triangle. There are some lines below the elephant, and a line circle round the whole.

Rev. — In a lined circle and circle of dots a standing figure; arms uplifted; some objects on left.

The obverse of this coin reminds one of the way several separate symbols are stamped on Buddhist coins. The figure on the reverse bears some analogy to the standing king on Chôḷa and Ceylon coins. The object to the left of the figure has been thought to represent an altar, but this is doubtful.

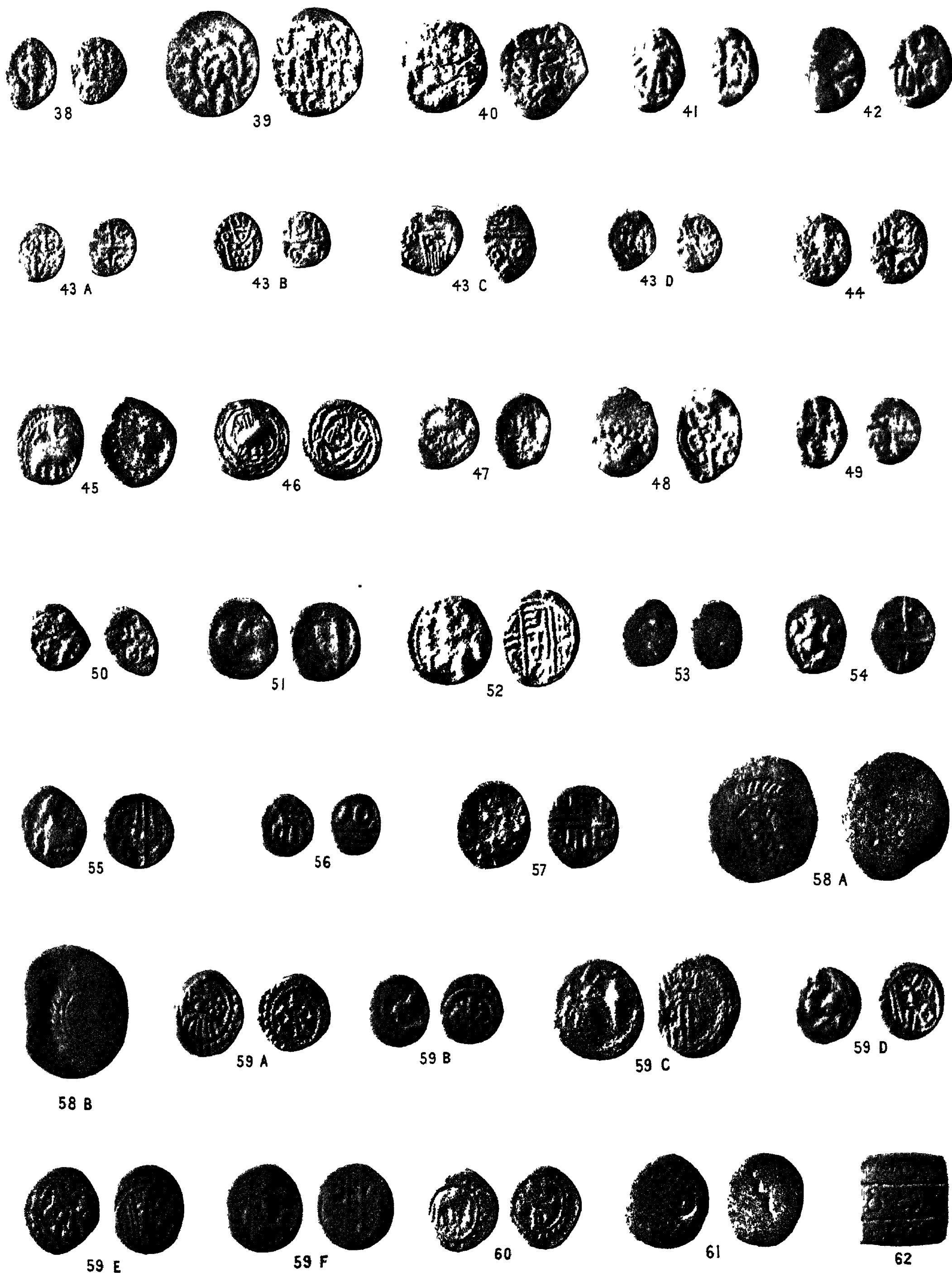
No. 59-D. Copper —

Obv. — A *siṁha*, or lion; tail and head uplifted; facing left.

Rev. — A king flourishing a sword in his right hand; left arm crooked, hand upwards; below the elbow a lozenge; two long lines on the king's proper right may possibly be intended for spears. If intended to represent the Chêra bow, one of the lines ought to have been curved to indicate the bow-shaft, but here they are both straight. Lined circle and circle of dots round.

DOUBTFUL COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

Plate iii.



No. 59-E. Copper —

Obv. — In a lined circle and circle of dots a *chakra* on right side, and a lozenge on the left, with balls on the points; moon above; an object below that may perhaps represent flames, but is very doubtful.

Rev. — In a lined circle and circle of dots a standing king closely resembling the figure on No. 59-D. But in this case one of the two long lines on the left seems to be intended for a trident. In both this and 59-D there is a cross line connecting the straight object with the king's right arm. The object in the field below the king's left arm is here a dot, possibly a sun-disk, instead of a lozenge.

The position on the obverse of the lozenge seems to shew that it was intended to represent the *chakra* of Vishṇu; and it is just possible that in all these cases the lozenges, whether standing alone or on triangles, may be intended to symbolize very conventionally the *chank* and *chakra*. If so, the triangles would represent supports, or altars.

No. 59-F —

Obv. — Garuḍa, arms uplifted, running to left. The action is spirited.

Rev. — In a lined circle and circle of dots a double design. On the right is the standing king, as before, with the two spears (?) on his proper right. On the left of this, two lozenges one above the other, with a short horizontal line dividing them. Or, perhaps, this last group may be intended to be looked at sideways, in which case it resembles the design on No. 59-B. Lined circle and circle of dots round.

The presence of the Garuḍa here emphasizes the remark made under 59-E, that these coins were issued by Vishṇu-worshippers, and that the lozenges may be conventionalized Vaishṇava symbols.

No. 60. Copper —

Obv. — In a lined circle and circle of dots an elephant, with very long trunk, facing right; three dots below.

Rev. — In a lined circle and circle of dots a figure of Vishṇu. His arms are uplifted holding the *chank* and *chakra*. Round his waist is a sash with very large flying ends, trefoil-shaped. In the field under his right arm is a tortoise, in allusion to the *Kûrma Avatâra*.

No. 61. Copper —

A number of copper coins were given to me when in the Bellary district, which were said to be commonly found in that tract. The people there know them as *Handê Râyani* dubs. I have nineteen of them. In all, except one, one side is quite plain; the other has one small symbol punched in it — either a moon-crescent, or a snake. Two of the coins shew faint traces of having belonged to a regular coinage, the design on which has been almost entirely defaced. The coins are thick. I fancy that they must be Muhammadan coins, worn down till the faces have become obliterated, re-called into a treasury (perhaps that of the Râjah of Sandûr, or one of the lesser chiefs), die-struck in the manner seen, and then re-issued. I give an illustration of one of these, die-struck on both sides.

No. 62. Copper—

I conclude with a small square of copper, — evidently not a coin, and looking more like a charm, with an inscription engraved in Telugu characters. I should be glad if someone would interpret it. The characters apparently read *Bilâ* (or *laṁ*) *pa rôvimu* (or *vu*) *ṅga Raṅga*. Of this I can make no sense. It came from the Ganjam district.

ÂRYA SÛRA'S JÂTAKAMÂLÂ AND THE FRESCOES OF AJAṆṬÂ.

BY HEINRICH LÜDERS, PH.D.

Translated from the Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1902, pp. 758 to 762.

[The following is a translation of a paper read to the Göttingen Royal Society, 13th December, 1902. As will be seen it is based on a passage in No. 10 of the Miscellaneous publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India (Bombay, 1881). There, at page 81, a lithograph of tracings of inscriptions in Cave II. is given, and in the text Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indraji's readings and remarks on the inscriptions are interspersed with my account of their positions in relation to the accompanying frescoes. The epigraphs are often so faint that it was almost impossible to trace them correctly, and mistakes were almost unavoidable: for example, in the case of No. 7 on the plate (Dr. Lüders's last), the abrasion of the upper left arm of the *m* left only *ch*. In other cases mislections seem to have been made in the transcripts, and in the following I shall not follow Dr. Lüders in repeating these and then correcting them by the facsimiles, but substitute at once the readings of the latter in place of the transcriptions, along with his parallel quotations from the *Jâtakamâlâ*. The paintings and inscriptions in question are in a small chamber outside and to the left of Cave II., and unfortunately the former are as much destroyed as the latter, and Mr. Griffiths made no copies of the frescoes in this apartment. — J. BURGESS.]

THE twenty-eighth story of the Jâtakamâlâ, — the Kshântijâtaka,[1] — is a version of the legend of Kshântivâdin found in the Pâli collection of the Jâtakas (No. 313)[2] and in the Mahâvastu (tom. III. p. 357). The contents of the Jâtaka, according to the representation of Ârya-Sûra, are briefly as follows: —

The Bodhisattva lived in a forest as a pious hermit. As he was fond of making forbearance the the subject of his discourses, people called him **Kshântivâdin** — the preacher of patience. Now once on a hot summer day the king of the country with his harem were walking in that forest. Becoming tired from the walk and the drinking freely of wine, he lay down to sleep. When the women saw that their lord had fallen asleep, they wandered about at pleasure in the wood and came to the hermitage of Kshântivâdin, who at once employed the opportunity to give them an edifying sermon on patience. Meanwhile the king awoke, sought for the women, and when he found them as they were sitting in a circle round the hermit, listening to his discourse, he fell into a terrible rage. The women seek to soothe him, but their pleading is in vain, and — filled with fear — they draw back. Meanwhile Kshântivâdin remains quite calm: he warns the king against too hasty action and advises him to cultivate patience. In fierce wrath the king draws his sword and strikes off the hermit's right hand, but his patience is not disturbed by this; even when the king hacks off one limb after another he has only a feeling of pity for the angry man. The merited punishment overtakes the latter: as he is just about to leave the wood, the earth opens and swallows him. The people of the country dreaded a like fate for themselves; but Kshântivâdin calmed their fears and, remaining true to his principles till death, when dying he blessed his murderers.

This story was pictorially represented in the frescoes of a small chamber outside and to the left of Cave II. at Ajaṇṭâ. In the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, p. 81,[3] Burgess says that "on the back wall to the right of a door in it, a man is represented seated on a stool (*bhadrâsana*) in a plain dress indicative of a Sâdhu or Brâhmaṇ; his head is destroyed."

[1] [Kern's edition in Lanman's Harvard Oriental Series, pp. 181-192. — J. B.]

[2] [*The Jâtaka*, ed. by E. B. Cowell, Vol. III. pp. 23-29. — J. B.]

[3] The paintings referred to here are not contained in the fine work by J. Griffiths — *The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta*. I have therefore been throughout confined to the publication by Burgess and Bhagwânlâl Indraji. — [See above. — J. B.]

Under his seat, in letters of about the sixth century, is one word which Bhagwânlâl Indraji read *Kshântivâdiḥ* and translated "a discourse on forbearance." This is surprising seeing that in a footnote[4] it is remarked that Kshântivâdin was the name of Gautama Buddha in one of his previous births. It is, of course, the name of the person represented above, as also for example in Cave XVII., the figures are marked by accompanying inscriptions, — as king Śibi or Indra.

Facing Kshântivâdin, according to Burgess, is represented another seated figure, and below is a stripe of green colour on which an inscription is painted in two lines, so mutilated as to be untranslateable. Sergius F. Oldenburg has already expressed the surmise[5] that this inscription contains verses from a version of the Jâtaka. I believe I can prove that **the inscription is taken from stanzas 4, 15 and 19 of the Kshântijâtaka of the Jâtakamâlâ.**

In the following I have printed the stanzas named, whilst immediately below I have placed the text of the inscription from Bhagwânlâl Indraji's *lithographed tracings*[6] :—

nivasanti hi yatraiva santaḥ sadguṇabhûshaṇâḥ |
. . . . ha *yatrava vânta sadgu . . bhushaṇâ*
tan maṅgalyaṁ manojñaṁ cha tat tîrthaṁ tat tapovanam || 4 ||
tan ma . . . . . . nâjña na . . . .
agarhitâṁ jâtîm avâpya mânushîm anûnabhâvaṁ patubhis tathendriyaiḥ |
agahi . . nîtim avâpya mânusha . . . . pâtu . . s tachendriyai
avaśyamṛityur nna karoti yaḥ śubhaṁ pramâdabhâk pratyaham esha vaṁchyate || 15 ||
avakyamṛityu nnaṁ karoti yaḥ śubhaṁ pram[â]da*châ . . kyaham ema* da*ṁnyate.*
alaṁkriyante kusumair mahîruhâs taḍidguṇais toyavilambino ghaṇâḥ |
. . *śâyanta kusumair mahi*ru*hâs* ta . *dâguse . . . ntin*[o] *ghanâ*
sarâṁsi mattabhramarais saroruhair guṇair vviśeshâdhigatais tu dehinaḥ || 19 ||
sa*râsi mantabhramates* saroru . . . . . *rvvichâva . . . . kshâ hiṇa . .*

It hardly needs further proof that the two texts are identical, and in every case where the inscription differs from the Jâtakamâlâ, it is evidently an incorrect copy.[7] The contents of these three stanzas clearly indicate what was the subject of the picture above. The first stanza praises the place in the wood where Kshântivâdin had settled; the other two verses are taken from the discourse which he delivered to the king's wives. Thus the picture evidently represented this sermon, and the figure sitting opposite to the hermit, of which Burgess speaks, was probably one of the royal women.

Under this picture there was another which Burgess describes thus: — "Below this is a Brâhmaṇ or Pâśupata, seated on a stool in plain dress and with a *rudrâksha* rosary about his neck. Opposite him is another male figure, and between them a woman is seated, with her hands joined towards the former, whilst she is speaking to the second." Under these figures again is **an inscription, which proves to be a rendering of śloka 56 of the Kshântijâtaka.** With the correct text it runs thus: —

gâtrachchhedepy akshatakshântidhîraṁ chittaṁ tasya prekshamâṇasya sâdhoḥ |
nâtrachchhedity akshatakshântichiraṁ chit[t]*a tasya preksha . . . .*
nâsîd duḥkhaṁ pritiyogân nṛipaṁ tu bhrâshṭaṁ dharmâd vîkshya santâpam âpa | 56 ||
. . . . *prîtisaṁnyâna maha tâṁ nasa . . . . . nâtra nâdevâdh âra*

4 [This footnote was added by me. — J. B.]

5 *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 196. — [See below.]

6 [I have, as stated above, changed the transcribed readings for those of the facsimiles, printing the more doubtful syllables in roman type. — J. B.]

7 [The original is so faded and indistinct that a correct copy is impossible. The corrections made from the facsimile are indicated by roman letters. I omit some remarks by Dr. Lüders on the discrepancies here. — J. B.]

It is scarcely possible without an examination of the fresco itself, to determine what part of the story the picture represented was, to which these verses belong. They glorify rest of spirit which did not forsake the Kshântivâdin, even under the fearful tortures inflicted by the king, and from this it might be inferred that the scene of the mutilation was represented. Burgess' description of the people, in whom we have no difficulty in recognising Kshântivâdin, the king, and one of the wives praying for mercy on the ascetic, — seems, on the other hand, to indicate that the scene preceding the actual mutilation was depicted.

The **Kshântijâtaka** is not the only story from the Jâtakamâlâ which has served the Ajaṇṭâ artists as a subject. On the right side wall of the same chamber, near the front corner, there is, according to Burgess,[8] the figure of a king seated on a throne, which bears an inscription that Bhagwânlâl Indraji doubtfully read as *Chaitrivalorkîrâjâ*, and explained as 'King Chaitra of Valorka.' The correct reading, however, is certainly *Maitrîbalo . . . râjâ*,[9] and the picture represents the Bodhisattva in his former birth as Maitrîbala. The history of this king forms the subject of the eighth story of the Jâtakamâlâ.[10] Maitrâbala is there held up as a pattern of human kindness; he goes so far in his goodness that once he satisfied with his own flesh and blood five Yakshas who asked him for food.

The correctness of my explanation is proved by the inscription which, according to Burgess, is found above the representation of the king. It is much mutilated, but sufficient is left to **identify it undoubtedly with śloka 44 of the Maitrîbalajâtaka.** The stanẓa and Bhagwânlâl Indraji's tracing of the text run thus: —

hriyamâṇâvakâśaṁ tu dânaprîtyâ punaḥ punaḥ ।
. . . . *nâ*
na prasehe manas tasya chchhedaduḥkhaṁ vigâhitum ॥
*na prasehe manas vasyâ traivaduḥkhâ vigâhi*tum

I-tsing tells us how widespread and popular was the Jâtakamâlâ in India at the end of the seventh century. The inscriptions at Ajaṇṭâ, in characters that belong to about the sixth century, prove that the work held as high a reputation a hundred years earlier.

Other Jâtakas in the Ajaṇṭâ Frescoes.[11]

Dr. Sergius F. Oldenburg in 1895 published a paper on the representations of the Jâtakas on Buddhist monuments. His results are of the utmost value, and the communication was translated from the Russian in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Vol. XVIII. pp. 183 ff.), 1897. In this Dr. Oldenburg expressed the difficulty of satisfactory identification of the scenes in the almost complete absence of reproductions (*ib.* pp. 195, 196). Mr. Griffiths' work, *The Paintings in the Buddhist Caves of Ajaṇṭâ* (1896), had not then appeared. But even this great work does not remove all impediments; for, of the 320 pieces, large and small, copied between 1872 and 1885, half were destroyed by fire at South Kensington Museum soon after they were hung up, and the 159 plates in Mr. Griffiths' work represent about eighty-five of his canvases, and of these fully 40 per cent. are decorative details — contained in the second volume. To study the subjects of the very interesting paintings in the Ajaṇṭâ Caves, a more complete series of the scenes, drawn in outline and lithographed, should be in the hands of scholars. Meanwhile the meagre information available has been carefully studied; and Dr. S. F. Oldenburg, solely on the the basis of the descriptions in *Notes on*

[8] *Loc. cit.* p. 82.

[9] The *rki* standing between the two words, looks more like *ki* in the facsimile. It cannot, of course, be right, but I cannot propose a satisfactory correction.

[10] [Kern's ed. pp. 41-50. — J. B.]

[11] [I add the following as connected with Dr. Lüders's paper, and of interest to such as may not have seen Dr. Oldenburg's paper. — J. B.]

the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajaṇṭâ, their paintings and sculptures, &c.,[12] has made the following identifications: —

1.	Cave II., Nos. viii, ix, page 32 (*cf.* below No. 5)	... 534[13]	Mahâ-Haṁsa jâtaka.
2.	„ No. xxvii, p. 38	... 482	Ruru.
3.	Cave IX., No. i, p. 47 (*cf.* below No. 11) ...	... 499	Sivi.[14]
4.	Cave X., p. 50	... 514	Chaddanta.[14, 15]
5.	Cave XVII., No. xix, pp. 65-66 (*cf.* above No. 1)	... 534	Mahâ-haṁsa.
6.	Cave XVII., Nos. xxii-xxiv, pp. 66-67 ...	W. 539	Mahâ-vessantara (?).
7.	„ No. xxv, p. 67	... 516	Mahâ-kapi.
8.	„ Nos. xxxvi-xxxvii, p. 70 ...	... 455	Mâti-posaka.
9.	„ No. xxxviii, p. 71	W. 532	Sâma (?).
10.	„ No. xxxix, p. 71...	... 278	Mahisa.
11.	„ No. liv, pp. 75-76 (*cf.* above 3) ..	... 499	Sivi.[15]
12.	Cave II. Outside chamber to the left, pp. 81-82	... 313	Khanti-vâdi.

THE LEGEND OF MÎRÂ BÂÎ THE RAJPUT POETESS.

BY M. MACAULIFFE.

MIRA BAI was daughter of **Ratan Singh Râṭhaur of Mêrâtâ**, a town between Bîkânêr and Jôdhpur in Râjpûtânâ. She was born about 1504 A. D. She appears to have inherited her religious proclivities from her mother. When **Mîrâ Bâî** was three or four years of age, the bridal procession of a youth of position passed by the palace. All the ladies of the court, except Mîrâ Bâî's mother, went to the upper apartments to view the procession. She took the opportunity of their absence to go to pray to **an image of Kṛishṇa, called Girdhar Lâl**, which was set up in her private apartment.

Mîrâ Bâî laid aside her playthings to follow her mother, and said to her, "who is my bridegroom?" Her mother smiled, took her in her arms, and, pointing to Girdhar Lâl, said, "there is your bridegroom." Upon this Mîrâ Bâî instantly accepted him, and veiled her face according to the Oriental practice, which requires a wife to veil her face even from her newly married husband. She became so enamoured of Girdhar Lâl that she could not pass an instant without seeing him. Her love for him is compared to that of the milkmaids, Kṛishṇa's playfellows, of Bindrâban. She indulged her passion without fear or shame, and without any regard to the traditions of her family on the subject of the retirement of women from the public gaze.

While her affections were thus engaged, she was betrothed to **Kaṅwar Bhôjrâj, son of Rânâ Sâṅgâ of Mêwâr.** The subsequent marriage in 1516 A. D., as might well have been expected, proved unhappy. Bhôjrâj went to Mêrâtâ in great state with a large retinue, but when the marriage ceremony was being performed and the time came for the bride to circumambulate the pavilion set up for the ceremony, Mîrâ Bâî walked around the idol of Girdhar Lâl, and took no notice of the bridegroom. When the time for her departure with her husband arrived, her parents wished to send her off with suitable marriage presents, but she was miserable at leaving Girdhar Lâl. She grew sad and restless, and wept to such an extent that she became insensible. When she regained

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[12] *Archæological Survey of Western India*, No. 9, Bombay, 1879.

[13] These numerals refer to the current numbers of the Jâtaka-tales in Fausböll's edition or to those of Westergaard's Catalogue.

[14] Pointed out by Burgess.

[15] See Burgess, *Report on the Buddhist Cave-Temples, &c. Arch. Sur. West. India*, Vol. IV. pp. 45-46. *Cf.* L. Feer, Le Chaddanta-jâtaka, *Jour. As.* IX Ser. tom. V. (1895), pp. 31-35 and 189-223. [See also Cunningham, *Bharhut Stûpa*, pl. xxvi, fig. 6.]

consciousness, her parents affectionately told her that, if it made her happy, she might take Girdhar Lâl with her without any further ceremony. She replied that if they valued the happiness of her life, they would give her the image, and she would worship it with heart and soul. Her parents had already perceived that she was a saint and "lover of God," and so at the moment of separation from their beloved daughter they presented her with the image as part of her dowry.

Mîrâ Bâî, who was overjoyed at obtaining possession of the object of her devotion, set it up in her palanquin, and during the journey feasted her eyes on its beauty. On arriving at her new home, her mother-in-law, the Rânî, had hardly paid her the rites of hospitality, when she asked her to **worship Durgâ,** a goddess of a totally different temper from the playful Kṛishṇa. Mîrâ Bâî said, however, that she had devoted her body to Girdhar Lâl, and she would bow her head to none but him. Her mother-in-law replied that a good wife was improved by worshipping Durgâ. But Mîrâ Bâî closed the discussion by saying it was of no use to press her further, and she would abide by her first determination. On this the Rânî became very angry, and went to complain of Mîrâ Bâî to the Rânâ: "This daughter-in-law of ours is worthless, as on the very day of her arrival she refuses to obey me and puts me to shame. It is clear what our future relations are going to be."

The Rânâ became excessively incensed and went to his daughter-in-law with the intention of punishing her. The Rânî, however, had sufficient sense to restrain him; and he decided that the interests of domestic peace would be consulted by putting Mîrâ Bâî into a separate apartment. The point decided was that, although it is admitted by the author of the *Bhagat Mâlâ* that Rukmiṇî, who became Kṛishṇa's consort and the milkmaids who became Kṛishṇa's playfellows, did not meet him until they had sacrificed to Durgâ, as Mîrâ Bâî had already obtained Kṛishṇa, it was unnecessary for her to worship Durgâ, and no exception could be taken to her conduct on the precedent of Rukmiṇî and the milkmaids.

Mîrâ Bâî on finding herself in a private apartment became excessively happy, and gave full scope to her religious enthusiasm. She set up her image, decked and adorned it, and devoted herself night and day to the company of saints. Her sister-in-law **Udai Bâî** was sent to remonstrate with her, and said—"You are born of a noble house. Be wise and desist from the company of *faqîrs*, which casts a slur on both our families." Mîrâ Bâî replied—"The slur of hundreds of thousands of births departs on association with the saints. The slur is on her who loves not their company. My life depends on the company of the saints. To anyone who is displeased with it your remonstrance would be proper." It was on this occasion that Mîrâ Bâî composed the following hymns:—

O my friend, my mind is attached to Kṛishṇa; I shall not be restrained from loving him,
If anyone give me a reproach, I will give a hundred thousand in return.
My mother-in-law is severe, my sister-in-law obstinate; how can I endure this misery?
Mîrâ for the sake of the lord Girdhar would endure the obloquy of the world.

I have the god Girdhar and no other;
He is my spouse on whose head is a crown of peacock feathers,
Who carrieth a shell, discus, mace, and lotus, and who weareth a necklace.[1]
I have forfeited the respect of the world by ever sitting near holy men.
The matter is now public; everybody knows it.
Having felt supreme devotion I die as I behold the world.
I have no mother, father, son, or relation with me.
I laugh when I behold my beloved; people think I weep.
I have planted the vine of love, and irrigated it again and again with the water of tears.
I have cast away fear of the world; what can anyone do to me?
Mîrâ's love for her god is fixed, happen what may.

[1] This is a description of Vishṇu, of whom Kṛishṇa was an incarnation.

The Rânâ, on being informed of Mîrâ Bâî's determination, became beside himself with rage, and sent Mîrâ Bâî a cup of poison known as *charnâmrit,* that is, water in which an image had been bathed.

The Marathi chronicler states that the poison was sent Mîrâ by the hand of her mother, who overcome by maternal affection shed tears as she bore it. **To disobey the Rânâ**, the supreme ruler of the state, was impossible, and so her beloved daughter must die. When the cup was offered to Mîrâ Bâî, she said — "The body is perishable, so, mother, why weep if it perish in the service of Kṛishṇa? There need be no regret at the disappearance of a mirage or at the failure of the son of a barren woman to wed. It is not right to say that the moon perishes on the thirtieth day of the lunar month. Your lamentations are as vain as the grief of the bee at the fading of an imaginary flower. As the fruit of a tree falls, sooner or later, so I have fallen at Kṛishṇa's feet. A pearl born in the ocean is turned into an ornament by the rich, so I who am sprung from you shall glitter in Kṛishṇa's diadem. The world itself is an illusion, wherefore mourn not for me."

Mîrâ Bâî's only grief at leaving her body was that the worship of Kṛishṇa might decline. Having informed the god of her father-in-law's intention, she thus apostrophised the object of her worship — "People will say that the king poisoned his daughter because she worshipped thee. I fear therefore that thy worship shall be neglected, and the apprehension causeth me poignant misery. Who will now put on thy decorations? Who will put the saffron mark on thy forehead, attach dazzling rings to thine ears, twine a garland of pearls round thy neck, girdle thee with a jewelled zone, tie on thy golden armlets and anklets, light incense to gratify thy nostrils, make thee offerings of sweet basil, present thee with sacred food to satisfy thy hunger, and prostrate himself in adoration before thee? **My father-in-law** hath already abandoned thy worship in his displeasure with me, others too will reproach thee with my death and cease to do thee homage. But after all why should I be anxious? Thou thyself knowest the past, the present and the future. Thou hast ever preserved thy saints from poison, fire, and sword, so why should I be anxious now?"

On this Mîrâ Bâî put the cup of poison on her head in token of submission, and then cheerfully drank it off. On that occasion she composed the following verses :—

Râdhâ and Kṛishṇa dwell in my heart.
Some say that Mîrâ is insane, others that she hath disgraced her family.
Opening her veil and baring her breast, she danceth with delight before her god.
In the bowers of Bindrâban, Kṛishṇa with the *tilak* on his forehead gladdeneth my heart.
The Rânâ sent a cup of poison and Mîrâ drank it with delight.
Mîrâ's lord is the all-wise Girdhar; she is bound to his service.

The Rânâ waited to hear of Mîrâ's death, but her **life was miraculously preserved,** and her cheeks gradually assumed a higher bloom. She devoted herself to the further decoration and ornamentation of the image, and decked it out in fashions ever new. She sang the praises of her god and filled her heart with delight and immortal love. She also composed the following on this occasion :—

I knew the Rânâ had given me poison.
God who caused my boat to float across, separated the milk and water for me.[2]
Until the gold is annealed, it is not perfectly pure.
O king, keep thine own family in seclusion; I am the wife of another.[3]
I sacrifice my mind and body to the saint even though he be a pariah; I have sold myself to God.
Mîrâ for the sake of worshipping the lord Girdhar is entangled in the feet of holy men.

When the Rânâ found that the poison had produced no effect he appointed tipstaffs to watch Mîrâ Bâî, and report when she again conferred with *faqîrs*, so that she might be put to death when

[2] That is, saved me in the ordeal.

[3] I am wedded to Girdhar Lâl, not to thy son.

detected in the act. She was in the habit of laughing and holding amorous converse with the image. One day a tipstaff went and said to the king — "At this very moment Mîrâ Bâî is holding conversation and laughing and joking with some one." The king took up his sword, and called out to her to open the folding doors. He asked her where the person was with whom she had been holding such pleasant discourse. She replied — "There he is before thee, my image, mine adored. Open thine eyes and look. He is neither afraid nor ashamed of thee."

The *Bhagat Mâlâ* states that Mîrâ Bâî and the image had been playing at [Indian] draughts, and at the time of the Rânâ's entrance the idol actually extended its arm to move a piece. The Rânâ on witnessing the miracle became ashamed. There was, however, no real impression made on his obdurate heart. The saying is that until the saints of God show favor, God will not do so. The king meditated the murder of a saint, so "why should God set his thoughts aright?"

Once when Mîrâ Bâî was ill she composed the following :—

Kṛishṇa with the large eyes looked at me, and smiled
As I was going to draw water from the Jamnâ and the vessel glittered on my head.
Since then the delightful image of the dark and beautiful one hath dwelt in my heart.
You may write and bring me incantations, you may write and bring me spells, grind medicine and give it me, *that will not cure me.*
If any one bring me Kṛishṇa as my physician I will gladly arise.
His eye-brows are bows, his eyes the arrows which he fitteth thereto, and draweth to pierce me.
Mîrâ's lord is the wise Girdhar; how can I abide at home?

A dissolute and abandoned person tried to tempt Mîrâ Bâî's virtue. He told her that he was armed with Girdhar Lâl's permission to give her such pleasure as she could only obtain from man's embraces. She replied that she humbly submitted to Girdhar Lâl's order, but that they must first dine. She meantime had a couch placed and dressed in the enclosure where saints were assembled. She there addressed her would-be paramour — "Thou needest not be ashamed or afraid of any one, as the order of Girdhar Lâl is on every account proper." The man replied — "Does any one do such things before others." She said she knew of no secret place, for God was everywhere present. He sees the good and bad acts of all and rewards men according to their deserts. On hearing this the ruffian turned pale, and vice gave place to virtue in his heart. He fell at her feet and with clasped hands asked her mercy and divine intercession. Mîrâ Bâî felt compassion and brought him face to face with God.

Tulsî Dâs, according to all received accounts, lived nearly a century after Mîrâ Bâî, but some poets have made them contemporaries. The following letter to Tulsî Dâs is attributed to Mîrâ Bâî:—

To the holy lord Tulsî Dâs, the virtuous, the remover of sin, greeting —
I ever bow to thee, dispel all my sorrow.
All my husband's relations give me continual annoyance.
They cause me to endure great suffering when I associate with saints, and perform my worship.
Since childhood Mîrâ hath contracted love for Girdhar Lâl:
She cannot now divest herself of it in any way; it completely overpowereth her.
Thou art to me as a father and mother; thou conferrest happiness on God's saints.
Write and inform me what is proper for me to do.

Tulsî Dâs's reply —

Those who love not Râm and Sîtâ[4]
Should be abandoned as if they were millions of enemies, however much we love them.

[4] Vaidêhî. Sîtâ was so called because born of the king of Vidêha.

Prahlâd abandoned his father, Bibhîshan his brother Râwan, and Bharat his mother ;
Bali his *gurû*, the women of Braj their husbands, and their lives were all the happier for having done so.
The opinion of all holy saints is that relations with and love for God are alone true.
Of what avail is the eye-salve which causeth the eyes to burst ; what more can I say ?
Saith **Tulsî Dâs,** that spouse is worshipful, that son is dearer than life,
Who is attached to Râm ; he is my real friend in this world.

As **Mîrâ Bâî** has been made a contemporary of Tulsî Dâs, so also she has been **made a contemporary of the Emperor Akbar.** It is said that having heard of the virtues and beauty of Mîrâ Bâi he went with his minstrel, Tânsên, both disguised as hermits, to visit her. The following lines in attestation of this circumstance are attributed to Mîrâ Bâi :—

O mother, I recognise Kṛishṇa as my spouse.
Akbar came to test me and brought Tânsên with him :
He heard singing, music, and pious discourse ; he bowed to the ground over and over.
Mîrâ's lord, the all-wise Girdhar, made me his protégée.

It is said that on observing her devotion Akbar was very pleased with the good fortune which enabled him to behold her. He made her a present of a jewelled necklace which she accepted with some misgivings, as it appeared too valuable an article for an ascetic to possess. The emperor was equal to the occasion, and said that he had found it while performing his devotional ablutions in the river Jamnâ, and thought it would be a suitable present to make her god. Tânsên, it is said, composed an ode in her honor, and he and his royal master then returned to their capital. The necklace was too valuable not to provoke remarks unfavourable to its recipient. The Rânâ submitted it to assayers who valued it at a fabulous sum of money. On enquiry it was found to be the same that a jeweller had sold not long previously to the emperor. Further enquiry led to the identity of the two strolling hermits with Akbar and his favourite minstrel. Mîrâ Bâi's fate was now sealed. Her husband suspected that she had been polluted by the emperor. For this there was but one penalty in that age — **she must die.** Mîrâ Bâi's father-in-law sent her a cobra in a box, so that when she opened it the reptile might sting her to death. She was told it was a *śâlagrâm*. Before opening the box she addressed the *śâlagrâm* as follows :—

O *śâlagrâm* in the box, why speakest thou not ?
I speak to thee, but thou repliest not ; why art thou silent ?
This ocean of the world is very immense ; take mine arm and extricate me.
Mîrâ's lord, wise Girdhar, thou alone art my helper.

On opening the box Mîrâ composed the following : —

What shall the Rânâ do to me ? Mîrâ hath cast off the restraints of her line.
The Rânâ once sent a cup of poison to kill Mîrâ ;
Mîrâ drank it with delight, loving it as if it were water blessed by her lord.[5]
The Rânâ hath now sent a box containing a cobra,
But when Mîrâ opened it and looked, the cobra became a *śâlagrâm.*
There was a sound of rejoicing in the company of the saints ; Kṛishṇa[6] had mercy on me.
I decorated myself, attached bells to my feet, and, keeping time with both my hands,
Danced before the idol, and sang the praises of Gôpâl.
The holy are mine and I am theirs ; the holy are my life.
Mîrâ is absorbed in the holy as butter before churning is in milk.

Rânâ Sâṅga, Mîrâ's father-in-law, was still obdurate and determined that **she should die by the sword,** but no one could be found to execute the death-warrant. She was then ordered to kill

[5] Water in which her idol's feet had been washed.

[6] *Ghanśyâm*, dark as a cloud.

herself in whatever way she thought fit. By this time she was a widow, her husband having predeceased his father, and her person was at her own disposal. Promising that she would obey the Rânâ's command she retired to her solitary apartment, during the night put on the dress of a mendicant, and left the palace. She **plunged into the nearest river to die** in obedience to the order she had received. It is said that she was miraculously preserved by an angel who brought her to shore and addressed her — "O queen, thou hast obeyed thy father-in-law and art worthy of all praise for thy devotion, but thou hast a higher duty still to perform. It is thine to set a high exemplar to the world, and show unto men how to fulfil the designs of the Creator and become absorbed in Him." When she awoke she found herself alone on the river's bank with the current flowing at her feet. She stood up in amazement not knowing for the moment what to do. She met some cowherds, of whom she enquired the way to Bindrâban. They presented her with milk, and directed her whither to proceed. She walked on singing her hymns, the object of blessings and attentions in the villages through which she passed.

On her arrival in Bindrâban she desired to see **Jîv Gosâîṅ.** To her disappointment he sent her word that he would allow no woman into his presence. She replied — "I thought everybody in Bindrâban a woman, and only Girdhar Lâl a man.[7] I learn to-day that there are other partners than Kṛishṇa in Bindrâban." By this she scoffingly meant that the Gosâîṅ placed himself on an equality with Kṛishṇa as god of Bindṛâban. The Gôsâîṅ, on hearing her rebuke, went bare-footed to do her homage, and beholding her became filled with "the love of God."[8]

Mîrâ Bâî with loving devotion traversed every grove and pathway of Bindrâban, and having fixed the sweet image of Kṛishṇa in her heart returned to her late husband's home. On finding her father-in-law still obdurate, she went on a pilgrimage to Dwârakâ, where the youthful Kṛishṇa had played and sported. There again she became entranced with the pleasure of adorning and enhancing the beauty of her favourite god.

During her absence from Chitaur, the Capital of Mêwâr, the visits of holy men to that capital ceased. Dissensions arose in the state. It was only then that the Rânâ realised what a holy person he had lost. He sent several Brâhmans and instructed them to use every entreaty to Mîrâ Bâî to induce her to return, and finally to tell her that it was impossible for him to live unless she complied with his prayer. The Brâhmans executed his orders, but Mîrâ Bâî refused to put herself again in the Rânâ's power. Upon this **the Brâhmans sat at her door and declared their intention of neither eating nor drinking till she had returned with them.** She replied that she lived in Dwârakâ only by the favour of Kṛishṇa. She would go and take leave of him and return to the Brâhmans. She went to do homage to Ranchôṛ,[9] the visible representation of that god, became absorbed in his love, and what she had she gave — a humble offering of verses at his shrine :—

O God, remove thy servant's sufferings ;
Thou didst supply Draupadî with inexhaustible robes and save her modesty ;
For the sake of thy saint Prahlâd thou didst assume the body of a man-lion ;
Thou didst kill Hiraṇyakaśipu, who had not the courage to oppose thee ;
Thou didst kill the shark and extricate the drowning elephant from the water.

[7] This is a common idea in the *Granth Sâhib*. The *gurûs* deem God a husband, and themselves as His wives.

[8] Jiv Gosâîṅ, it may be stated, was the son of Ballabha, and uncle of Rûpâ and Sanatan, two devout followers of Chaitanya, the great Vaishṇava reformer of Bengal (1485-1533). Rûpâ and Sanatan had been ministers of the Muhammadan ruler of Bihâr, and were of royal blood, high rank, and great wealth, all which advantages they relinquished to lead a religious life. Jîv Gosâîṅ was an author of some pretensions. He annotated a treatise of his nephew Rûpâ, describing religious pleasures and emotions. He wrote a book on the acts of Kṛishṇa, but his greatest work was one in which he amplified his annotations on the treatise of Rûpâ, and dwelt at length on the various phases of devotional exaltation.

[9] Kṛishṇa received the name Ranchôṛ when he fled from Jarasandha to Dwârakâ.

O Lâl Girdhar, Mîrâ is thy slave; her enemies everywhere annoy her.
Take me, my friend, take me to thy care as thou knowest best.
I have none but thee; do thou show mercy unto me.
I have no appetite by day and no sleep by night; my body pineth away.
Lord of **Mîrâ**, all-wise Girdhar, come to me now; I cannot live in thine absence.

It is said that the all-pervading Brahmâ, the knower of truth, the Eternal, on beholding her supreme love, could resist no longer. He incorporated her in Himself, and she became lost to human gaze. The Brâhmans searched for her in vain. The only trace of her they could obtain was her *sârî*, which was found enveloping the body of the image. The Brâhmans' faith in him was confirmed, but their mission otherwise was unsuccessful, and they returned crestfallen to the Rânâ. The latter soon experienced the further mortification of beholding his state conquered and plundered by the victorious army of Akbar as a retribution for the ill-treatment of Mîrâ Bâî.

The following is one of the hymns whose passionate devotion is said to have produced the result of Mîrâ Bâî's union with Ranchôṛ :—

O Lord Ranchôṛ; grant me to abide in Dwârakâ, to abide in Dwârakâ.
With thy shell, discus, mace, and lotus dispel the fear of death.
All places of pilgrimage ever abide in the Gômtî for me.
The clash of thy shell and cymbals is ever the essence of pleasure.
I have abandoned my country, my queenly robes, my husband's palace, my property, and my kingdom.
Mîrâ, thy slave, cometh to thee for refuge; her honour is now totally in thy keeping.[10]

It is said that in commemoration of the miraculous disappearance of **Mîrâ Bâî, her image is still worshipped at Udaipur in conjunction with that of Ranchôṛ**, the beloved Girdhar of her childhood.

Guru Arjan at first inserted one of Mîrâ Bâî's hymns in his collection of the Sikh sacred writings, but subsequently drew his pen through it. It is preserved, however, in the *Granth* of Bhâî Bannô, which can be seen at Mângat in the Gujarât district of the Panjâb. The following is the hymn :—

Rag Maru.

God[11] hath entwined my soul, O mother,
With His attributes,[12] and I have sung of them.
The sharp arrow of His love hath pierced my body through and through, O mother.
When it struck me I did not know it; now it cannot be endured, O mother.
Though I use charms, incantations, and drugs, the pain will not depart.
Is there any one who will treat me? Intense is the agony, O mother.
Thou, O God, art near; Thou art not distant; come quickly to meet me.
Saith **Mîrâ**, the Lord, the mountain-wielder,[13] who is compassionate, hath quenched the fire of my body, O mother.
The lotus-eyed hath entwined *my soul* with the twine of his attributes.

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[10] The hymns in this life of Mîrâ Bâî are taken from Raja Raghurâj Singh's *Bhagat Mâlâ*.
[11] Kawalnain, an epithet of Kṛishṇa, the object of Mîrâ Bâî's special worship.
[12] *Gun* has two meanings — a rope or twine, and an attribute.
[13] God in the *avatar* of Kṛishṇa.

GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(*Continued from p.* 311.)

(3) The Village.[7]

THE organization of the village (*gâma*) was **based on the communal system,** and its inhabitants were under three officers: the Patirannehe, who registered the names of lands, their owners and the amount of produce; the Gamarâla, who allotted the fields to the several shareholders and had in charge their irrigation and cultivation; and the Vitârana, who collected the revenue, superintended the Police and inquired into the general affairs of the village.[8] These headmen also presided over **the Gansabâva, or the village court, where disputes other than murder were compounded or settled by oath.**

The office of the Vitârana still exists in the Ganmulâdêniyâ, but the duties of the other two are entrusted to the Vel Vidânê or the Irrigation Officer; the constitution of the Gansabâva, too, is greatly altered.

Every village has **a resting stall for cattle** (*gâla*), where traders going to distant towns keep their carts and bulls for a nominal charge, as well as **a free halting place** for belated travellers (*ambalama*), who carry their food in the skins covering the areca-blossom (*kolapota*). This is scantily furnished with a bench or two and an earthen vessel full of water, with a cocoanut-shell ladle (*pintâliya*).

Each person has his own ancestral plot of ground, to which, however small, he clings with a passionate attachment; and for it the king, as lord of the soil, used to claim certain **feudal services** from 15 to 30 days a year: in time of war to guard the barriers and passes into the hills and serve as soldiers, and ordinarily to construct and repair canals, tanks, bridges and roads, and to attend to other works of public importance. Now a commutation tax of Rs. 1·50 on every male under 55 has taken the place of these feudal obligations.

A considerable portion of the ground was reserved as **private Crown property** (*gabadâgama*), and its cultivators were either hereditary tenants (*pangukârayo*) or tenants-at-will (*nîlakârayo*), who had to give a share of the grain, and, according to their caste and rank in life, to perform certain services, if near the capital, to the king as their landlord, if not to his provincial representative (*dissâvê*).

Chiefs and nobles performed various honorary services and paid homage on New Year's day by presenting a roll of forty betel-leaves (*bulat ata*). **The Goigama tenants** carried messages, supplied betel and areca and kept guard at halting-places (*atapattu* or *hêwâ wasam*) or provided for strangers visiting the village, attended his master's house during the domestic ceremonies, guarded it during his absence, and, when necessary, supplied cooked provisions (*gam wasama*) or kept watch at the threshing floor, and fetched buffaloes for ploughing (*nîla wasama*). **The Karâva tenants** transported the paddy from the fields to the granary, or attended to the carriage department (*madige badda*), or provided fish for the kitchen. **The Durâvâ tenants** trained elephants and looked after them or drew toddy from the palm-trees (*madinnô*). **The Navandanna tenants** made articles of jewellery and carved betel-boxes (*badâlu*) or supplied the kitchen utensils and agricultural implements (*âchâri*) or cleaned and repaired the brass and copper vessels (*lôkuruvô*) or were engaged

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[7] Authorities—
(1) Service Tenures Commission Reports, 1869-1872.
(2) Phear's *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon*, 1880.
(3) Ceylon Census Reports, 1891.

[8] Valentyn, writing in 1726, mentions, in his *Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, two other officers, itihâmy and Yaphamy; what their duties were cannot be ascertained.

in ornamenting walking-sticks, handles for flags, &c. (*sittaru*). **The Baḍahela** tenants made tiles, supplied earthenware vessels, and kept the roof in order. **The Embẹtta tenants** attended to the shaving of the abovementioned servants. **The Radâ tenants** washed the soiled clothes of the same, monthly or weekly, and on important occasions put up for them white cloth to serve as a ceiling, and also covered their seats with it. **The Hâli tenants** attended the master on journeys as a bodyguard or peeled cinnamon (*mahabadda*). **The Hakuru tenants** carried the palanquins of the ladies or were employed as menials, especially as cooks, or supplied jaggery and vegetables. **The Hunnô tenants** whitewashed the lord's house and supplied lime for eating. **The Berawâya tenants** beat the drums at festivals and gave notice of official proclamations, or wove a rough kind of cloth. **The Padua tenants** carried the proprietor's palanquin and baggage, brought charcoal for the smith and worked at the bellows (*yumânu*), or erected the walls of houses or furnished onions and garlic (*lûnubadda*). **The Oli tenants** kept the premises clean and provided the oil for burning at night. **The Hinnêva or Gettaru tenants** washed for the Hâli and the other castes or were employed to carry corpses, or provided fodder for elephants and cattle (*pannayô*). **The Kinnaru tenants** wove bamboo baskets and rush-mats. **The Rodi tenants** buried the carcases of dead animals and worked in hide to make ropes, halters, &c. It should be mentioned that the families performed the above services by turns, which were controlled by public officers who were responsible for the proper distribution and due performance of labour.

If the Crown lands were gifted to a noble for special services rendered (*nindagam*), or to a *vihâra* (*viharagam*), or a *dêwâla* (*dewâlagam*) for the sake of merit, the duties were transferred to the new landlord. Slight traces of this system of land tenure exist to the present day, but are dying out under the influence of new legislation.

The several castes above referred to consist of **groups of clans,** and each clan claims **descent from a common remote ancestor** and calls itself either after his name or the office he held, or any characteristic of his, or, if he had been a settler, the village to which he had belonged, or the chief whom he at that time was serving, or the badge he had. This was in use till the person was made a 'belted knight' (*patabandinavâ*), when it was dropped, and **a surname,** which became hereditary, assumed. **The clan-name,** however, was not forgotten, as the respectability and the antiquity of the family were gauged by it. If a person called Konnappu derives his descent from an ancestor who held the minor office of Liyana Ârachchy (clerk), he is known as Liyana Ârachchige Konnappu, Konnappu belonging to the house (*ge*) of a Liyana Ârachchy. When he was ennobled, he took one or more of the surnames Vijayaratna (the gem of victory), Jayatilaka (the ornament of victory), Gunasêkara (the moon of virtue), &c., and styled himself Konnappu Vijayaratna, or Vijayaratna Jayatilaka, &c.; these are now indiscriminately adopted.

The descendants of the converts to Christianity, during the Portuguese ascendency in Ceylon, have, in addition to their Singhalese surnames, those of their conquerors as well, *e.g.*, Silva, Perera, Dias.

Owners of cattle have, or rather had, **distinguishing brands,** according to their caste and clans,[9] and the animals were branded first with the initial letter of the village, then with the brand of the clan (and consequently of the caste, too), and thirdly with the initial letter of the owner's name.

The people of a village are further divided into **two factions called Udupila (the upper party) and the Yatipilla (the lower party)** who take sides in the sacred national games.

The typical Singhalese homestead, which is fast disappearing, is built round a quadrangle (*midula*). The apartments are built side by side with a verandah attached, or parallel to each other with separate roofs, the opposite eaves of which join. The walls are made of mud and wattle and

[9] *Vide* Ceylon Asiatic Society's *Journal* (1874), Vol. V., No. 19, p. 60.

thatched with the dried and plaited cocoanut leaves (cadjans) or with rice-stubble; the floor is made of earth and wel coated with cowdung to keep away ticks and fleas; and the rooms are ventilated by small barred windows. In the middle of the compound is erected, for the storing of paddy, a wicker-frame (*atu messa* or *vî bissa*) elevated from the ground, roofed, and plastered with mud and dung. The grain is otherwise stored in a loft (*atuwa*) over the *duma* explained below. The fittings of the interior are simple: a trestle (*messa*) which serves for a seat or table; a shelf over the fire-place for keeping the earthen cooking utensils (*duma*); a hanging raft for mats (*mêlê*); a rack for cocoanut-shell ladles (*hendialuvâ*); stumps of wood to sit upon (*kota*); a mortar (*wangediya*) and pestle (*môlgaha*); a quern to grind millet (*kurakkon gala*); a cocoanut scraper (*hiramanê*); a winnowing fan (*kulla*); a sieve for flour (*pênerê*); a flat grinding stone for curry-stuffs (*miris gala*); a hatchet (*porawa*); a chopping knife (*ketta*); a stake to husk cocoanuts (*inna*); an *ikle* broom (*idala*); agricultural implements; a rice-measure (*hunduva*) and sometimes a clepsydra-clock (*pêtettiya*) consisting of a small cocoanut-shell with a tiny hole, floating in a pot of water, which gradually fills and sinks to the bottom in twenty-four hours (*pêya*).[10] At the entrance to the garden by the roadside, or where two lines of the building join, is put up a sort of portico (*ânamêstraya*), where guests and strangers are received, and which offers a temporary resting-shed for tired wayfarers.

The physical traits of the Singhalese are similar to their Indian cousins, but their colour is a little darker. They wear their hair long, gathered up in a knot behind and lubricated with oil; the females make use of false hair to give size to the mass and run a large pin through (*kûra*) with an ornamental head. The peasantry of Central Ceylon have preserved to a great extent the **Singhalese dress**; the men wear a cloth round their waist reaching to the ankles and so adjusted as to leave them freedom of limb. While working they take this between their legs and fasten it before or behind. A large handkerchief is thrown over their shoulders as an upper garment, which is occasionally wrapped round their head to keep away the sun. The females dress like the Bengâli women, except that they do not bring the upper end of the garment over the head, but simply throw it over the left shoulder, and they adorn themselves with ear-rings, armlets, and necklaces. This homely dress is now being given up, both by men and women, for the more fashionable European costume, and the curious may see this evolution at the present day in all its stages. The men of the maritime provinces have adopted the headcomb of the Malays. In the official costume of the chief of a sea-board district, with his long black-coat (*kabâya*), gilt buttons and shoes, is seen the Portuguese influence; while in that of a Kandian chief, with his pin-cushion hat (*jagalattoppiya*), embroidered jacket, and a *zouave* of white muslin encircling his waist, an interesting survival of the old court dress.

The peasantry are stolid in their **demeanour,** polite, good-natured and faithful, affectionate to their children and respectful, fond of pomp and high office, quick to anger, intelligent, sarcastic and boastful in their conversation, and kind to animals, especially cattle; they like to lead a hedgehog existence, do not scruple to cringe to obtain favour, and, when tainted with the town atmosphere, mistake impudence for independence.

Intercourse between the sexes is animated, as with all Eastern nations, more by passion than sentiment; and **polyandry** was common among them. This was due not only to the desire to keep in the family the ancestral plot of ground, but also to the exigencies of public duty. When several brothers on a farm were called out for the Singhalese corvée (*râjakâriya*), the law allowed one of them to be left behind to act as a companion to the female at home.

[10] For weights and measures and modes of reckoning time, see:—
(1) Rhys Davids' *Ancient Measures and Coins of Ceylon* (1877).
(2) Ceylon Asiatic Society's *Journal* (1856-1858), Vol. III., No. 10, p. 181.
(3) „ „ „ (1892), Vol. XII., No. 43, p. 173.
(4) *The Orientalist* (1887), Vol. III. p. 75.
(5) „ (1889), Vol. III. p. 199.

The average Singhalese is an early riser; he takes in the morning some preparation of rice-flour with a pot of toddy (*râ*), and at mid-day and night a large quantity of boiled rice and a few curries. The latter are more varied when a guest is in the house. The visitor is received at the threshold and conducted inside by the hand; **kissing** is the usual form of greeting among females and near relatives, and salutation with clasped hands, in the attitude of prayer, among friends, masters and servants. He brings with him some eatables as a present, or sends them before his arrival. Water is supplied to him to wash his face, feet and mouth, and the repast made ready. The host serves him with the rice and curries, skins the plantains for him, and makes his chew of betel. His attendants also are well treated in the servants' room. On his departure the host accompanies him some distance. When a person of distinction, *viz.*, a Buddhist priest or a chief, visits a house, the rooms are lined with white cloth and the seats are spread with it; the host never sits down in his presence.

The respect of an inferior to a superior is even seen on the high roads; if they meet, the former removes the shade (*talapat*) over his head, gets out of the way and makes a very respectful obeisance.

In the olden time, as seen above, the people were occupied according to their **caste**; but now the majority do not follow their ancestral calling, but earn a livelihood by pursuing any vocation they choose. One man works at his field, carefully observing all the agricultural superstitions[11]; a second fishes at the village stream with a rod made of the mid-rib of the *kitul*-leaf; a third slings his baskets of garden produce at the end of a flexible *kitul*-shaft and carries them on his shoulders to towns or the weekly village fairs (*polaval*); a fourth climbs the palm-trees with his ankles encircled by a ring of cocoanut-leaf and picks the fruit with his hand; a fifth taps for toddy the blossoms of several cocoanut-trees by coupling their crowns with stout ropes to walk upon, and their straight boughs with smaller ones to support himself; a sixth brings for sale from the country straw and firewood in single or double bullock carts; and a seventh transports cocoanuts, salt, and cured fish to centres of trade by flat-bottomed boats (*pâda*), or pack-bullocks (*tavalam*).

The women, too, are not idle; they either make jaggery (molasses) from the unfermented toddy, or plait mats of dyed rushes in mazy patterns, or earn a pittance by selling, on a small stand by the roadside, the requisites of a chew — betel, areca, and burnt lime; or hawk for sale fruits and vegetables in baskets carried on their heads; or keep for sale, on a *messa* in the verandah, sweetmeats and other eatables protected from the crows, which infest the place, by a net spread before them; or make coir by beating out the fibre from soaked cocoanut-husks; or attend to the domestic duties with a child astride their hips.

The children are away at school the whole morning; and on their return either divert themselves at games or go in search of the wild fruits with which the jungles abound, or construct rude swings under the shady trees and pass away the day singing rural ditties. And at nightfall, while the mother lulls her youngest to sleep on her outstretched legs with a pillow thrown across, the father beguiles their time with nursery tales.

(4) Religious Rites.

Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the island, and its adherents observe as holy four days of the lunar month: when the moon is new (*amâwaka*), full (*pahaloswaka*), and half-way

[11] For paddy cultivation ceremonies, *vide*—
(1) Ceylon Asiatic Society's *Journal* (1848-1849), Vol. II., No. 4, p. 27.
(2) „ „ „ (1880), Vol. VI., No. 21, p. 46.
(3) „ „ „ (1883), Vol. VIII., No. 26, p. 44.
(4) „ „ „ (1884), Vol. VIII., No. 29, p. 331.
(5) „ „ „ (1889), Vol. XI., No. 39, p. 167.
(6) Asiatic Society's *Journal of Great Britain* (New Series, 1885), Vol. XVII. p. 366.
(7) *The Taprobanian* (1885), Vol. I. p. 94.

between the two (*pura atawaka* and *awa atawaka*). On these occasions, dressed in white, the votaries, chiefly females, visit, singly or in groups, the temples (*vihâra*), carrying on their heads in shallow wicker-work baskets (*waṭṭi*), or in their hands and held to the forehead, the rose-coloured lotus (*nellum*) and the flowers of the iron-wood tree (*nâ*), of the jasmine, of the hibisars, of the champak (*sapu*) and of the areca and cocoanut. These they present at the sanctuary, in front of the image of Buddha, on their knees, with their heads on the ground and their hands clasped in supplication (*malpinkama*), and wishing in their hearts that others also may partake of the merit of the offering (*pind ·nurâ*). They return backwards, facing the idol, to an outer apartment, where they squat on the floor and repeat after a priest the invocation, The Three Refuges (*Tun Sarana*) and the Five Vows (*Pansil*[12]); next they proceed to the sacred Bo-tree (*bôdhinvahansa*) in the middle of the compound and reverently lay on the platform surrounding it (*bôdhimaluva*) what is left of their flowers.

On New Moon days they also bring cocoanut oil as an offering, and illuminate the temple premises with small wicks floating in oil-lamps which give a feeble and flickering light (*panpinkama*).

The most important of **the four Sabbaths** (*pôya*) is the full-moon day, when the tom-tom beaters at the entrance to the temples sound their drums the loudest; on such days the more pious devotees go at dawn to the temple and receive under the Bo-tree, at the hands of a priest, the eight sacred vows which they observe till the next morn. Before noon they return home for a hurried breakfast cooked overnight (*hîl dânê*), the only meal for the day their vows allow, and retire to some lonely shaded spot, where they repeat with the help of a rosary (*navaguna vela*) the nine pre-eminent qualities (*nava guna gathâ*) possessed exclusively by Buddha. Towards evening they join the others in the temple grounds, and "round a platform put up under the palm-trees, roofed, but quite open at the sides, and ornamented with bright cloths and flowers, they sit in the moonlight on the ground and listen through the night with great satisfaction, if not with great intelligence, to the sacred words repeated by relays of shaven monks. The greatest favourite at **these readings of bana is the 'Jataka' book** which contains so many of the old fables and stories common to the Aryan peoples, sanctified now, and preserved by the leading hero in each, whether man, or fairy, or animal, being looked upon as an incarnation of the Buddha in one of his previous births. To these wonderful stories the simple peasantry, dressed in their best and brightest, listen all the night long with unaffected delight, chatting pleasantly now and again with their neighbours, and indulging all the while in the mild narcotic of the betel-leaf, their stores of which (and of its never-failing adjuncts, *chunam*, that is white lime, and the areca-nut)[13] afford a constant occasion for acts of polite good fellowship."[14] The intervals are punctuated by cries of *Ehei* (oh, yes!) and *Sâdhu*.

When a person is dying, *bana* is read at his house and all his belongings given to the priest or priests as alms (*gôdânamangalyaya*).

Between 9 and 11 A.M. (*pindapâtavelâva*) every monk goes through the village from door to door begging wherewith to satisfy his wants; he stands before each house with the alms-bowl (*pâtraya*) in his hands, and some one, usually a woman, puts into it his mid-day meal (*dandenavâ*) and worships him on her knees.

But during **the rainy months** of August, September, and October (**vas**) a number of priests are invited to reside in a hamlet, and each family by turn supplies them with their morning meal of conjee and rice and their evening liquid food (*gilan pasa*); they occasionally

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[12] Of the ten vows of Buddhism, five are binding on all laymen (*pansil*), eight on the more pious ones to be kept for a space of 24 hours (*atasil*), and the ten on every monk and nun (*dahasil*).

[13] These are carried in the waist, by the men in a wallet (*kûrapayia*) and by the women in a small purse made of rush (*h mbitiya*).

[14] Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 57.

visit the neighbouring temples, meditate, teach the village children and read *bana* at mid-day and at night. Before they are conducted back to the monastery (*pansala*) they are presented by the people with a web of cloth to make their robes, each one contributing something to purchase it; strictly this had to be woven of cotton pods collected by the villagers at dawn, and the priests had to stitch their robes and dye them yellow (*pându povanavâ*) on the same day (*kaṭinê*).

About once a year, at the request of the inhabitants, **select discourses of Buddha** (*pirit*)[15] **are read in Pâli** by the priests for a period of seven days for the protection of the village against the malignant influence of demons and elementals, and all the people flock to the service. A circular thatched building, open at the sides and with a raised floor, is put up by them and decorated with cocoanut and areca flowers. A table, with a sacred relic, is placed in the centre, with two reading chairs by it and other seats placed around. On the first day an array of priests come to the building and take their places, while two of them from the reading pulpits chant some preparatory stanzas. Resin is next burnt by the laymen present, and the monks go in procession round the interior of the building, and, while reciting a few verses wishing prosperity and protection, fasten a sacred cord (*pirit nûla*) attached to the relic to the posts round the platform, pass it through the reading chairs, and place the remainder twined on the table. At daybreak the next day the priests again assemble, and two of them, as before, commence reading a series of sermons; as they end, all chant in chorus the *Ratana, Mangala, and Karanîya Sûtras*, holding the cord untwined. After this recital they leave the building, except two, who continue the reading over and over again; and the latter are relieved by a couple of others every two hours. The rest join them for the grand chant at mid-day and sunset, and before they enter the platform a pious layman washes and wipes their feet. The *pirit* is continued day and night without intermission till the sixth day, when a new series of discourses is introduced; the chorus chant, however, is not altered.

On the morning of the seventh day **a procession** starts from the temple with a messenger (*dêvadutayâ*) dressed like a Singhalese chief seated on an elephant. He carries a letter (*kada-pana*) to the nearest *dêvâla* inviting the gods residing there to come and listen to the exhortation to be given to them that night. If no *dêvâla* is close by, the letter is taken and fixed to a tree where gods are supposed to reside, very often to the *Ficus religiosa*. Till the party returns the reading is suspended; when the messenger arrives, he stands at the entrance facing the priests, and, with his hands on each door-post, recites a long exhortation (*dorokadaasna*). At the end, for his creditable feat of memory, his friends and relatives present him with cloth and *ola* manuscripts. Lastly, the sermon of Buddha, called the *Âtânâṭia*, is recited by the priests, four at a time, till the morning of the eighth day, to chase away the evil spirits who are thought to have assembled to hear the exhortation. Water and oil that have been placed on the platform in earthen pots are considered consecrated after the ceremony, and are sparingly distributed to the assembly. The *pirit* service is also performed on a smaller scale in private houses for the benefit of a family.

The island has a number of **sacred places** connected with Buddha scattered over all parts of it, which are regularly visited by pilgrims for the accumulation of merit.

In Kandy is deposited the **Sacred Tooth. Adam's Peak** has on a slab his foot-print, a superficial hollow 5 ft. long and 2½ ft. wide; legends say that precious stones are found lying on the path to it which none dares to pick up, and that however large or however small the cloth taken as an offering be, it exactly covers the sacred stone. There is in **Anuradhapura** the sacred Bo-tree, an offshoot of the tree under which Buddha attained enlightenment, the **Thupârama Dâgoba** enshrining his right collar-bone, the **Selachaittiya Dâgoba** raised over

[15] *Vide* (*a*) *The Friend* (Second Series, 1880), Vol. X. pp. 33, 79 and 181.
(*b*) Ceylon Asiatic Society's *Journal*, 1887, Vol. VIII., No. 29, p. 297.

the spot where he had rested on one of his visits to the island, and the **Mahâsêya Dâgoba** built over a single hair which grew between his eye-brows. **In Kḙlaniya is erected a Dâgoba** over the golden chair on which Buddha had sat, and an eddy in the river that flows by is shown as the waters making obeisance to where he once stood. An old Singhalese couplet —

Upandâ siṭa kkarapu pav neta
Varak vendot Kḙlaniê

— asserts, "if a person once worships at Kḙlaniya, all the sins committed from the day of his birth are forgiven." **The Mahiyangana Dâgoba at Bintenna** encases a handful of Buddha's locks and his neck-bone relic, but pilgrimages to it are rare, owing to the pestilential malaria and the wild beasts that infest the surrounding jungles.

(*To be continued.*)

CORRESPONDENCE.

CAVE BURIAL IN BALUCHISTAN.

Dear Sir,—Whilst recently travelling in the Jhâlâwân country to the south-east of Kalât, my companion (Lieutenant E. O. Macleod, 1st Sikhs) and I were encamped near the small village of Pandrân. Whilst there, Lieutenant Macleod visited a curious vaulted cave near the village, and I now enclose the account of the place which he gave me, in case it should be of interest to you. I also enclose a photograph of the interior which Lieutenant Macleod took under some difficulty. Any explanation of this curious mode of sepulture would be of particular interest to me in connection with the Ethnographical Survey of Baluchistan which I am now undertaking.

Yours faithfully,

R. HUGHES-BULLER,

Superintendent, Imperial Gazetteer, Baluchistan.

Quetta, *the 19th November, / 8th December,* *1902.*

PANDRAN.

Pandrân is a pretty place on a basin of the hills with plenty of water from two springs on the west. The village, which contains five or six Banniahs' shops and about fifty houses, is situated round an elevated rock known as **Anbir**. There is much cultivation and plenty of trees.

Due west of the village, at a distance of about a quarter of a mile, is **an extraordinary cave** situated in the skirt of the hill. All the ground round is rolling, and in the side of one of the folds is a hole just big enough for a large man to squeeze through. It is said that this hole was uncovered and exposed to view by a flood of erosion some 50 or 60 years ago. On entering the hole, which is almost in the centre, one finds oneself in an underground vault consisting of a front chamber and two recesses. The breadth of the chamber is about 18 feet and the length to the back of each chamber about 16 feet. The recesses are round, with domed roofs, and the front chamber has a domed roof. Thus :—

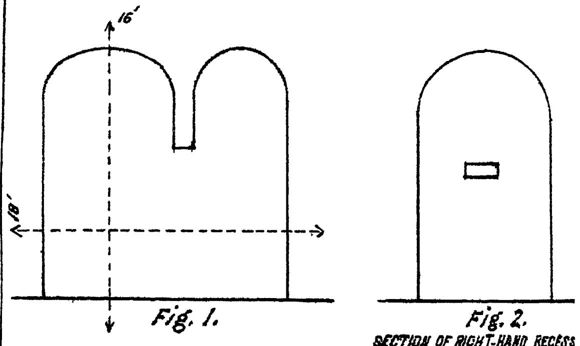


Fig. 1. Fig. 2. SECTION OF RIGHT-HAND RECESS

The whole **appears to have been hewn out of the conglomerate rock.** At the left-hand corner of the centre partition is a **heap of bones,** and with this exception there is nothing in the left-hand recess.

In the right-hand recess in the centre **a niche** has been cut out of the rock, about $6'' \times 3'' \times 3'$. In it there are **twenty-five skulls**; one of them is a small one and appears to be that of a child. The rest appear to be those of adults. There are also the ribs and leg-bones of a child down to the knees. In the centre of the right-hand recess lies **a bed which,** according to the country people, when the vault was just opened, **supported a skeleton.** The strings of the bed have now, however, given way, and the skeleton, which is evidently that **of a man,** is lying on its back, on the ground below the bed. There are **holes,** which



Interior of a cave at Pandrán
in Jhaláwán, S.E. of Kalat.

E. O. MACLEOD, PHOTO.

W. GRIGGS.

appear to be those of a bullet or arrow on the right temple and at the left side of the back of the skull.

Lying near the bed is the skeleton of a large dog which the people say was tied to the bed or *chârpâi* by a string when first observed. Between the bed and the back of the recess are a few bones. The bed is firmly made of rounded wood (including the frame) and is still in good condition. Lieutenant Macleod seated himself on it when exploring the cave. Over the ribs and head of the corpse was a coarse cloth, thin, and of a dirty yellow colour.

The natives point to another place about 20 yards away and say that there is another vault there in which women's skeletons are to be found. No one living appears to have ever entered the second cave, if it exists as alleged.

The natives hold the place in considerable awe, and have a theory that the place was the scene of a fight. The whole vault was extraordinarily symmetrical.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

TABUS IN THE PANJAB.

It has been elsewhere pointed out that many of the objects, from which septs or sections of certain tribes in the Panjâb are named, are the subjects of ordinary tabus. The number of tabued objects appears to be extraordinarily large and a few instances are given below. I am anxious to obtain a large number of instances of *tabus*, because there are so many septs or sections of tribes named after material objects. In many cases the story told about the totem and the tabu is the same — it saved the life of an ancestor, or rendered some important service to the sept, and so it is kept in mind and reverenced for ever after. But in some cases that object is reverenced as an ancestor. *E. g.*, certain Kanêt Khêls reverence trees as their ancestors, because they assisted their fore-fathers, and so they now bear the names of those trees, as Palâshî, Kanâsh, Pâjaik (from *pâjâ*, a kind of tree, *cf.* Nâgaik from *nâg*). In the other cases the name is not adopted by the sept, nor is the object worshipped. It is simply tabued, *i. e.*, not cut, used or injured. The distinction is important.

The following questions suggest themselves :—

1. Are there instances of people who refuse to use or injure any article, or to work on any particular day, and so on ?

2. In such cases, is the custom confined to a particular family or *gôt* or sept, or is it common to the whole caste ?

3. What is the story told about the origin of the custom ?

4. Is any form of worship paid to the object in question ?

Forms of Tabu.

Buildings. The chaubârâ.—The Nâgrâ Jâṭs of Nâgrâ in Ludhiânâ may not build a *chaubârâ*, for it brings bad luck. The people of Sanwâr in Dâdrî have the following tradition : — Lakhan Mahâjan of Sanwâr had a son, who was in the service of Akbar and married in Papôrâ in Taḥsîl Bhiwânî. Returning from a visit to his father-in-law, he was murdered by the people of Papôrâ, and his wife robbed. A Brâhmaṇ, a barber, and his sister's son were with him at the time, and the two latter fled, but the Brâhmaṇ remained, burnt the body and took the ashes to Sanwâr, on the boundary of which place he threw them away, while the wife became *sati* and cursed her nephew, whose daughters she declared should never live in peace. Lakhan attacked Papôrâ and removed the bricks of all its buildings, paying a rupee each for them, and built them into a *chaubârâ* at Sanwâr. It then became the rule there that a *chaubârâ* could only be built with bricks from Papôrâ. The two villages do not intermarry.

Utensils. — The villagers of Bôgura-nasrath in Kohât may not use a *khamârî*, or deep hollow earthenware cup.

Pitchers.— At Mauza Chiṛiâ in Dâdrî a woman may not carry two pitchers, one on top of the other, because 35 years ago a *faqîr* named Khushḥâl Singh cast out cattle-disease, which was raging in the village, and then imposed this *tabu* on the people.

Kachâlâ.—This fruit may not be eaten by the Shnâra Gadî Khêl Paṭhâns in Kohât.

Bengan. — This may not be eaten by a family of carpenters in the same village. The Chhibhar section of the Muhiâl, in Kaniâlâ, have a similar *tabu* (Jhelam District).

Cotton. — The Sangwân Jâṭs, who hold 57 villages in Dâdrî, may not cultivate cotton. One of the tribe in a quarrel killed a Brahmâṇ named Baṇdêotâ (*baṇ* is here said to mean literally 'cotton'), and in consequence met with misfortune. He accordingly erected a temple at Mahrâ to Baṇdêotâ and forbade his descendants to cultivate cotton for ever.

The Datt section of the Muhiâl (Brâhmaṇs) do not cultivate cotton because their ancestor was killed in a cotton-field.

Blankets. — The Bhullar Jâṭs do not wear, sit or sleep in a striped blanket, because their *jathêrâ*, Yâr Pîr Bhârâwâlâ, once miraculously turned a blanket into a sheep.

Animals. — In Kohât a white fowl should not be eaten, as the *mullahs* say it resembles the sacred bird in heaven, but if first blackened with soot it may be eaten.

Milk. — There are numerous *tabus*, mostly very interesting, but until a complete collection is obtained it is useless to attempt to explain them. Goat's milk may not be used by any Hindu during the *shrâdh* period. (Ludhiânâ District.)

In the Simla Hills a *dêota* often forbids the use or sale of milk or curds. The people may use *châ* (or curds from which butter has been extracted), but not milk or butter.

Milk may not be churned by Jâṭs on the Tuesday and Thursday after the full moon, or on the *chaudas*, 14th, of the light half of the month, but it may be consumed with rice or otherwise. (Ludhiânâ District.)

In Siâlkôṭ the Brâhmaṇs keep the milk sacred (*suchî rakhnâ*) for 21 days. Then it is made into butter-milk, and a portion offered to Râjâ Bhêr at the feast of the Ṭhâkurs, the rest being consumed by the household or given away to Muhammadans. Or a portion is offered to Kâlkâ Dêota. The use of the milk appears to be tabued for a period, not exceeding 21 days, until the feast of the Ṭhâkurs comes round. The Jamwâl also refrain from touching the milk for 21 days, and will even not milk the animal themselves. It is not consumed or given away for a month. Curdled milk is also kept sacred for a short time and then turned into butter-milk. *Ghî* is held sacred until the feast of the Ṭhâkurs arrives, when some of it is presented to Râjâ Bhêr. It may then be used or given away.

The Mânhas keep milk untouched for not more than 8 days. Then they warm it and it may be used by the household, but none of it must be given away to strangers or to other members of the caste. *Ghî* must not be eaten or given away until the feast of the Ṭhâkurs. Or, according to another account, the Mânhas keep milk for 21 days like the Jamwâls or even for a month, and do not use[1] it until it has been presented to Râjâ Bhêr. Among Muhammadan Awâns the Jhân *muhîn* keep milk, whey and *ghî* untouched for 8 days. Then they make a smooth place of cow-dung, build a little altar, place a little milk and *ghî* thereon, light lamps, and the women worship before it. This is also done with milk drawn on a Friday.

In Jhêlam a cow is set apart by a Hindu family in a time of calamity and a vow made in the name of a deity that her milk shall never be used for making butter. Such a cow is called *diâ*.

Months. — *Sâwan.* — A goat is given away. *Bhâdôṅ.* — A calf born in this month is given by well-to-do Hindus and Muhammadans to a Dakaut Brâhmaṇ or to a Bhâṭ. The milk is not used. *Mâgh.* — A buffalo-calf born in this month is so treated. *Phâgan.* — This is a lucky month, yet the Kakkar Khatrîs neither wash, shave nor change their clothes, or begin any new business in Phâgan.

Days. — *Tuesday.* — The Bali Muhiâl (Brâhmaṇs) will not commence a journey or any work on this day, because a girl of this section died after exhibiting miraculous powers on a Tuesday. *Thursday.* — The Datt Muhiâl have a similar rule about Thursday, because many of them were massacred by the Paṭhâns or rulers of Lahore in the time of Bâbar on that day at Paniâr in Gurdâspûr. Further, no Datt will ever drink water in Paniâr.

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July 24th, 1902.

[1] *Râjâ Bhêr dâ kâr karnâ* is the Dôgrî expression.

"*Nara* — S. M. The first milk given by a cow or buffalo after calving, beestings. Hindus do not drink it until 3 days after calving, but Muhammadans do from the first." (*Multânî Glossary.*) In the hills beestings (*ahrî*) are offered to the Nâgs.

MATRICETA AND THE MAHARAJAKANIKALEKHA.

BY F. W. THOMAS.

IN a well-known chapter of his history of Indian Buddhism (trans. pp. 88 to 93), Tāranātha has given us a fairly full account of an ācārya Mātṛiceṭa, who, living, he says, in the time of Bindusāra, son of Candragupta, and of his minister Cāṇakya, was a renowned author of hymns and other works. Tāranātha states that this ācārya was identical with a previously named Durdharṣa-Kāla, and was also known under a variety of other names, Śūra, Aśvaghoṣa, Pitṛiceṭa, Durdharṣa, Dhārmika-Subhūti, and Maticitra. His original name as a child was Kāla.

The importance of Mātṛiceṭa may be estimated from the fact that, according to Tāranātha, 'his 'hymns are, like the word of Buddha, attended with great blessing, inasmuch as he was foretold by 'Buddha himself. His hymns are known in all lands,' and 'he was famed as common to the orthodox 'of both the greater and the lesser vehicle': and again 'at the time when Mātṛiceṭa was converted 'to Buddhism the number of heretics and brahmans in the monasteries of the four regions, who 'entered the spiritual order, was very great. People thought that, if the greatest ornament of the 'Brahmans, Durdharṣa, had shaken off his own system like dust, this Buddhist doctrine must be 'a very great marvel' (p. 91). In like manner we find the Chinese traveller, I-tsing, relating that Mātṛiceṭa 'by his great literary talent and virtues excelled all the learned men of his age. Even men 'like Asaṅga and Vasubandhu admired him greatly . . . . . . Two of his hymns were 'learned by every monk . . . . . . of both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools' (trans. pp. 156-7).

These statements suffice to prove that Mātṛiceṭa was a considerable figure in Indian Buddhist literature, a fact, indeed, of which we should ask no further evidence if we could accept the accounts which identify him with the authors of the Buddhacarita and the Jātaka-mālā. It will be, accordingly, of interest to show how far the legends agree with what we can establish as fact.

Of the persons identified by Tāranātha with this Mātṛiceṭa we may at once exclude two, namely, Triratnadāsa and Dhārmika-Subhūti, the former of whom was, as I hope to have proved elsewhere,[1] a contemporary of the philosopher Dignāga of the 5th-6th century and the latter of a still later date. At the same time we may put aside the name of Pitṛiceṭa, known only from Tāranātha and — if we disregard its Tibetan equivalent *Pha•khol*, which belongs to the medical writer Vāgbhaṭa (Tāranātha, trans. p. 311 n. to p. 90, l. 5) — only in this connection. It is true that, as Wassiliew remarks in the note just cited, the father of Vāgbhaṭa bore a name, Saṁghagupta, resembling that given as belonging to Mātṛiceṭa's father, namely, Saṁghaguhya, and perhaps therefore we must render *Pha•khol* here also by Vāgbhaṭa (not Pitṛiceṭa) and understand Tāranātha to assert the identity of this author with Mātṛiceṭa. In that case, the name of the latter's father must be considered doubtful, as soon as we question this identity. But when Wassiliew goes on to suggest that Mātṛiceṭa's name also is a mere translation of the Tibetan *Ma•khol*, which itself was then an intentional alteration of *Pha•khol*, this cannot be allowed. For on this supposition the name Mātṛiceṭa would have been unknown in India — at least until a late age by borrowing from Tibet — whereas it was familiar there, as we know from I-tsing, in the 7th century. If the name Pitṛiceṭa ever existed, and if it was ever connected with Mātṛiceṭa, this must have happened in India and at an earlier age.

The name Maticitra rests not merely on the authority of Tāranātha: it occurs, as we shall see below, in the colophons to some of Mātṛiceṭa's works as given in the Tanjur. It can be shown that such colophons are independent evidence. But it is no less true that they are incapable, full of errors as their Sanskrit transliterations are, of distinguishing consistently between Mātṛiceṭa and Maticitra. The latter form I have found in six colophons: but we have also *Mātricita*, *Maticita*,

[1] *Album Kern*, pp. 405-8; *cf.* Mr. Lévi's article in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrème Orient*, Vol. III. pp. 49-50 n.

Matricita and *Māticitra.* Considering how frequently *tr* and *ṭ* are confused, we need have little hesitation in everywhere restoring the true name Mātṛiceṭa. But we may concede the possibility that a Prākṛit form *Māticiṭa* may have been known in India or Tibet.

The person whose history is by Tāranātha most completely interwoven with that of Mātṛiceṭa is certainly Durdharṣa-Kāla. The accounts of parentage, birth-place, and biography are in fact identical, and if any part of Tāranātha's statements is to be allowed as well-founded, it must be this, and we must admit that the poet in his youth really bore the name of Kāla. If we could accept these reports, and admit further the account of the poet's conversion by Āryadeva,[2] we should be obliged to place him along with the latter and Candrakīrti in the generation following Nāgārjuna. We find however in the life of Dignāga (Tāranātha, pp. 130-3) a very similar account of the conversion of a Brahman Sudurjaya, and the likeness of the incident and the name withdraws from us the possibility of accepting any chronological conclusion.[3] That Mātṛiceṭa, however, was at least not later than Dignāga must be admitted. For in the Miśrakastotra we have additions by the latter to the Stotra in 150 verses by Mātṛiceṭa.

Have we then any grounds for accepting the identity of this poet with *Sūra* or *Aśvaghoṣa?* As concerns the former the evidence appears to be non-existent. I have elsewhere collected the names of six works attributed to *Sūra.*[4] None of these appears to be anywhere ascribed to Mātṛiceṭa or to Aśvaghoṣa, and the Chinese tradition (if we may judge from Nanjio's Catalogue) distinguishes between the three.

In the case of Aśvaghoṣa, the facts are as follows. The Chinese writers, so far as we may judge from the accounts at present accessible, appear to narrate no particulars concerning Mātṛiceṭa, except in one instance. I-tsing mentions both him and Aśvaghoṣa, and apparently without identifying them. The various Chinese accounts collected by M. Sylvain Lévi (*Journal Asiatique*, 1896-7, Ser. IX. Vol. VIII. pp. 444-89, IX., pp. 1-42) appear to agree in making Aśvaghoṣa a contemporary of King Kanishka and a predecessor of Nāgārjuna.[5]

Under these circumstances only an examination of the existing works of the two poets and of their commentaries can establish the facts of their mutual relations. Accordingly, I have made a beginning with Mātṛiceṭa by transcribing and translating a work entitled *Mahārājakanikalekha* 'Epistle to king Kanika,' which in the volumes of the Tanjur where it occurs (Mdo. XXXIII. foll. 78-82, XCIV. 295-9) and in the history of Tāranātha is ascribed to that author. But before giving an account of this epistle it will be worth while to cite the names of all the works which are given as his in the Tanjur, and to add a few slight remarks. We find the following :—

1. — Varṇanārhavarṇana : bhagavato Buddhasya Stotratraya. Bstod I. foll. 93-111. [Slob • dpon Mātricita (*sic*). Indian teacher Sarvajñadeva : Ẑu • chen translator Dpal • brtsegs • rakṣita (Srīkūṭarakṣita)].

[2] Tāranātha, trans. pp. 84, 85 : — 'At that time the Brahman Durdharṣa-Kāla, born in the east, in the country 'of Nalina and the town of Khorta, visited every land as an opponent of the Buddhist doctrine and effected its 'overthrow. He having come to Śrī-Nalanda, the believers, unable to contend with him, wrote a letter to invite 'Āryadeva.' Āryadeva confuted him and shut him up in a Vihāra, where he studied the Buddhist scriptures, repented of his former deeds, and composed many hymns. The name of the Vihāra is given as Kusumālaṁkāra in the city of Kusumapura (p. 89). According to both Tāranātha (p. 85) and I-tsing (trans. p. 157) his conversion was occasioned by the knowledge of Buddha's prediction.

[3] To these items of uncertainty we must add the fact that Durdharṣa is sometimes described as a King of Kauśambī, see Tāranātha, trans. p. 308, and Rockhill, 'Life of the Buddha,' pp. 246-7. In the latter account, we must note that the Bhikṣu Śirṣaka is probably Āryadeva, whose father is said to have been named Pañcaśṛṅga. This agrees with the narrative of Tāranātha, where he makes Āryadeva the opponent of Durdharṣa. Dignāga is brought into collision not only with Sudurjaya, but also with an apparently different Brahman *Nag • po* = Kāla or Kṛiṣṇa.

[4] *Album Kern*, pp. 405-6. Prof. Speijer is not inclined to accept the identity of the two poets : see the introduction to his translation of the Jātakamālā. M. Lévi assigns the work at any rate to the school of Aśvaghoṣa (*Journal Asiatique*, 1896, VIII. p. 456 n.). The Pāramitāsamāsa, ascribed by Tāranātha to Mātṛiceṭa (p. 93), is by Śūra.

[5] Is it possible that the *Ki-ye-to* named in these accounts (VIII. pp. 462-73) = *Ceṭa?*

2. — Samyagbuddhalakṣaṇastotra. Bstod I. foll. 112-3. [Sñan • ṅag • mkhan • chen • po • slob • dpon (Mahākavi-ācārya) Maticitra.]

3. — Triratnamaṅgalastotra. Bstod I. foll. 111-2. [Slob • dpon Maticiṭa (*sic*). Indian teacher Vidyākarasiṃhaprabha: Ẑu • chen translator Dpal • brtsegs • rakṣita (Śrīkūṭarakṣita.)]

4. — Ekottarikastotra. Bstod I. fol. 113. [Slob • dpon Maticitra. Indian teacher Dharmaśrī-bhaṭṭa: translator the Bhikṣu Rin • chen • bzaṅ • po (Ratnabhadra.)]

5. — Sugatapañcatriratnastotra. Bstod I. foll. 113-5. [Slob • dpon Maticitra. Indian teacher Sumakaravarmma: translator the Bhikṣu Rin • chen • bzaṅ • po (Ratnabhadra.)]

6. — Triratnastotra. Bstod I. fol. 116. [Slob • dpon Maticitra.]

7. — Miśrakastotra. Bstod I. foll. 290-13. [Slob • dpon • chen • po Matriciṭa (*sic*) and Slob • dpon • phyogs • kyi • glaṅ (Dignāga). Indian teacher Kumārakalaśa: Ẑu • chen translator the Bhikṣu Bsod • nams • bzaṅ • po (Sukhabhadra? Subhabhadra? Probably Puṇyabhadra.)]

8. — Caturviparyayakathā. Mdo. XXXIII. foll. 131-4, XCIV. 223-6. [Slob • dpon Māticitra (*sic*). Indian teacher Buddhabhadra: Ẑu • chen translator the Bhikṣu Rin • chen • bzaṅ • po (Ratnabhadra.)]

9. — Kaliyugaparikatha. Mdo. XXXIII. foll. 134-6, XCIV. foll. 226-8. [Slob • dpon • Maticitra. Indian teacher Ajitaśrībhadra: Ẑu • chen translator the Bhikṣu Śākya • ḥod (Śākyaprabha.[6])]

10. — Āryatārādevīstotrasarvārthasādhananāma-Stotrarāja Rgyud XXVI. foll. 60-2. [Slob • dpon Mātṛciṭa (*sic.*)]

11. — Maticitragīti Rgyud XLVIII. fol. 9.

The majority of these are, it will be seen, hymns, and this well accords with what we are told of Mātṛceṭa's writings by I-tsing (trans. p. 156-7) and Tāranātha (trans. p. 91). As we learn from these writers that the hymns were well known in all countries, and favourites with both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools, it is not too much to hope that the Sanskrit originals will yet be discovered.[7]

They are, as is natural, not rich in biographical details. But the *Varṇanārhavarṇanastotra* supplies us with an interesting confirmation of the statements that Mātṛceṭa was a convert from Brāhmanism. Its beginning (after salutations) is as follows :—

1. — | ẑiṅ • daṅ • ẑiṅ • min • ma • ḥtshal • te |
| sgra • tsam • gyi • ni • rjes • ḥbraṅs • nas |
| bdag • gis • noṅs • te • sṅon • chad • ni |
| bsṅags • min • bsṅags • pa • brjod • pa • gaṅ |

2. — | ṅag • gi • ḥdam • gyis • gos • pa • de |
| thub • pa • bsod • nams • ḥbab • kyi • stegs |
| bẑuṅ • ba • khyod • la • brten • bcas • nas |
| rab • tu • bkru • ba • ḥdi • brtsamo |

3. — | ḥdi • ni • bdag • gis • mchog • tshogs • la |
| gti • mug • ldoṅs • pas • noṅs • bgyis • gaṅ |
| sdig • pa • de • yi • noṅs • pa • dag |
| sel • bar • bgyid • paḥi • bsad • byed • lags |

4. — | bdag • ni • mya • ṅan • ḥdas • bar • du |
| khyod • kyi • gsuṅ • daṅ • khyod • kyi • ni |
| yon • tan • brjod • pa • gaṅ • lags • paḥi |
| tshig • lam • gñis • las • ñams • ma • gyur |

[6] Tāranātha, trans. p. 204.

[7] Some may be revealed by a detailed examination of the MSS. from Nepal: at least there are some indications.

Translation :— 1. — 'Since formerly, ignorant of what should or should not be a theme,[8] following the path of poetry merely, I sinfully celebrated what should not be celebrated,

2. — 'That smearing with the filth of utterance, I now, in reliance upon you who have won the 'bathing ghāṭ of the merits of Śākya, shall endeavour to cleanse away.

3. — 'What sin, blinded by darkness, I wrought against the precious ones, the sinfulness of that 'offence I now remove and destroy.

4. — 'In singing the words and the virtues of you in Nirvāṇa, may I not fall short of both 'paths of speech.'

This undeniable fact in the life of Mātṛiceṭa, namely, his conversion from Brāhmanism, was of course far from singular. But it must be considered as of some importance in the event of our hearing a similar story regarding Aśvaghoṣa. The remaining hymns and the tracts on the Four Viparyayas and on the Kali age do not, on a cursory perusal, add anything to our knowledge of the author's life. The hymn to Tārā may be connected with the allusion of Tāranātha to his seeing the goddess in a dream, but it seems to contain no reference to such an incident (though its concluding verses may have suggested the story), and it bears in fact so much of the character of a late Tantra that I am inclined to doubt its authorship.

I come now to the work, of which I append the transliterated text with a translation. The *Mahārājakanikalekha* or 'Letter to king Kanika' belongs to a class of Buddhist works known to us chiefly in connection with the *Suhṛillekha* of Nāgārjuna, of which a text and translation were published by Dr. Wenzel in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* for 1886. We may mention further the *Gurulekha* of the Bhikṣu *Dgon•pa•pa* (Āśramin), the *Putralekha* of Sajjana, the *Candrarājalekha* of Yogeśvara-Jaganmitrānant(d)a and the *Śiṣyalekha* of Candragomin,[9] all found in Vol. Mdo. XCIV. of the Tanjur. The *Mahārājakanikalekha* (Mdo. XXXIII. foll. 78-82, XCIV. foll. 295-9) is already known to us from Tāranātha, who refers to it as follows :—

'Towards the end of his (Mātṛiceṭa's) life, king Kanika sent a messenger to invite the Ācārya, 'who, however, being unable on account of his great age to come, despatched an Epistle and 'converted this king to the doctrine' (trans. p. 92).

The identity of the king Kanika is not yet placed beyond question. Tāranātha asserts that he was not the same as Kaniṣka (pp. 89-90). According to him Mātṛiceṭa was an inhabitant of Kusumapura in the time of Bindusāra, son of Candragupta. 'Towards the end of Mātṛiceṭa's life 'Bindusāra's son, king Śrīcandra ruled. After king Śrīcandra had enjoyed the sovereignty, 'there had elapsed many years, when in the west in the land of Ṭili and Mālava a king Kanika, 'young in years, was chosen as sovereign. Twenty-eight diamond-mines having been recently 'discovered, he lived in great wealth. He built four great temples according to the four regions of 'the world, and continually entertained 30,000 Bhikṣus of the Great and Little Vehicle. Accordingly 'one must know that king Kaniṣka and Kanika are not one and the same person' (pp. 89-90, and the same distinction is made, p. 2). Under these circumstances it is important to observe that in the Epistle the king is said to belong to the *Kuśa* race (v. 49). The identity of this name with the Kuṣaṇa of the inscriptions will not be disputed. But the use of this abbreviated form of it by a contemporary must excite a doubt of the correctness of M. Sylvain Lévi's explanation of it (*Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX. Vol. VIII. (1896) p. 457 n.) as due to a mistaken apprehension of *Kuṣaṇavaṃśa* as containing a genitive. I am more inclined to believe that Kuṣaṇa was really a compound and to place the abbreviation in a line with the other shortened names.[10]

[8] *ẑiṅ* = *kṣetra*.

[9] This and the *Suhṛillekha* are cited by M. Lévi, *Journ. Asiatique*, Sér. IX. Vol. VIII. (1896) p. 449 n. The *Śiṣyalekha* was published by Minayeff in the *Zapiski of the Russian Archæological Society*, Vol. IV. (1889) pp. 44 *sqq*.

[10] Concerning these doublets, see M. Lévi's note, Vol. IX. (1897) pp. 10-11.

The Epistle contains one, and perhaps two other indications which may some day aid in establishing the identity of this king. In v. 47 he is clearly described as a *northern* king, and advised to add dignity to that region by endowing the temples. In v. 83 the words 'since we cannot 'look upon the hurtful sun, act, O moon of kings, like the moon' must to students of Indian poetry suggest a play upon words, while another verse (No. 49) seems to speak of the king's family as 'the 'sun of the Ārya race.' As I am unable to unravel these allusions, I must for the present be content with calling attention to the facts.[11]

There are also two other small facts of which it may be worth while to take notice here. In one of the Tibetan works dealing with Li-yul, or Khotan, which Rockhill has excepted in his 'Life of the Buddha,' a mention is made of a king of Kanika and of a people called *Gujan.*

The text runs thus: — •ka•ni•kaḫi•rgyal•po•daṅ | guzan•gyi•rgyal•po•daṅ | li•rje•rgyal•po•vi•ja•ya•kīr•ti•la•sogs•pas•rgya•gar•yul•du•dmag•draṅs•nas•so•ked•ces•bgyi•baḫi•groṅ•khyer•phab•paḫi•tshe | rgyal•po•vi•ja•ya•kīr•tis•śarī•ram•maṅ•po•žig•rñen•pa•yaṅ•phru•ñoḫi•mchod•rten•deḫi•naṅ•du•stsal.

Translation: — 'The king Kanika (or is it 'the king of Kanika'?) and the king of Guzan 'and king Vijayakīrti, lord of Li, and others having led an army into India and overthrown the 'city of Soked (Sāketa), king Vijayakīrti, obtaining many śarīras, then bestowed them in that Stūpa 'of Phru•ño.'

The reference here would certainly seem to be, however mistakenly expressed, to Kaniṣka, and in the Guzan we cannot fail to recognize the Kuṣaṇas of the coins and inscriptions, more especially as the form *guṣaṇa* is actually recorded in two places (see M. Lévi's article, *Journal Asiatique,* Sér. IX. Vol. IX. (1897) p. 40).

The other fact bears upon the question of the identity of Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛiceṭa. The hymn in 150 verses is ascribed in the colophon to Aśvaghoṣa. Nevertheless, the extended form in 400 verses, which bears the name Miśrakastotra, is assigned not to Aśvaghoṣa and Dignāga, but to Mātṛiceṭa and Dignāga, and this in agreement with the statements of I-tsing, who apparently distinguishes between the two poets and names the hymn in 150 stotras as the most celebrated work of Mātṛiceṭa (trans. pp. 156-7 and 165-6). What then are we to think of the facts adduced by M. Sylvain Lévi concerning the 5th verse in this hymn, which recurs also (acc. to the statement of M. Lévi) in the Sūtrālaṃkāra of Aśvaghoṣa?

The Tibetan text of the hymn reads as follows: —

| rgya•mtshor•gña•śiṅ•bu•ga•ru |
| rus•sbal•mgrin•pa•chud•pa•bžin |
| dam•chos•dgaḫ•ston•cher•bcas•paḫi |
| mi•ñid•bdag•gis•thob•nas•ni |

Translation: — 'When like the neck of a tortoise, entering the hole of a yoke in the ocean, I had obtained the state of man, attended with the great festival of the good religion.'

The reference to the blind tortoise, which rises from the bottom of the ocean once in a hundred years and by a rare chance happens to insert his neck into a yoke floating on the surface of the ocean,

[11] Mr. Lévi, in the articles before cited (see Vol. VIII. pp. 449-451), regards king Kanika as an invention of Tāranātha, at least so far as he is distinguished from Kaniṣka. Even this, however, is not free from difficulty. For the Epistle of Mātṛiceṭa is addressed as to a young man, and certainly we cannot suppose the author, already old and infirm, to have subsequently become a courtier of the king, as the stories relate concerning Aśvaghoṣa. Another of these difficulties, which we must raise, however reluctantly, concerns the stories of Kaniṣka related in the Sūtrālaṅkāra by Aśvaghoṣa himself (Vol. VIII. pp. 452-53). Are we to understand that these are told by a contemporary of his patron king? The extracts given by M. Lévi do not produce that impression: but of this only a Chinese scholar can judge.

Can Kanika have been named Candra-Kanika or Caṇḍa-Kanika?

is used to illustrate the extremely rare chance by which a living creature is born as a human being. But the partial recurrence of this verse in the Sūtrālaṃkāra of Aśvaghoṣa is unfortunately of no value as evidence in proving that Aśvaghoṣa wrote the hymn in 150 verses. For the same expression recurs in the *Suhṛillekha* of Nāgārjuna, v. 59 (see Wenzel's trans., *Journal of the Pali Text Society* for 1886, p. 18). I have noted also a fourth recurrence of this simile in the Tibetan version of a work entitled *Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā* and ascribed to *Śūra*. This reference will be now familiar to M. Lévi, who has himself discovered in Nepal the Sanskrit text of the work, and states that it consists merely of the verses which conclude the tales in the Dvāviṁśaty-Avadāna. The Sanskrit original here reads, according to the R. As. Soc. MS. of this Avadāna, as follows : —

ata evāha bhagavān mānuṣyam atidurllabhaṃ |
mahārṇṇava[12]yugacchidre kūrmmagrīvārpaṇopamaṁ ||

Is it not probable that we have here a saying ascribed to Buddha, which we may hope also to find in the Pali literature? [I now learn from Professor Rhys Davids that it does occur in the *Majjhima Nikāya*: see the edition of Mr. Chalmers, III. p. 169.]

I must therefore leave the question of the identity of Mātṛiceṭa and Aśvaghoṣa in the same obscurity as before. But we may note that concerning the latter the Tibetan colophon to the Buddhacarita makes one small addition to our knowledge, namely, that he lived in Śāketa or Oudh. It reads : —

yul • śa • ke • ta • kaḫi • gser • mig • maḫi • bu • dge • sloṅ • slob • dpon • sñan • dṅags • mkhan • chen • po • smra • ba • daṅ • ldan • pa • btsun • pa • rta • dbyaṅs • kyis • mdzad • paḫi • saṅs • rgyas • kyi • spyod • pa • ẑes • bya • baḫi • sñan • dṅags • chen • po • las • sku • gdud • rnams • par • bgo • baḫi • leu • ste • ñi • śu • rtsa • brgyad • pa • yoṅs • su • rdzogs • so |

This is equivalent to : — Sāketadeśaka — suvarṇākṣiputrabhikṣu — ācārya — mahākavi — vāgmin — bhadantāśvaghoṣaracitasya Buddhacaritanāmamahākāvyasya śarīravibhāgo nāmāṣṭāviṃśo 'ddhyāyaḥ.

I now append text and translation of the Epistle, craving a not too severe judgment of the translation, which might perhaps have been in parts a work of some difficulty even to scholars possessed of a knowledge of Tibetan far beyond what I can pretend to. The text is for the most part that given in Mdo. XCIV., but I have made some slight corrections in orthography and added in the margin the various readings of Mdo. XXXIII. We may note that the latter inserts vv. 11-13 a second time after the second line of v. 36. I have not thought it worth while at present to cite or search for literary parallels.

Text.

Rgya • gar • skad • du || Mahārājakanikalekhaḥ |

Bod • skad • du || Rgyal • po • chen • po • ka • ni • ka • la • spriṅs • paḫi[13] • ḫphrin • yig |

De • bẑin • gśegs • pa • thams • cad • la • phyag • ḫtshalo |

1 | Bgrod • par • bgyi • ḫos • khyod • lags • na |
| bkug • kyaṅ • ma • mchis • gaṅ • lags • te |
| ma • gus • ma • lags • pa • rñas[14] • ma • lags |
| rga • daṅ • nad • kyi • bar • chad • bgyis |

Translation.

In the Indian tongue : *Mahārājakanikalekha.*

In the Tibetan tongue ; *Rgyal • po • chen • po • ka • ni • ka • la • spriṅs • paḫi • ḫphrin • yig.*

Reverence to all the Tathāgatas !

1. — Since you are worthy of (my) making a journey, even if no invitation had been given, there is no want of respect, no contempt: old age and sickness hinder.

[12] *Sic*: read -*ve* (Tib. *rgya • mtshor*, a locative).
[13] *spriṅ • baḫi* 33.
[14] *brñas* 33.

2 | bdag • ni • sems • can • thams • cad • daṅ |
| h̲dra • bar • khyod • la • brtse • mod • kyi |
| khyod • kyi • yon • tan • gyis • khyod • la |
| lhag • par • ñe • mgon[15] • khyad • bar • bgyid |

2. — While kindly disposed to you equally with all creatures, owing to your virtues I feel towards you a special partiality.

3 | gdams • kyi • phal • cher • mchis • mod • kyi |
| thams • cad • gdams • par • su • rṅo • thogs[16] |
| khyod • kyi • yon • tan • gaṅ • lags • des[17] |
| bdag • ni • spyi • brtol • skyes • par • h̲gyur[18] |

3. — Though of advice there be plenty, to advise all who is able? Your virtues being what they are, I am made to become an impudent person.

4 | zlogs • pa • med • pah̲i • yon • tan • gyis |
| phyogs • rnams • kun • tu • bsgoms • pas • ni |
| mi • mchog • rnams • kyaṅ • thugs • thub • par |
| mdzah̲ • bśes • bźin • du • h̲dzem • pa • med |

4. — When by invincible virtues the quarters have been everywhere cheered,[19] even good men are not ashamed in compliance with a friend to venture.[20]

5 | de • ltas • sñan • gtod • ñid • kyi • ched |
| bdag • gi[21] • gsol • ba • h̲di • gson • te |
| bsgrub[22] • daṅ • gtaṅ • ba • yid[23] • gñis • las |
| gaṅ • rigs • de • ni • ñams • su • bźes |

5. — While listening therefore to this request of mine for a hearing, in the doubt as to what is to be carried out or rejected, do you take to your heart what is right.

6 | dgah̲ • bar • bgyid • pah̲i • yul • rnams • daṅ |
| rgyags • par • bgyid • pah̲i • laṅ • tsho • daṅ |
| bdag • ñid • raṅ • dgar • spyod • pa • daṅ[24] |
| kun • tu • don • med • bgyid • pahi • sgo |

6. — Pleasurable objects, youth engendering pride, and self-willed conduct, are everywhere the door to unprofitable acts.

7 | phuṅ[25] • bar • byed • pa • de • gsum • spaṅ |
| mkhas • pas • dam • pa • sten • pa • daṅ |
| dbaṅ • po • gdul • daṅ • śes • rab • kyi |
| stobs • mthus • ñams • ni • smad • nas • sbyaṅ[26] |

7. — Renouncing these three causes of ruin, the prudent should adhere to the good, subdue the senses, and by force of wisdom cleanse his heart from reproach.[27]

8 | khyod • kyis • ñes • pah̲i • gźir • gyur • bah̲i |
| cha • ni • gsum • po • de • dag • rnams |
| chos • lugs • dag • daṅ • h̲dul • ba • yis[28] |
| bcos • nas • yon • tan ñid • du • mdzad[29] |

8. — Healing by virtuous conduct and self-restraint these three, which have been the root of sin, do you practise only virtue.

9 | ci • ste • rgyal • po • blon • po • dag |
| dkyil • che • sñiṅ • rjeh̲i • bdag • ñid • ni |
| rtag • tu • ñon • moṅs • med • pa • yi |
| las • kyi[30] • rgyal • srid • bya • bar • ruṅ |

9. — For indeed king and minister, being the essence (*or* having hearts) of universal compassion, ought ever to administer the sovereignty by sinless deeds.

10 | h̲jig • rten • h̲di • na • blo • gros • kyi |
| ñam • chuṅ • gyur • daṅ • mgon • med • pa |
| bya • ba • ma • yin • med • pa • la |
| gdon • mi • za • bar • h̲jug • par • h̲gyur |

10. — In this world he who, having become feeble of intellect, is defenceless, sinks without doubt into helpless[31] nothingness.

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[15] *Sic*: read *mkhon*?

[16] *sus . . . . . . thog* 33.

[17] perhaps *ṅes*.

[18] *gyur* 33.

[19] In this verse I have rendered *bsgoms* as = Sk. *bhāvay-* and,

[20] *thugs • thub • par* as = 'take confidence,' *cf.* S. C. Dās' Lexicon, *s. v.* thugs.

[21] *gis* 33.

[22] *sgrub* 33.

[23] *bah̲i • phyogs* 33.

[24] *de*? 33.

[25] *h̲phuṅ* 33. In the next line *bsten*.

[26] *spyad* 33.

[27] ?

[28] *daṅ • raṅ • h̲dul • yis* 33.

[29] *mdzod* 33.

[30] *kyis* 33.

[31] *bya • ba • ma • yin* = *akṛitī*?

11 | de • bas • ji • srid • sa • de • la[32] |
| myur • du • ma • sgal[33] • bar • du • ni |
| blo • mthu • bskyed[34] • phyir • mkhas • pa • dag |
| bsdu • bar • dgyes[35] • pahi • nan • tan • mdzod |

11. — Therefore so long as on[36] this earth you pass not quickly away, make glad[37] endeavours to gather learning in order to attain strength of mind.

12 | chos • kyi • bstan • bcos • gdon • bgyi[38] • žiṅ |
| de • yi • don • gyi • tshul • gson • la |
| gsan • pahi • chos • rnams • rnam • dpyad • de |
| dpyad[39] • pa • la • ni • mkhas • par[40] • mdzod |

12. — Making a perusal of religious books, hear the nature of their import; then reflecting on the precepts which you hear, in reflection attain to wisdom.

13 | mya • ṅan • gyis • ni • ma • gduṅs • śiṅ |
| na • gžon • nad • med • loṅs • pa • yi[41] |
| dṅos • po • da[42] • ltar • byuṅ • ba • yi |
| blo • gros • la • ni • mi • nus • med |

13. — To an understanding, which, unvexed by sorrow, is not blinded by the disease of youth and has arisen in harmony with reality, there is no lack of strength.

14 | hdir • ni • skyes • bu • dam • ba • las |
| dus • dus • su • yaṅ • ñuṅ • zad[43] • gson |
| ñuṅ • du • bsags • nahaṅ • ṅes • par • ni |
| riṅ • por • mi • thogs • maṅ • por hgyur |

14. — From holy men in this world hear a little, though it be but from time to time: if but a little be acquired, assuredly in no long time it grows to much.

15 | rtag • tu • chu • thigs • re • rehi • rgyun |
| bar • chad • med • par • hbab • pa • yis |
| gaṅ • žig • gaṅ • bar • mi • hgyur • bahi |
| snod • de • ji • lta • bu • žig • mchis |

15. — Be like a vessel, which by a stream of single drops of water flowing ever without interruption does (yet ?) not become full.[44]

16 | de • ltar • dpe • gsal • de • lta • bu |
| rgyal • po • tshad • mar • mdzad • nas • ni |
| dam • pahi • chos • ni • gsan • pa • la |
| rtag • tu • dges • pa • ñid • du • mdzod |

16. — So, in accordance with this clear example, do you, after performing the duties of king,[45] ever take delight in hearing the good religion.

17 | yon • tan • nor • ni • gñer • la • gñen |
| mkhas • śiṅ • sñiṅ • rjehi • bdag • ñid • can |
| byas • gzo • phoṅs • chos • mi • bgyid • pa |
| bzaṅ • bo • khyod • kyis • slaṅ • du • žog |

17. — Lend advancement to the good man, devoted to the acquisition of the riches of virtue, who, while learned, is the essence of compassion (*or* has a compassionate heart), and who is grateful and follows not mean principles.

18 | khyod • kyis • blun • daṅ • hphoṅs • chos • can |
| brkam • žiṅ • byas • pa • mi • gzo • daṅ |
| kha • gsag[46] • gtum • po • mi • bzaṅ • ba |
| yul • nahaṅ • gnas • su • ma • stsal • cig |

18. — To the bad man, of foolish and mean principles, who out of greed remembers not gratitude and is violent in abuse, allow not even in your country a place.

19 | rtag • tu • so • sohi • skye • bo • yis[47] |
| khyad • par • mkhyen • bar • mdzod • cig • daṅ |
| de • yi • khyad • par • mkhyen • tsam • la |
| phun • sum • tshogs • pa • rag • las • so |

19. — Ever make yourself acquainted with the disposition of the laity: upon knowing their disposition the three blessings depend.[48]

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32 *las* 33.
33 *brgal* 33.
34 *skyed* 33.
35 *bgyis* and *bgyi* 33.
36 'from' 33.
37 33 omits this word.
38 *gyis* (imper.) 33.
39 *dphyad* and *dpyad* 33.
40 *par* and *pas* 33.
41 *yis* 33.
42 *de* 33.
43 *cuṅ zad* 33.
44 If we read *ni* for *mi*, the sense would be 'becomes full.'
45 Or better, 'Taking a lesson from (*pramāṇīkṛtya*) this clear example, O king.'
46 *ba* 33.
47 *yi* 33.
48 Are the 3 sampads *rūpa*, *yaśas*, and *dhana*? *Cf.* S. C. Dās' Lexicon.

20 | mi • gaṅ • dkaẖ • ba • spyod • byed • daṅ |
| dor • bar • bya • dkaẖ • dor[49] • ba • daṅ |
| bzod • par • dkaẖ • ba • bzod • byed • daṅ
| bkur • dkaẖ • ñamsu • len • pa • daṅ |

20. — Who performs things hard to perform, renounces things hard to renounce, endures things hard to endure, takes to heart things hard to esteem,

21 | gnas • min • las • ni • zlog • byed • daṅ |
| gnas • su • ẖjog • par • brtson • pa • daṅ |
| de • yi • bsam • pa • mthun • gus • daṅ |
| bde • bar • ẖdod • ciṅ • ẖo • byams • pa |

21. — Resists misplaced action, is diligent in putting things in place, and desiring the honour and happiness of those of the same views is kind,

22 | de • dag • rnams • ni • mdzaẖ • bśes • te |
| gñen • ẖdun • grogs • poẖaṅ • de • dag • lags |
| raṅ • don • tsam • phyir • ẖbraṅ • baẖi • mi |
| gžan • dag • skye • bo • phan • pa • bas |

22. — Whoso have these for friends, are verily dear to their kin.[50] Other men pursuing only their own interest, the service of the creatures is at an end.[51]

23 | grogs • po • phan • par • ẖdod • paẖi • tshig |
| mi • sñan • yaṅ • ni • phan • pa • daṅ |
| ẖjam • daṅ • bde • ba[52] • lags • pa • daṅ[53] |
| thugs • la • bžag • par • mdzad • du • gsol |

23. — Take to heart the word of him who desires the service of his fellows, which, even if ungracious, is serviceable, mild and true:

24 | tshig • sñan • phan • pa • ma • lags • daṅ |
| ẖjam • dbyaṅs[54] • bden • pa • ma • lags • pa |
| dam • pa • ma • yin • rnams • kyi • tshig |
| khyod • kyi • thugs • la • ma • bzuṅ • žig |

24. — But bear not in mind the word of the low man, which, even if gracious, is not serviceable, and, even if kind-sounding, is not true.

25 | phan • par • smra • ba • khro • yaṅ • ni |
| khyod • kyis • gnaṅ[55] • chen • dag • du • mdzod[56] |
| mi • phan • smra • ba • bstod • bgyid • kyaṅ[57] |
| dgyes • pa • dag • tu • ma • mdzad • cig |

25. — Let a serviceable speech, even if angry, by you be held in high esteem : but in unserviceable speech, even if laudatory, take no delight.

26 | rab • daṅ[58] • mtsho • la • daṅ • ba • yi |
| rgyal • po • ṅaṅ • ni • chus • ẖjigs[59] • bžin |
| dam • pa • rnams • kyis • bsñen • bla[60] • daṅ |
| dam • pa • min[61] • pas • bsñen • dkaẖ • mdzod |

26. — As in a pellucid lake the white *rājahaṃsa* is apprehensive of the water, make yourself easy of approach to the high, hard of approach to the low.[62]

27 | khyod • kyis • mkhas • rnams • tshim • bgyis • pas |
| ẖbyor • pa • don • du • gñer • mi • bgyid[63] |
| yon • tan • dgyes • phyir • khyod • kyis • ni |
| yon • tan • rnams • kyis • mi • ṅoms • mdzod |

27. — Do you, giving contentment to the learned, strive[64] not for the acquisition of riches: through delight[65] in virtues never have your fill of them.

28 | loṅs • spyod • byed • dam • bde • ba • daṅ |
| sdug • bsṅal • phrad • paẖam • spyod[66] • pa • ẖam |
| spyod • lam • kun • tu • spyod • pa • na |
| khyod • kyis • dam • pa • bsten • pa • daṅ |

28. — Whether good fortune is or is not yours, whether happiness or misery befalls, whether you act or act not, in the pursuit of every course of action, give your adherence to the high.

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[49] *ẖdor* 33.

[50] Or 'united in kinship'?

[51] The grammar seems here anacoluthic. We might perhaps translate 'not following their own interest, what is for the good of others, they do.'

[52] *bden • pa* 33.

[53] *ṅag* 33.

[54] *yaṅ* 33.

[55] *sñan* 33.

[56] *mdzad* 94.

[57] *daṅ* 33.

[58] *daṅs* 33.

[59] *ẖjig* 33.

[60] *sla* 33.

[61] *yin* 33.

[62] The *rājahaṃsa* can, it would seem, in such a case be approached only from above.

[63] *bgyi* 33.

[64] Literally, 'striving' *bgyid* : 33 has future.

[65] ? 'through (or for the sake of) those who delight.'

[66] *dpyod* 33.

29 | dran • pah̲i • grogs • kyis • bskor • ba • na |
| bag • yod • par[67] • ni • gnas • h̲gyur • te |
| sā[68] • lah̲i • śiṅ • la • h̲khri[69] • śiṅ • bžin |
| bzaṅ • po • dpal • gyis • h̲khyud • par • h̲gyur |

29. — Surrounded by loving friends and being constant in watchfulness, be embraced by a noble greatness like the creepers on the Sāla tree.

30 | khyod • kyis • bžom[70] • pa • bden • pa • daṅ |
| khyad • par • žiṅ • la • sbyin • pa • daṅ |
| dran • daṅ • bral • bas • h̲dod • pa • dbye |
| chad • pas • gaṅ • duh̲aṅ • bcad • mi • bgyi |

30. — Give to those who are mild, true, and superior: the performance of what is desired by the unfriendly is not, even where a promise has been made, to be carried out.[71]

31 | log[72] • pas • h̲thab • bcugs • byed • pa • daṅ |
| bkren • la • dman[73] • par • lta • ba • daṅ |
| tshul • khrims • ldan • rnams • mi • dgah̲ • daṅ |
| dkah̲ • thub • sdom • pa • h̲khrul • byed • pa |

31. — Those who contend in wrongful strife, those who look meanly on the poor,[74] those who delight not in the noble, those who violate their vows of penitence,[75]

32 | bži • po • h̲di • dag • h̲dod • min • te |
| rtse[76] • ba • hdzoms[77] • par • bgyid • pa • lags |
| rab • brtson • khyod • kyi • yul • na • ni |
| de • dag • gtan • ma • mchis • par • mdzod |

32. — These four undesirables[78] indulge their frolics: with every care see that they abide not even in your country.

33 | stobs • daṅ • ldan • pa[79] • stobs • chuṅ • ba |
| gnad • chen • gyis • ni • mi • gnad • daṅ |
| mchod • h̲os • rnams • kyis • mi • mchod • daṅ |
| smos • h̲dris[80] • kyis • ni • mi • śes • pa |

33. — By the strong the weak, by those of great capacity the incapable, by the honoured those without honour, by the learned the ignorant,

34 | gaṅ • yaṅ • ruṅ • ba[81] • gaṅ • gis • kyaṅ |
| brñas • pa • med • par[82] • khyod • kyis • mdzod |
| tha • sñad • rnams • ni • dag • pa • yis |
| kun • la • h̲dri[83] • bar • gzigs • su • gsol |

34. — Any man by any man, suffer not to be contemned. Ever grant inquiry by persons of integrity into disputes.

35 | kun • gyis • raṅ • gi • chos • theb[84] • ciṅ |
| chos • kyis • thams • cad • h̲tsho • bar • mdzod |
| mi • sdug • kyaṅ • ni • ñes • med • na |
| thams • cad • bde • bar • mdzad • du • gsol |

35. — While every man supports his own religion, make all to live according to their religion. Make happy all, even disagreeable persons if free from offence.

36 | pha • yi[85] • bu • la • ji • lta • bar |
| khyod • kyis • h̲khor • la • byams • bgyis • na |
| bu • yis • pha • la • ji • lta • bar |
| khyod • la • ža • h̲briṅ • dgah̲ • bar • bgyi[86] |

36. — While, like a father to his sons, you shall have shown kindness to your dependants, like sons to their father, your servants will give you joy.

37 | phal • rnams • raṅ • bžin • bzaṅ • na • ni |
| khyod • kyis[87] • dgoṅs • pa • bžin • du • h̲gyur |
| phal • rnams • raṅ • bžin • ṅan • na • ni |
| khyod • kyis[88] • dgoṅs • pa • bžin • mi • h̲gyur |

37. — When the people are naturally good, they will be conformable to your mind: when the people are naturally bad, they will not be subservient to your will.

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[67] *pas* 33.

[68] *sa* 33.

[69] *h̲khrid* 33.

[70] *bžam* 33. Both perhaps akin to *h̲jam*. Or does *bžom* represent Sk. *dānta*?

[71] ?

[72] *leg* 33.

[73] *sman* 33.

[74] ? 'those of mean and low views.'

[75] ? 'lead astray the penitent.'

[76] *rtsa* 33.

[77] *hjoms* 33.

[78] ?

[79] *pas* 33.

[80] *h̲dis* 33.

[81] *la* 33.

[82] *pa* 33.

[83] *h̲gra* 33.

[84] *thob* 33. *theb* 94.

[85] *yis* 33.

[86] *bgyid* 33.

[87] *kyi* 33.

[88] *kyi* 33.

38 | gal • te • gžuṅ • lugs • bzaṅ • že[89] • na |
| goṅ • nas • goṅ • du • ẖphaṅ • bar • ẖgyur |
| ci • ste • ṅan • pas[90] • spyod • mdzad • na |
| ẖog • nas • ẖog • tu • ltuṅ • bar • ẖgyur |

38. — If the government be good, it[91] will be lifted from high to higher: but if one walk according to evil, from low to lower will he fall.

39 | dam • paẖi • las • la • gnas • nas[92] • ni |
| khyu • mchog • daṅ • ni • khyu • lta • bu |
| rjesu • ẖtsho • baẖi • skyes • buẖi[93] • tshogs |
| ẖdi • kun • rjes • su • ẖbraṅ • bar • ẖgyur |

39. — If you are steadfast in good works, then, like a flock their leader, all this company of your dependants will follow in your steps.

40 | khyod • kyi • gya • gyu • la • žugs[94] • na |
| gya • gyu • kho • naẖi • rjes • ẖbraṅs • pas |
| skye • dgu • khyod • mdzad • rjes • ẖbraṅ • baẖi |
| skye • dgu • de[95] • ni • ñams • par • ẖgyur |

40. — If you shall have committed yourself to deceit and have followed only in the path of deceit, the people following your example, that people will deteriorate.

41 | de • bas • bdag • gžan • bsruṅ • slad • du |
| thugs • kyis • rab • tu • bsgrims • nas • ni |
| gnaẖ • rgyal • draṅ • sroṅ • rnams • kyi • lugs |
| ñams • pa • sar • par[96] • bcos • su • gsol |

41. — Therefore in order to save yourself and others, you ought with thorough grasp of mind to revive the fallen practice of the ancient royal sages.

42 | gnaẖ[97] • yi • rgyal • poẖi • spyod • pa • las |
| gaṅ • dag • bzaṅ • ba • de • mdzod • la |
| mi • rigs • pa • ni[98] • gaṅ • lags • de |
| smad[99] • par • mdzod • la • spaṅ • du • gsol |

42. — Of the action of ancient kings whatsoever is good that do; but whatsoever is not right, that with reproof renounce.

43 | sṅon • gyi • bkaẖ • khrims • skyon • chags • pa |
| gnaẖ[100] • nas • mchis • kyaṅ • rgyun • chod • la |
| rgyal • po • ka • ni • kas • mtshan • paẖi |
| khrimsu • bcaẖ • ba • gsar • par • mdzod |

43. — Staying the flow of former laws, where affected by error, even if existing from of old, let king Kanika revive that which has been well enacted.

44 | lha • khyod • yon • tan • don • gñer • bas |
| yon • tan • lha • bžin • kho • nar • mdzod |
| lha • khyod • skyon • rnams • mkhyen • pa • yis |
| lha • bžin • ñes • med • kho • nar • mdzod |

44. — Making acquisition of virtue, do you, Deva, follow only virtue, like a deva: having knowledge, Deva, of sins, do, like a deva, only what is void of fault.

45 | zla • baẖi • mar • gyi • ṅo • bžin • du |
| ñes • paẖi • tshogs • rnams • ẖgrib • pa • daṅ |
| zla • ba • yar • gyi • ṅo • bžin • du |
| rtag • tu • yon • tan • gyis • brgyan • mdzod |

45. — Like the waning half of the month, cause the hosts of sin to diminish: like the waxing half of the month, ever adorn yourself with virtue.

46 | yab • sems[1] • bžin • du • bdag • ñid • kyis |
| chos • kyis • sa • steṅs • bskyaṅ • ba • daṅ |
| yab • mes • bžin • du • lha • khaṅ • gi |
| dus • ston • ẖphel • bar • mdzad • du • gsol |

46. — Like your ancestors, you too should righteously rule the earth: you, like your ancestors, ought to increase the festivity of the temples.[2]

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[89] *bžes* 33.
[90] *paẖi* 33.
[91] Or? 'they.'
[92] *na* 33.
[93] *skye • boẖi* 33.
[94] *bžugs* 33.
[95] *ẖdi* 33.
[96] *sad • par*? to be read?
[97] *mnaẖ* 33.
[98] *byed • pa* 33.
[99] *slad* 33.
[100] *mnaẖ* 33.
[1] *mes* 33.
[2] Or? 'the harvest of heaven.'

47 | khyod • kyis • mtho • ris • byaṅ • grol • gyis |
| them • skas • mi • mñam • mñam • pah̲i • phyir |
| bsod • nams • las • byuṅ • bzo • rig[3] • che |
| rtag • tu • lha • khaṅ • dag • tu • sogs |

47. — In order that by your guarding the northern heaven that which is not equal in dignity may become equal, ever let great works of art, due to good deeds, be accumulated in the temples.

48 | rga • daṅ • h̲chi • bas • bsñeṅs • mdzod • de |
| chos • bžin • rgyal • srid • dpal • dpyad[4] • nas |
| bgres • kar • dgon • par • gśegs • su • gsol |
| dam • chos • ston[5] • pah̲i • h̲bras • mchis • mdzod |

48. — Apprehensive of old age and death, do you, after wielding righteously the sovereign power, in later life retire into a hermitage. Manifest the autumn fruit[6] of the good religion.

49 | raṅ • byuṅ • rnams • kyi • rjesu • bslab[7] |
| ku[8] • śah̲i • rigs • su • h̲khruṅs • khyod • kyis |
| yab • mes • h̲phags • rigs • ñi • ma • yi |
| gduṅ • rgyud • chos • lugs • ma • ñams • mdzod |

49. — Train yourself in the way of your own people: born in the Kuśa race, do you impair not the household law of your ancestors, the suns of the Ārya stock.[9]

50 | skye • ba • can • la • ṅes • par • ni |
| rgas • daṅ • h̲chi • daṅ • na • mchis • na |
| ma • bgres • ma • bsñuṅs • ma • groṅs[10] • žes |
| legs • smon • gsol • yaṅ • ci • la • sman |

50. — Since to created beings old age and death and sickness are assured, not to have grown old, not to have fallen ill, not to have died, however longingly we pray where is the cure?

51 | srid • pa • dag • ni • gaṅ • yaṅ • ruṅ |
| de • ñid • rgas • daṅ • h̲chi • ba • lags |
| yoṅsu • bsgyur[11] • bas • rga • ba • ste |
| skad • cig • h̲jig[12] • pas • h̲chi • ba • yi |

51. — Whatever existences there be, the same grow old and die: after maturity comes old age, then in a moment falling in ruin they die.

52 | ma • rgas • ma • na • mi[13] • h̲chi • žes |
| smra • ba • dag[14] • ni • smra • ba • na |
| de • ltar • h̲jig • rten • kun • h̲bar • na |
| yaṅ • srid • med • las • gžan • ci • yod |

52. — 'Grow not old'[15] 'be not sick' 'die not,' since such words are but words,[16] how is the whole world, though it shine,[17] different from nothingness?

53 | gaṅ • na • mi • mthun • yod • ma • yin |
| gaṅ • du • h̲du • byed • h̲jig • mi • h̲gyur |
| gaṅ • na • gcig • tu • bde • bar • gnas |
| gaṅ • du • soṅ • na • h̲chi • med[18] • h̲gyur |

53. — Where is there not that which discontents us? Where are the saṃskāras not dissolved? Where is the wholly happy lot? Where going is there (for us) no death?

54 | srid • pa • kun • nas • ñon • moṅs • daṅ |
| sdug • bsṅal • h̲gyur[19] • ba • cir • mi • mkho |
| de • slad • ṅes • pa • srid • pa • rnams |
| med • par • bsgom • pa • rgyas • par • mdzod |

54. — How can sorrow and grief fail to arise from every existence? Therefore increase your meditation on the truth that existences are not real.

[3] *rigs* 33.
[4] *spyad* 33.
[5] *bston* 33.
[6] Or 'fruit of teaching.'
[7] *rjes • bslabs • pa* 33.
[8] *kun* 33.
[9] Or? 'the sun of the high line of your ancestors.'
[10] *h̲groṅs* 33.
[11] *h̲gyur* 33.
[12] *h̲jgs* 94.
[13] *ma* 33.
[14] *ṅag*?
[15] read *ma • rga*?
[16] ?
[17] ?
[18] *mi* 33.
[19] *h̲byuṅ* 33.

55 | hdir[20] • ni • bgyi • ba • h̲di • ñid • de |
| de • las • gźan • pah̲i • bgyi • mi[21] • h̲tshal |
| bgyi • ba • de[22] • ni • bgyis • pa • yis |
| mi • bgyi • ba • yi • tshar • phyin • to |

55. — What we have here to do is this alone: other than this is there nought that need be done: whoso has done so much that was to be done, has reached the end of what a man should do.

56 | bgraṅ • phreṅ • bźin • du • h̲khor • ba • ru |
| lan • maṅ • yoṅs • su • h̲khor • ba • ni |
| lan • brgyah̲am • yaṅ • na • stoṅ • dag • du |
| h̲jig • rten • dag • tu • ci • ma • bgyis |

56. — In worlds revolving many a time in a circle like a rosary, be it a hundred times or be it thousands, what has not been done?

57 | h̲di • ma • bgyis • smas[23] • byis • pa • yis
| yaṅ • daṅ • yaṅ • du • bgyi • h̲tshal • bas |
| thog • ma • med • pah̲i • dus • can • h̲dis[24] |
| da • duṅ • bar • du • ma • log • go |

57. — Though children, entreating 'this has not been done,' ask for the thing to be done over and over again, let not him[25] whose is time without beginning again and again at intervals return.

58 | h̲chi • bdag • su • daṅ • mi • śes[26] • pa |
| ĝlo • bur • dag • tu • h̲bab • h̲gyur • bas |
| saṅ • dag • bya • źes • ma • bźes • par |
| dam • pah̲i • chos • la • smyur • te • mdzod |

58. — The lord of death who knows not? As he alights in a moment, do you, admitting not the thought 'to-morrow shall it be done,' apply yourself in haste to the good religion.

59 | h̲di • saṅ • deṅ • h̲di[27] • mi • bya • źes |
| bya • ba • mi • la • bzaṅ • po • min |
| nam • źig • khyod • ni • med • h̲ġyur • bah̲i |
| saṅ • de • gdon • mi • za • bar • h̲oṅ |

59. — 'To-morrow, not to-day shall this be done,' such a saying is in a man not good: that to-morrow will surely come, when *you* will no longer be.

60 | h̲chi • bdag • brtse • ba • med • pa • can |
| skyes • rtsal • don • med • gsod • h̲gyur • ba |
| gsod • pa • mṅon • du • h̲oṅ • bźin • du |
| mkhas • pa • su • źig • bag • skyoṅ • spyod |

60. — Uncompassionate, the lord of death slays accomplished persons[28] without reason: with the slayer close at hand, what wise man busies himself with cherishing vanities?

61 | de • slad • dpag • chen • bzod • med • des |
| mdah̲ • ni • mi • bzad • h̲chor • med • pa |
| de • ni • ji • srid • ma • h̲phaṅs • pa |
| de • srid • raṅ • gi • don • la • h̲bod |

61. — Therefore so long as he, whose patience is in no large measure, has not shot forth that unendurable, unavoidable, arrow of his,[29] so long give heed to your own concern.

62 | rnam • smin • h̲byin • pa • sṅon • las • kyis |
| khyod • ni[30] • yoṅs • su • btaṅ • gyur • ba |
| sar • pah̲i • las • daṅ • rjes • h̲brel • ciṅ |
| h̲chi • bdag • yis • ni • draṅs • pa • na |

62. — When you, after being released by former deeds producing their fruit, are through connection with fresh deeds drawn on by the lord of death,

63 | dge • daṅ • sdig • pa • ma • gtogs • par |
| h̲gro • ba • thams • cad • phyir • log • nas |
| h̲gah̲ • yaṅ • khyod • rjes • mi • h̲braṅ • bar |
| mkhyen • par • mdzad[31] • la • legs • par • spyod |

63. — Since, excepting your merits and sins, all creatures turn away and not one accompanies you, learn to know this and live well.

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[20] *h̲di* 33.

[21] *ma* 33.

[22] *da* 33.

[23] *slaṅ* 33.

[24] *h̲di* 33.

[25] Literally 'this one.'

[26] *bśes* 33.

[27] *h̲dri* 33, *h̲rni* 94.

[28] *skyes-rtsal*?

[29] *mi • bzad • h̲tshor • med • pa*?

[30] *kyis* 33.

[31] *mdzod* 33.

64 | bdag • ni • sñiṅ • rjes • zil • non • ciṅ |
| yid • mi • dgaẖ • baẖi • rlan • gyis • ni |
| śin • tu • brlan • paẖi • smre • sṅags • ẖdi |
| re • žig • gsan • par • mdzad • du • gsol |

64. — Give a moment's hearing, I pray, to this lament of mine, very moist with the moisture of sorrow, compassion constraining me.

65 | ẖgro • ba • sman[32] • pa • log • ltuṅ[33] • ba |
| mgon • med • ñes • med • phal • cher • na |
| rtsva • daṅ • chu • daṅ • ẖbras • bu • ni |
| phal • pas • ẖtsho • ba • sgrub • bgyid • pa |

65. — Ill-fated in their inferior condition, defenceless and in general void of sin, with grass, water, and fruits for their usual means of subsistence,

66 | bya • daṅ • ri • dvags • phyugs • dag • la |
| rgyal • pos • gsod • dam • gsod • ẖjug • par[34] |
| ci • ga • rigs • sam • mi • rigs • pa |
| bde[35] • la • gnas • pa • khyod • ñid • gsuṅs |

66. — Birds, and beasts, and cattle — whether it is right or not right that the king should slay these or cause them to be slain, do you yourself, O firm in truth,[36] declare!

67 | khyod • ni • chen • por • mi • khro • žiṅ |
| gnod • pa • bgyid • paẖaṅ • bzod • ces • gdaẖ |
| khyod • kyi • thugs • rjes • dud • ẖgro • ba |
| kye • ma • su • žig[37] • dgag • par • bgyi |

67. — With the great being not angry, you display patience, even to one who does harm. By your compassion shall any inferior creature be, alas! excluded?

68 | gnod • pa • bgyid • la • bzod • mdzad • pa |
| gnod • mi • bgyid • pa • ẖgums • mdzad • pas |
| khyod • la • brtse • daṅ • mi • brtse • bas[38] |
| rgyu • mthun • pa • ni • gñis • ka • gdaẖ |

68. — If, while showing patience toward him that does harm, you cause the death of the harmless, then in your eyes there is for kindness and its opposite an equal reason,

69 | sṅon • chad • bgyis • paẖi • sug • las • kyis |
| ẖdi • ltar • ẖben[39] • du • gyur • ba • la[40] |
| khyod • ñid • gnod • pa • mdzad • na • go |
| su • la • skyabsu • ẖgro[41] • ba • gsuṅ |

69. — In case you yourself do harm to those who by the karma which is the fruit of former deeds have thus become your target, where, say, can they go for refuge?

70 | gžan • gyis • gnod • pa • bgyis • na • yaṅ |
| ñid • kyis[42] • phyag • gis • bśugs • ẖtshal • na |
| khyod • bžeṅs • mṅon[43] • du • mnod[44] • mdzad • na |
| phyogs • kun • mun • par • ma • gyur • tam |

70. — Inasmuch as, even if harm is done by others, it behoves you yourself to stay it with your hand, if you openly do harm, are not all the quarters turned to darkness?

71 | kun • la • srog • ni • phaṅs • pa • ste |
| kun • la • gson • pa • sdug • pa • lags |
| thams • cad • mchi[45] • baẖi • chos • can • te |
| thams • cad • sdug • bsṅal • rnams • kyis • gduṅ[46] |

71. — To every one life being sparingly given,[47] to every one to live is misery;[48] all being subject to the condition of death, all are distressed by griefs.

[32] *dman* 33.
[33] ? read *lhuṅ* ?
[34] *pa* 33.
[35] *bden* 33. *gsuṅs* must be imperative = *gsuṅ*, *cf.* v. 73.
[36] Or 'fortunate one' — with the reading *bde*.
[37] *yis* 33.
[38] *baẖi* 33.
[39] *gñen* 33.
[40] *las* 33.
[41] *mchi* 33.
[42] *kyi* 33.
[43] *sṅon* 33.
[44] *gnod* 33.
[45] *ẖchi* 33.
[46] *gduṅs* 33.
[47] Or 'spared'?
[48] Or 'is dear'?

72 | h̲di • ltar • gaṅ • żig • mi • h̲tshal • ba |
| de[49] • ñid • kyis[50] • ni • sdug • bsṅal • te |
| mkhas • pa • su • żig • mgar[51] • ba • ltar |
| tshig • pa • la • ni • yaṅ • sreg[52] • bżin |

72. — Grief being thus experienced by whoso desires it not, what wise man would even in word (*or* wrath), like a smith,[53] as it were inflame it ?

73 | khyod • ni • srog • gcod • mi • dgyes • śiṅ |
| srog • gcod • dgyes • las • phyir • log[54] • na |
| rgyal • srid • ñams • pa • h̲gyur • ram • ci |
| lugs • h̲di • ci • żig • lags • pa[55] • gsuṅs |

73. — If you, delighting not in taking life, turn away from those who so delight, will the king's state become impaired ? What manner of thing is this ? say.

74 | mtshon • chah̲i • thabs • la • mkhas • khyod[56] • kyis |
| gyul • ṅor • srol • gtod[57] • mthoṅ • lags • na |
| gżan • du • khyod • la • ri • dvags • la |
| ci • slad • gnod • pah̲i • las • rnams • mdzad |

74. — Since by you, skilled in the use of arms, practice may be found in battle, why do deeds of harm to the wild creatures as well as to yourself ?[58]

75 | ri • dvags • gżon • nuh̲i • spyan • lam[59] • khyod |
| spyan • daṅ • h̲dra • bah̲i • ri • dags • rnams |
| rtabs[60] • nas • rig • rig • lta • ba • la |
| ci • yi • slad • du • thugs • mi • rje |

75. — When you, who have the eyes of a young deer,[61] behold the wild creatures, with like eyes,[62] looking hither and thither in fright, how is your heart not filled with compassion?

76 | khyod • kyi • spyan • daṅ • mig • h̲drah̲i • phyir |
| khyod • la • dgah̲ • ba • gaṅ • lags • te |
| ri • dags • na • yaṅ • dgah̲ • bgyid • na |
| khyod • ni • ji • ltar • dgyes • mi • mdzad |

76. — Wherefore[63] do you not take pleasure in causing joy to the wild creatures also, which by their likeness of eye and pupil are a joy to you ?

77 | log • par • lhuṅ[64] • daṅ • spyan • h̲dra • daṅ |
| mgon • med • yul • na • gnas • pa • ñid |
| re • re • yaṅ • ni • ri • dvags • dag |
| mi • h̲gums[65] • pa • yi • rgyur • ruṅ • no[66] |

77. — The fact of their fallen state, their like eyes,[67] and their defenceless situation should be a reason for not killing the wild creatures, even singly.

78 | mi • rnams • la • ni • mdzad • pa • bas |
| sdug • bsṅal • lhag • par • brtags • pa • yi[68] |
| dud • h̲gro • rnams • la • ches • lhag • par |
| khyod • kyis[69] • thugs • rjes[70] • mdzad • du • gsol |

78. — Enough of what is done to mankind ! When you consider their greater suffering, you ought far more to act with compassion towards the inferior creatures.

79 | khyod • ñid • sruṅ[71] • bah̲i • don • h̲di • la |
| bdag • gis[72] • thal • mo • sbyar • mi • h̲tshal |
| rgyud • gżan • gsol • bas • gus • bgyis • par |
| legs • par • thugs • tshod • maṅ[73] • lags • graṅ[74] |

79. — In this matter of saving yourself there is no need for me to supplicate : when a request has been made on behalf of others, there is much wisdom in respecting it, consider.

80 | co • nas • bzuṅ[75] • ste • bslab • spyad • pa |
| dam[76] • pa • rnams • kyi[77] • lugsu • grags |
| de • ltar • lags • pas • rgyal • po • la |
| bu • sdug • bżin • du • gsol • ba • lags |

80. — 'With chiding[78] should instruction begin,' so after the rule of the good it has been declared. That being so, to the king as to a dear child a request is made.

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[49] *h̲di* 33. [50] *kyi* 33. [51] *dgah̲* 94. [52] *bsreg* 33.
[53] Reading *mgar* with 33. [54] *ldog* 33. [55] *par* 33. *gsuṅs* must be imperative = *gsuṅ*, *cf.* v. 66. [56] *spyod* 33.
[57] *btod* 94 and 33. [58] *gżan • du • khyod • la* = *anyatra tvayi*. [59] *mdah̲* 33. [60] *stabs* 33.
[61] Or ' coming in sight of the young animals ' ? [62] *spyan • daṅ • h̲dra • ba* ?
[63] *ci • ltar* to be read for *ji-ltar* ? But perhaps *ji-ltar* is not seldom so used. [64] *ltuṅ* 33.
[65] *h̲gug* 33. ? read *h̲gum* ? [66] *raṅ • ba* 33. [67] *spyan • h̲dra* ? = *spyan • dra* ? [68] *yis* 33.
[69] *kyi* 33. [70] *rje* 33. [71] *bsruṅ* 33. [72] *gi* 33. [73] *mnah̲* 33. [74] *gaṅ* 33.
[75] *gzuṅ* 33. Is *spyad* or *spyaṅ* the reading of the text ? [76] *dem* 33. [77] *kyis* 33. [78] *co • nas* ?

81 | gal • te • bdag • gis • mi • phan • pa |
| gsol • na • bdag • la • chad • pas • khum[79] |
| ci • ste • gcig • tu • phan • gsol • na |
| bdag • gis • gsol • ba • bžin • du • mdzod |

81. — If I ask for what is not profitable, do you in punishment kill me[80]: but if my request is wholly profitable, act according to my request.

82 | gal • te • mi • dgyes • mdzad • par • ma • gyur • na |
| bdag • gis • yaṅ • daṅ • yaṅ • du • gsol • bar[81] • h̲tshal |
| ci • ste • bdag • tshig • khyad • du • h̲gums • mdzad • na |
| bkah̲ • mchid • h̲di • ni • ṅes • par • gtaṅ • bar • bgyi[82] |

82. — If I shall not have displeased you, again and again I would make my request. But if my word cause you all the more to kill, this command is certainly to be issued.

83 | dgyes • par • h̲gyur • na • slaṅ • dgyes[83] • mi • h̲gums • te |
| mi • dgyes • h̲gyur • na • dogs • bzuṅ • bar • h̲tshal |
| gnod • bgyid • ñi • ma • ltar • rṅo • mi[84] • thogs • pas |
| sa • bdag • zla • ba • zla[85] • ba • bžin • du • mdzod[86] |

83. — If pleasure have been given, he who is pleased with a request does not kill:[87] if displeasure have been caused, one must entertain apprehension.[88] Since we cannot look upon the hurtful sun, act, O moon of kings, like the moon.

84 | sa • bdag • tsher[89] • mah̲i • śiṅ • la[90] • sbraṅ • rtsi • ltar[91] |
| dgra • bo • las • kyaṅ • legs • par • smras • pa • gzuṅ |
| gser • gyi • ri • las • dug • rgyun • ji • bžin • du |
| yid • h̲od • skye • bohi • tshig • ṅan • spaṅ • tshal • lo |

84. — O king, do you accept even from an enemy what is well said, like the honey from the thorn bush: like the poison stream from the mountain of gold, you should reject the evil words of a congenial person.

85 | mi • chog • gal • te • legs • par • mdzad • pah̲i • sbyor • bas • bsgrubs • gyur • te |
| pha • rol • gcod[92] • pa • sel • bah̲i • dpal • h̲di • yon • tan • rgyan • rnams • kyis |
| phyug • par • bgyis • na • legs • spyad • brgya • la • chags • phyir • gyo • bah̲i • sñiṅ |
| mi • brtan • pa • yaṅ • raṅ • dbaṅ • med • par • yun • riṅ[93] • khyod • la • chags |

85. — Is it not enough if this Śrī, having been won by the union of noble deeds,[94] and cleansed from the hurt of others, should be made rich with the ornaments of virtue, and she through attachment to a hundred good acts, though unreliable in her fickle heart, be for a long while devotedly attached to you ?

|| slob • dpon • mā[95] • tri • ci • tras • rgyal • po • chen • po • ka • ni • ka • la • spriṅs • pah̲i • h̲phrin[96] • yig • rdzogs • so ||
|| rgya • gar • gyi • mkhan • po • bidyā • ka • ra • pra • bhā • daṅ |[97] • žu • chen • gyi •[97] lo • tsā • ba • ban • de • rin • chen • mchog • gis • bsgyur || ā • cā • rya • dpal • rtsegs • kyis • žus • te • gtan • la • phab • pa ||

End of the Epistle to the great king Kanika, composed by the ācārya Mātṛiceṭa: Indian teacher Vidyākaraprabhā: Žu • chen translator Bande Rin • chen • mchog (Paramaratna ?): edited at the request of the ācārya Dpal • rtsegs (? Śrīkūṭa).

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[79] *žum* 33. [80] Or — with the reading *žum* — 'I must apprehend punishment.' [81] *ba* 33. [82] *ba • bgyid* 33.
[83] *slar • rjes* 33. *slaṅ* 94 ? *h̲gums* is for *h̲gum*, as also in v. 82. [84] *ma* 33. [85] *ṅa* 33. [86] *bzod* 33.
[87] ? [88] ? [89] *cher* 33. [90] *las* 33. [91] *daṅ* 33.
[92] *gnod* 33. [93] *riṅs.* 33. [94] Or 'if this Śrī . . . . . . union of doing good to worthy men' ?
[95] *ma* 33. [96] *spriṅ* 33. [97] Omitted by 33.

SOME MORE ROCK-CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

In continuation of my article on Rock-Carvings from Lower Ladakh, *ante*, Vol. XXXI. p. 398 ff., I now give some further illustrations. The value of these carvings for the purposes of research is that the majority of them are directly explainable, and hence they present a sound basis on which to make enquiries into similar primitive carvings and pictures elsewhere. The obviously recent date of some of them also goes to show that the makers of such pictures are not necessarily very low in the scale of civilisation or without culture in other directions of mental development.

Plate V., Fig. 1.

Site. — A rock half-way between Esu and Tsagri.

Scene. — A fight between men armed with guns against men armed with bows and swords. Cavalry on both sides. Between Kashmîrî troops and local tribesmen? One of the tribesmen with a sword (*d*) is killed. The horseman (*i*) has no reins, but a whip. The large round circles near the heads of the men are explained to be shields. From that of the horseman (*c*) one might assume that he is a Panjâbî : so that it is possible that some fight with the troops of Mahârâja Gulâb Singh or one of his successors is meant. The ibex (*k*) is probably either older or later than the battle-scene.

Plate V., Fig. 2.

Site. — Half-way between Esu and Khalatse.

Scene. — Hunting scene by the stream (*a*), and the horned *lha-tho* (*b*), which are half-way between Esu and Khalatse. A man with a gun (*c*) accompanied by another with a bow (*d*).

Plate VI., Fig. 3.

Site. — In Khalatse Fort.

Scene. — A *yak*[1] cow (*a*) charging a snow-leopard (*c*); with the latter figure compare Fig. 5 (*a*). A musk deer (*b*).

Plate VI., Fig. 4.

Site. — Stone half-way between Esu and Khalatse.

Figures. — A wild *yak* (*a*). A wild goat (*b*).

Plate VI., Fig. 5.

Sites. — Stone half-way between Esu and Khalatse : for *a*, *b*, *c*. Stone near Khalatse Fort for *d*.

Figures.—A snow-leopard leaping (*a*). A wild goat (*b*). A magic square (*c*). Sun symbol (?), or sun and moon as creators of the Eight Directions (?), or wheel of the law (?) (*d*).

Plate VII., Fig. 6.

Site. — Lower end of the Namchag Valley near Khalatse. The lioness with the locks (*vide ante*, Vol. XXXI. p. 400).

Plate VII., Fig. 7.

Site. — Stone near Khalatse Fort.

Scene. — Horseman foreshortened from the front. It is more likely that the figures represent men riding on the shoulders of others. This sport is exercised at the occasion of the sowing-festival, for instance, at Garkunu.

Plate VII., Fig. 8.

Site. — Rock near ruins of a castle, Saspola Bridge, left bank of the Indus.

Scene. — Wild goat. Inscription in ancient Tibetan character. Romanized: *staggi lola stong* [*d*]*pon rgyalba yeshes*. Translation: [was erected] in the tiger-year by "colonel" (chief of

[1] The *yak* is to the Tibetan what the cow is to the Hindu. Perfect women are compared to *yak* cows, and the Heavenly Queen enters their bodies frequently.

one thousand) rGyalba Yeshes. Seems to refer to a *stûpa*, which has disappeared entirely. The residence of this "colonel" was probably the now ruined castle.

Plate VII., Fig. 9.

Site. — Rock near Da.

Scene. — Dance in honour of the gods (*lha*) : fourteen dancers, one leader.

Plate VIII., Fig. 10.

Site. — Rock near Domkhar.

Scene. — A cross-shaped *stûpa.* Does this figure show the influence of Nestorian art on the Buddhist art of Ladakh? Tibetan inscription: *phaggi lola.* Translation: [erected] in the pig-year. There are additional characters too much injured to be legible.

Plate VIII., Fig. 11.

Site. — Stone near ruins of a *stûpa,* Khalatse Fort.

Scene. — Inscription in ancient Tibetan character. Romanized: . . . *gis bzhengssu ysol* . . . . Translation: erected by (name destroyed) as an offering. This inscription seems to refer to the *stûpa* in ruins.

Plate VIII., Fig. 12.

Site. — Stone near Hibti.

Scene. — *Stûpa* of the form of stove for burning the dead. Tibetan inscription: *Khyii.* Translation: . . . of the dog . . . . *i. e.,* was erected in the dog-year. This inscription was never completed.

Plate VIII., Fig. 13.

Site. — Rock near ruins of a castle, Saspola Bridge, left bank of the Indus.

Scene. — Ancient *stûpa* with flags. Ancient Tibetan inscription. Romanized: *sangto chakonggis mon rkuspa sdig sbyod.* Translation: [was erected] by Sangto Chakong. The *mon* (a low-caste man), the thief of sinful behaviour (*sbyod* is a mistake; *spyod* was meant). The erector of the *stûpa* probably only wrote his name in the instrumental case; another person, his enemy, may have added the second part of the inscription.

I take this opportunity to add two plates of reproductions of photographs of rock carvings taken by the Rev. G. Hettasch in the neighbourhood of Khalatse Fort. They will show the reader the scenery amidst which the carved stones are situated and the actual appearance of the carvings on the stones.

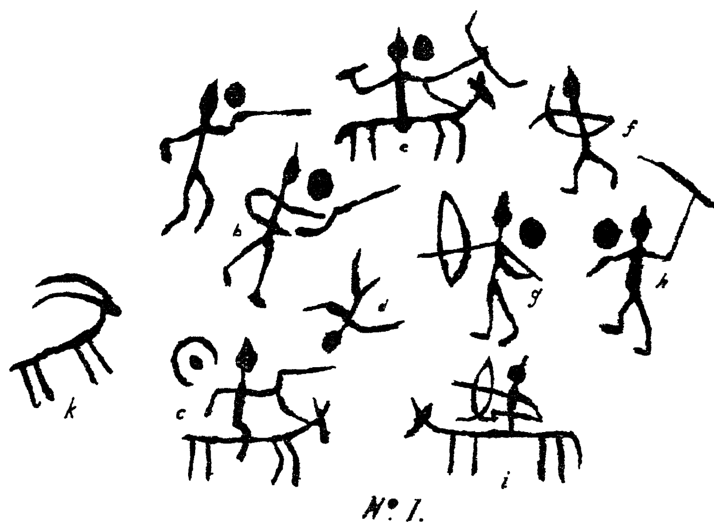
Collotype Plate I., Fig. 1, represents *stûpas* of various forms. Fig. 2 is shown by hand in Plate II., Fig. 1, *ante,* facing Vol. XXXI. p. 401, and is explained on that page.

Collotype Plate II., Fig. 1, shows the unexplained inscription given in Plate III., Fig. 1, facing Vol. XXXI. p. 401. Fig. 2 shows the lioness with locks, given already in Vol. XXXI. p. 401, Plate II., Fig. 2, and in another form in Plate VII., Fig. 6, of this article.

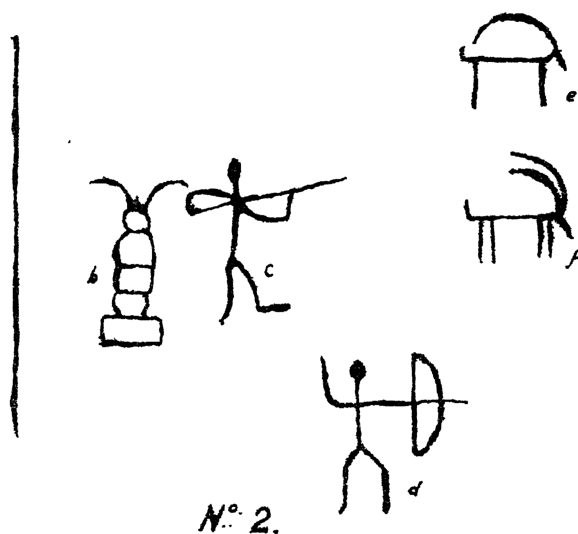
Palæographical Notes.

The Ladakhi records regarding the erection of *stûpas* fall into three groups. Those of the first group only show a representation of the erected *stûpa,* without an inscription; compare, *ante,* Plate I., No. 5. These *stûpas* were probably erected by illiterate people. The records belonging to the second and third group consist of a picture of the *stûpa* (unless the *stûpa* itself was close by) and an inscription, giving the name of the erector and the date of erection. This date is, however, so imperfectly given that it could be useful only during the life-time of the builder. As the second group of records I consider those which are written in ancient *dbu med* (headless) characters; they are probably the oldest of all. Compare Plate VII., No. 8, Plate VIII., Nos. 11, 13. As the third group I consider those which are written in modern *dbu can* (headed) characters. Of this group specimens have not been published.

ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.



No. 1.

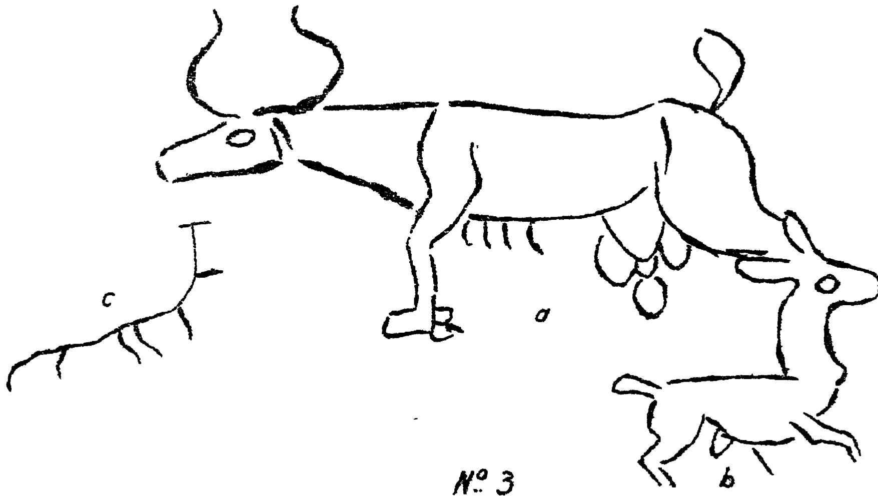


No. 2.

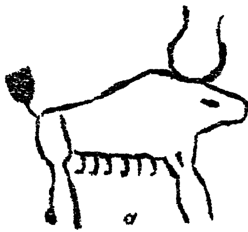
PLATE V.

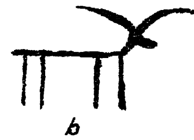
A. H. FRANCKE, DEL. SCALE ONE TENTH. B. E. S. PRESS, LITHO.

ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.

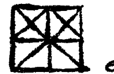


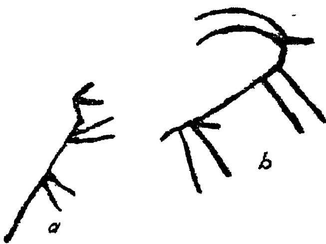
No. 3

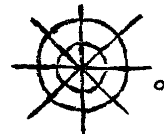




No. 4







No. 5.

PLATE VI.

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ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.



No. 6.





No. 9.

No. 8.

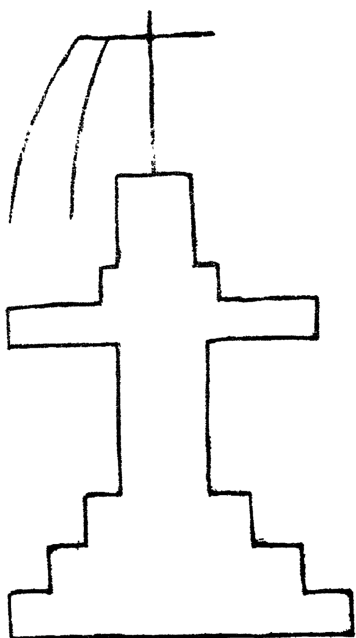


No. 7.

PLATE VII.

A. H. FRANCKE, DEL. SCALE, ONE-TENTH. B.E.S. PRESS, LITHO

ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.

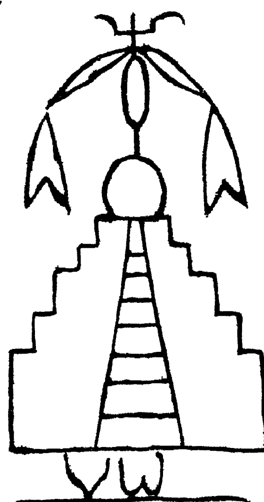


No. 10.

No. 11.



No. 12.



No. 13.

PLATE VIII.

A. H. FRANCKE, DEL. SCALE, ONE-TENTH. B. E. S. PRESS, LITHO.

Plate I

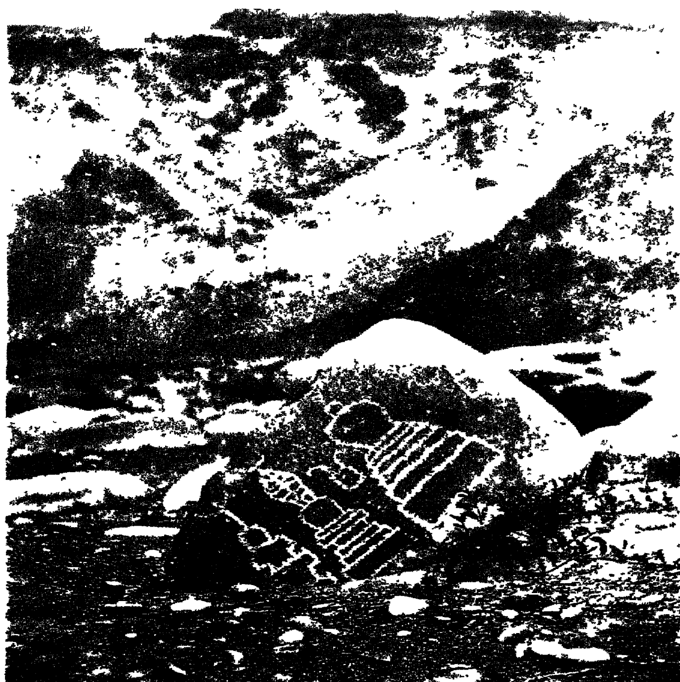


Fig. 1.

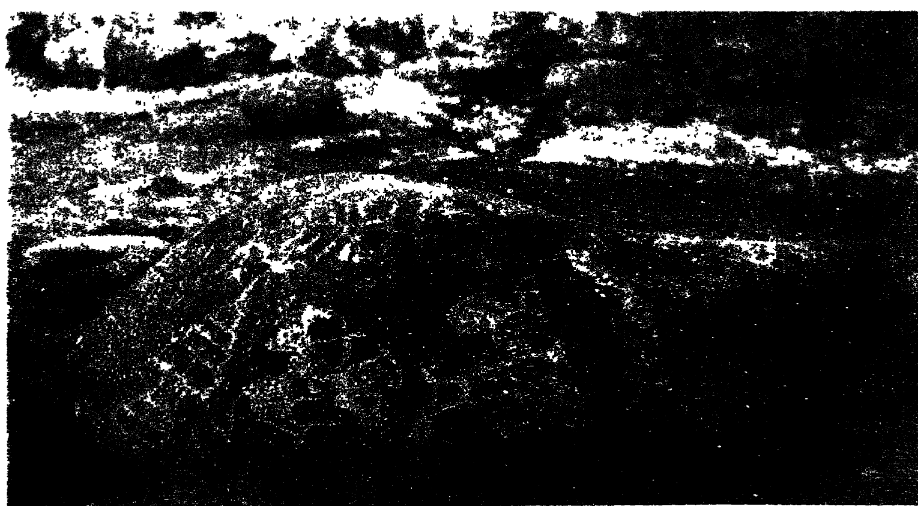


Fig. 2.

Rock Carvings near Khalatse Fort.

Plate II.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

Rock Carvings near Khalatse Fort.

At the present day we find **two types of writing in general use in Ladakh: dbu med (headless) and dbu can (headed).** The 'head' of the character is the remnant of the line below which the letters used to be written in India. Thus in India we meet with three kinds of writing: (1) Headless characters; for instance, in the ancient Brâhma Alphabet. (2) Complete line with characters fastened to it; for instance, in several current scripts of North India. (3) Headed character, *i. e.*, remnants of the line on the top of the character; for instance, in the modern Devanâgarî Alphabet. It is remarkable that in Tibet the second type of writing (that with a complete line) is entirely unknown.

The Tibetan **dbu can** (headed) characters are the **holy characters**; they are used for religious purposes only. The Lamas do not allow profane subjects (the *Kesar Saga* among them) to be written in headed characters. The **dbu med** (headless) alphabet is the **alphabet of the Tibetan merchant.**

Now I wish to draw attention to the fact that the most ancient records of *stûpas* in Ladakh are not written in the holy character, but in an ancient form of the 'headless' type of writing. This fact makes it almost certain that in Ladakh the Buddhist priest was preceded by the Tibetan merchant. If the 'headed' alphabet had been known at the time of the erection of the ancient *stûpas,* it would certainly have been used, as it is used almost exclusively for such purposes now-a-days in consequence of its meritorious powers.

But I go a step further. Although it cannot yet be proved for certain, it is not quite improbable that the whole of Tibet was in possession of a 'headless' alphabet before the introduction of Buddhism, and that **Thonmisambhota,** the renowned so-called inventor of the Tibetan Alphabet, did no more than furnish the alphabet of the Tibetan merchant with 'heads'[2] and adapt it for the writing of Sanskrit names.

My reasons are the following: (1) If no alphabet was in existence in Tibet at the time of Thonmisambhota, why did he not derive the Tibetan linguals (ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ṇ) from their Indian prototypes, instead of forming them by reversing the ordinary Tibetan t, th, d, n? (2) Can we expect the Tibetan merchants to have been ingenious enough to distinguish between what is essential in a letter and what is not, and to see, for instance, that in the Tibetan *b* the uppermost part is not the 'head' only, but an essential part of the character, whilst in a *d* and *t* it is not? (3) The Tibetan alphabet is most closely related to Indian alphabets of the Himalayan frontier district. In very ancient times Tibet was perhaps not so exclusive as she is now-a-days. Why should she not have accepted from her neighbours what is of practical value? (4) The alphabet of the Lepchas is a *dbu med* (headless) alphabet of a type which is most closely related to the Tibetan *dbu med.* If this Lepcha Alphabet was also derived from a 'headed' alphabet, why did the latter not survive?

The Alphabet of the ancient inscriptions from Lower Ladakh.

k kh g ng c ch j ny t th d n p ph b m

ts ths dz w zh z 'a y r l sh s h a

Compound letters.

st rgy br khy rk sd sby

Vowels.

gi 'i ku su she rgye to lo

[2] Perhaps as a sign of holiness. In his time holy and profane alphabets may have been distinguished in India.

AŚÔKA NOTES.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.).

I.—Mahêndra, brother of Aśôka.

The Indian tradition which represents Mahêndra, the missionary to Ceylon, as the brother of the emperor Aśôka, and not as his illegitimate son, which is the Ceylonese version, appears to me the more probable. Nobody knows the origin of the tradition embodied in the Pâli books, of which the oldest, the *Dîpavaṁsa*, dates probably from the fourth century A. D. **The question of the credibility of the Ceylonese chronicles generally** has been well treated by Mr. Foulkes in articles in this *Journal*, which have not received as much attention as they deserve, with the result that the chronicles must be accorded much less weight than it has been the custom to assign to them.[1] My studies led me independently to the same conclusion.

The tradition that Mahêndra was Aśôka's brother was learned by **the Chinese pilgrims** at Pâṭaliputra, and it is more probable that the truth was preserved at Aśôka's capital than in Ceylon. **Fâ-hien's** date is nearly the same as that of the *Dîpavaṁsa*. His statement that "King Aśôka had a younger brother who had attained to be an Arhat, and resided on Gṛidhra-kûṭa hill, finding his delight in solitude and quiet" (Ch. XXVII., Legge) reads like genuine history. It is true that he adds a miraculous explanation of the construction of the stone-cell occupied by the saint, but that cannot be regarded as discrediting the tradition of Aśôka's saintly brother. Every structure in which exceptionally large stones are employed is invariably ascribed to supernatural agency.

The name of the emperor's brother, Mahêndra, is supplied by **Hiuen Tsiang** (*Beal*, II., 246), who credits him with the conversion of Ceylon. In an earlier passage (II., 91) the pilgrim relates the legend of the stone-cell at Pâṭaliputra, and in a third passage (II., 231) he states that the ancient monastery in the Malakûṭa country in the south of India[2] had been "built by Mahêndra, the younger brother of Aśôka-râja." It is clear therefore that both the Chinese pilgrims, who obtained their information both in Northern and Southern India, knew Mahêndra only as the younger brother of Aśôka. Neither of them had heard the Ceylonese story that Mahêndra and his sister Sanghamitrâ were Aśôka's illegitimate children by a Seṭṭhî lady of Vedisagiri (or Chetiyagiri, according to Turnour's version). The name Sanghamitrâ, 'friend of the Order,' has a made-up look, and **I regard the whole legend of Sanghamitrâ's mission to ordain nuns in Ceylon as unhistorical.**

Huien Tsiang's statement that a monastery in Southern India was built by Mahêndra, the emperor's younger brother, is, I believe, true. The missionary probably passed from Southern India to Ceylon.

The history of Tibet offers a parallel to the case of Mahêndra.

King Ral-pa-chan, who was assassinated in A. D. 838, on account of his strictness in enforcing the clerical laws, was an ardent Buddhist, and "is said to have done much toward giving the priesthood a regular organization and hierarchy." His elder brother entered the priesthood, became a famous teacher, and wrote several *śâstras*.[3] Save that Mahêndra was Aśôka's younger brother, the Tibetan case is a sufficiently close parallel, and offers an authentic instance of a sovereign's brother turning monk, and so far confirms the Indian version of Mahêndra's mission.

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[1] 'The Vicissitudes of the Buddhist Literature of Ceylon,' *ante*, Vol. XVII. (1888), p. 100; *Buddhaghosa*, Vol. XIX. (1890), p. 105.

[2] Malakûṭa seems to have included the whole of Southern India beyond the Kâverî (Hultzsch, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 242).

[3] Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 225.

II. — The Dharma mahâmâtras, or Censors of the Law of Piety.

Since the publication of my book I have come across two examples from modern India of the maintenance of officials charged with duties similar to those of Aśôka's Censors.

Minayeff (*Recherches*, p. 279) quotes the *Calcutta Review* for 1851, Vol. XV., p. xxv, as authority for the statement that "hereditary Brahmin officers called Dharmâdhikârî are still to be found throughout the Deccan, in Kandesh, and even in some parts of the Concan . . . Their jurisdiction merely comprises breaches of rules of caste, for which they levy fines, or order penance, or even proceed to excommunication."

The second example, from Kaśmîr, is very closely parallel to Aśôka's institution. In 1876, when a strictly Hindu government was in full possession of power, "the performance of the *prâyaśchittas*, or penalties for breaches of the commandments of the Smṛiti, is," according to Bühler, "looked after by the Government. The Mahârâja himself, who is a sincere and zealous adherent of the faith of his forefathers, sees that Brahminical offenders expiate their sins in the manner provided by the Śâstras. The exact nature and amount of the penances is settled by five Dharmâdhikârîs, who belong to the most respected families among the Sanskrit-learning Pandits. The office is hereditary in these families."[4]

These statements help us to understand and realize the working of Aśôka's institutions designed for the regulation of public morals.

III.—Aśôka's Father-Confessor.

According to the Ceylonese chronicles, followed by most writers on Buddhism, the religious guide of the emperor Aśôka was Tissa (Tishya) Moggaliputra (Maudgalyîputra).

According to the Indian tradition he was Upagupta, *i. e.*, Gupta the Less, son of Gupta, a perfumer. Both statements cannot be correct. In my book I have drawn attention to the similarities between the stories told by the Ceylonese about Tissa, and those related by the Indian (including Tibetan) writers about Upagupta, but I could not examine the matter fully in a small popular work. Lt.-Colonel Waddell has proved conclusively, as I think, that the Tissa of the Ceylonese is the Upagupta of Indian tradition.[5] The parallel passages from the *Aśôkâvardâna* and the *Mahâvaṁśa* which he has laboriously copied and set out side by side permit of no doubt that the two personages are really one.

He suggests that the name of the saint in the Ceylonese tale may be "merely a title of Upagupta, and formed possibly by fusing the names of the two chief disciples of the Buddha, Maudgalyî-putra, and Upatiṣya (or Çāriputra), to bring him, as the great patron saint of Ceylon, as near as possible to Çākya Muni himself."

This suggestion seems plausible.

With reference to the story of Mahêndra I have shown that when the Indian and Ceylonese traditions conflict, the presumption is all in favour of the version which was current at the site of Aśôka's capital. The same argument applies to this case. The presumption is that Upagupta was the real name of Aśôka's father-confessor, and that the Ceylonese designation for him was made up for some reason such as that suggested by Lt.-Col. Waddell. The only fact which seems to stand in the way of accepting the suggested explanation is the occurrence among the inscriptions on the Sâñchi relic caskets of the mention of an unnamed saint, the son of Moggali. The alphabetical characters suggest that if this person was not contemporary with Aśôka, his relics, at least, were deposited in or about Aśôka's time. Moreover, the

[4] Bühler, *Report of a Tour, etc.*, in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* (1876), Vol. XII., Extra No., p. 21.

[5] "Upagupta, the Fourth Buddhist Patriarch, and High Priest of Aśoka" (*J. A. S. B.* Part I., 1897, p. 76); *Proc. A. S. B.*, June, 1899, p. 70.

stûpa which contained the relics of the unnamed son of Moggali also enshrined those of Kassapa (Kâśyapa) and Majjhima (Madhyama), who were certainly among Aśôka's missionaries. There can therefore be little doubt that the son of Moggali, whose relics were placed in the *stûpa*, was a contemporary of the missionaries. Probably he was one of their company. There is no adequate reason for identifying him with the Tissa of the Mahâvaṁśa, and I do not admit that the Sâñchi evidence gives ground for accepting the Ceylonese statement that Aśôka's confessor was Tissa, the son of Moggali, in preference to the better authenticated statement that he was Upagupta, the son of Gupta.

Although no distinct epigraphic evidence of Upagupta's real existence has yet been discovered, the fact that **the words on the Rummindêî pillar,** *hida bhagavaṁ jâteti,* 'Here the Venerable One was born,' are identical with those ascribed by tradition to Upagupta as used at the same post, may be regarded as some epigraphic evidence in favour of the assumption that the legend in the Aśôkâvardâna has a historical basis. The words on the pillar, it will be observed, are in the form of a quotation, ending with the particle *iti.*

A great Buddhist saint named Upagupta certainly existed. A monastery at Mathurâ and sundry edifices in Sindh were associated with his name. (*Beal*, I. 182; II. 273.)

Hiuen Tsiang clearly believed that the Upagupta who instructed Aśôka was the famous saint associated with the traditions of Mathurâ and Sindh, and, the real existence of the saint Upagupta being admitted, we, too, are justified in believing that he was Aśôka's teacher.

If, then, there is **sufficient evidence to warrant the belief that the father-confessor of Aśôka was Upagupta, the son of Gupta,** he cannot possibly have been Tissa, the son of Moggali, and one more is added to the pile of facts showing the **untrustworthiness of the Ceylon chronicles for the Aśôka period and the early history of Buddhism.** There is no independent evidence of the existence of Tissa, the son of Moggali.

I observe that Lt.-Col. Waddell, like me, gives less credit to "the relatively vague and less trustworthy Ceylonese traditions" than to those current in Northern India and Tibet. My attitude towards the Ceylonese chroniclers has been criticized, but the more I examine their account of the early development of Buddhism, the more convinced I am of its untrustworthiness. The Ceylonese narrative seems to me to bear marks of deliberate invention, and not to be merely the result of unconscious mythological imagination.

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIITH CENTURY MS,

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.

(*Continued from p. 34.*)

CALICO.

Fol. 3. provideinge great quantities of **Muzlinge Callicoes &c.**

Fol. 27. as bailes of **Callicoes** or Silkes,

Fol. 31. Very Considerable quantities of these followinge Commodities are here [Pettipolee] wrought and Sold to fforaign Merchants vizt . . . . **Painted Callicos** of divers Sorts.

Fol. 37. Metchlipatam. Affordeth many very good and fine Commodities, vizt all Sorts **of fine Callicoes plaine and coloured.**

Fol. 40. Strained through a piece of **Calicoe** or what else yt is fine.

Fol. 49. This part of ye Countrey [Narsapore] affordeth plenty of divers Sorts of **Callicoes.**

Fol. 51. This Kingdome [Golcondah] amongst yͤ many Merchandizes it affordeth as all sorts of **Callicoes.**

Fol. 56. [On the Gingalee Coast] great Store of **Calicos** are made here Especially beteelis (wͨʰ wee call Muzlin).

Fol. 59. [Haraspoore] here are considerable quantities of **Callicoes** made and Sold to yͤ English and Dutch, but are first brought over land to them to their ffactories in Ballasore in yͤ bay of Bengala.

Fol. 61. This Kingdome [Bengala] most plentifully doth abound with . . . . **Callicoes** of Sundry Sorts.

Fol. 74. there are many [Bazars] where onely **Cotton course Callicoes** provisions &c: are to be Sold.

Fol. 77. in Exchange for . . . **Callicos.**

Fol. 131. all yͤ traffick wee have here [Janselone] is to trucke **Callicoes blew and white** . . . . for tinne.

Fol. 134. Two of yͤ Grandees of his Councill must alsoe be Piscashed wᵗʰ 6 pieces of **fine Callicoes** . . . . The most Proper and beneficiall Commodities wͨʰ are for this place [Janselone]: be **blew Callicoes** Vizᵗ Longecloth . . . . but 20 bailes of Chint and **Callicoes** is Enough for ½ a yeare for the whole countrey.

Fol. 157. The Chiefe Commodities brought hither [Achin] from Suratt: are Some Sorts of **Callicoes** vizᵗ Baftos.

Fol. 162. And there wee pay for yͤ Chopp 2 pieces of very **fine callicos** or Muzlinge.

Fol. 167. The present of fine **Callicoes** Cloth of Gold or what else is carried up in great State, Vpon Golden Vessels.

See Yule, *s. v.* Calico. [The above quotations are valuable as showing that in "calico" were included muslin, longcloth and chintz: in fact, it was a generic term for cotton cloth. See *ante*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 196.]

CAMPHOR.

Fol. 158. ffrom yͤ West Coast of this Jsland [Sumatra] Store of very Excellent Benjamin, **Camphir.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Camphor.

CANDAREEN.

Fol. 51. a rough Diamond that weyeth above 70 or 72 **Conderines** yͤ Exact weight of one Royal of 8 it must be for yͤ King's owne Vsͤ.

See Yule, *s. v.* Candareen. [This quotation is useful for the history of the word. *Vide ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 315 f.; Vol. XXVII. pp. 33 ff., 91 f.]

CANDY.

Fol. 53. The Vsuall Weights of this Coast [Choromandel] are yͤ **Candil** . . . A **Candil** Cont: 500 pound wᵗ Avordupois Or twenty Maunds.

See Yule, *s. v.* Candy. [See *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 245.]

CARERA.

Fol. 24. in my journey Anno Dom̃: 1672 from ffort S't Georg's toward Metchlipatam overland, I happened to stopp at a towne called **Careero.**

Not in Yule. [For this interesting name, see *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 349. It represents Karêda on the Madras Coast.]

CASH.

Fol. 53. ffort S't Georg's . . . **Cash** made of Coppar 80 make one fanam or 00*lb* 00*s* 03*d* . . . Pullicatt . . . 24 Coppar **Cash** make one fanam or 00 00 04¼ . . . Metchlipatam . . . . Coppar **Cash** Value each 00 00 01.

See Yule, *s. v.* Cash. [The quotation is useful for the history of the word. See *ante*, Vol. XXVII. p. 91.]

CASTE.

Fol. 7. alsoe they are Strictly forbidden to Eat or drinke Or dwell vnder ye same roofe wth any Save of theire Owne **Cast.**

Fol. 8. if they very circumspectly looke not to Every particular of their laws, they may come to be accompted ye vilest of men, and loose **their religion wch they call Cast** . . . . . . neither will he be admitted to Eat or drinke wth any of them if soe they all **loose theire Cast** that doe accompanie him in any Such actions . . . . . untill he hath **regained his cast.**

Fol. 13. wth a great number of men of his owne **Cast** . . . . Some to See fashions and Some to **regaine theire Cast.**

Fol. 18. There is another Sort of these Idolaters, who are accompted to be of **a higher Cast** (then ye Gentues be) these are called Banjans.

Fol. 19. Neither of these **Casts** drinke any manner of Liquor.

Fol. 27. there are another Sort of inhabitants about this [Choromandel] Coast that are ye Offscum of all ye rest they are called Parjars they are **of noe Cast whatever.**

Fol. 41. Resbutes are of **another Cast.**

Fol. 43. They [Gualas, bearers] are of **a Cast by themselvs**, worshipinge Stocks and Stones, and differ in many respects from ye rest of ye Idolaters, and liue amongst themselves.

Fol. 57. The Merchants as alsoe most tradesmen are of **the Gentue Cast.**

Fol. 85. of all Jdolaters in India ye Orixas are most jgnorant and are held by ye rest to be of **a lower Cast** then they in soe much that ye Others namely ye Gentues and Banjans will scarsely liue neare any of them, soe that they are as it were Seperated from any towns or Pagods of Note.

Fol. 93. [Ganges water and mud] sent as p'sents to ye great Merchants of ye **Banjan Cast** (in this Kingdome [Bengala]).

See Yule, *s. v.* Caste. [The above quotations exhibit the whole idea of "caste" as understood in the 17th century.]

CATAMARAN.

Fol. 27. When any great Ordinance, Anchors, butts of water or ye like ponderous ladeinge is carried off or on, they Seize 4 : 5 : or 6 large pieces of boyant timber togeather and this they call a **Cattamaran**; Vpon wch they can lade 3 or 4 tunns weight, when they goe on fishinge, they are ready with very Small Ones of ye like kind that will carry but 4 : 3 : 2 : or one man onely, and upon these Sad things they will boldly adventure [out] of Sight of ye Shore.

Fol. 28. their Massoolas and largest Sort of **Cattamarans** are built in this followinge forme.

See Yule, *s. v.* Catamaran. [See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 350.]

CAWNE.

Fol. 94. 16 Pone make 1 Cawne or 1280 : Cowries. 2 Cawne & ½ make 1 rupee or 3200 : Cowries.

Not in Yule. [The word is *kâhan*.]

CEYLON.

Fol. 38. The Kinge of Golcondah hath Severall Ships yt trade yearely to . . . . . **Ceylone.**

Fol. 77. annually trade to Sea, Some to **Ceylone** . . . . The Elephants of **Ceylone** are best Esteemed of here . . . . They are bought from ye Dutch (who have in a manner fortified ye Island **Ceylone** quite round).

Fol. 79. Hee found 5 Saile of Bengala Ships in ye roade newly arrived from **Ceylone.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Ceylon. [The quotations are useful for spelling.]

CHANK.

Fol. 91. many of them have ye Shackles on theire arms made of **Chanke,** a great Shell grought from Tutacree . . . . . the Shell is as bigge or bigger then a man's fist hollow and are Sawed into rings & soe worne by ye people of Orixa and Bengala: Some weare them white (theire Naturall colour) and Others will have them painted redd, but both are Esteemed highly as a rich Ornament.

See Yule, *s. v.* Chank. [This is a valuable quotation for description.]

CHEROOT.

Fol. 46. The poore Sort of Inhabitants vizt ye Gentues Mallabars &c: Smoke theire tobacco After a Very meane, but I Iudge Original manner, Onely ye leafe rowled up, and light one end, holdinge ye Other betweene their lips, and Smoke untill it is soe farre Consumed as to warme theire lips, and then heave ye End away, this is called a bunko, and by ye Portugals a **Cheroota.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Cheroot. [This is the earliest known quotation for this word.]

CHICACOLE.

Fol. 56. [Coast of Gingalee] Of wch Chicacol is ye most famous for large and Stately buildings.

Not in Yule.

CHIM CHAM.

Fol. 70. a great Banjan Merchant called **Chim Cham**: great broker to ye English East India Company . . . . Enquired who that was goinge by with Such a traine It was answered **Chim Cham** ye Banjan Merchant . . . **Chim Cham** Seemed Melancholy . . . . . Nay **Chim Cham**: Said ye Nabob: I am now well satisfied as to ye report I heard of yu.

Not in Yule. [A famous merchant of the 17th century dealing with Europeans and constantly mentioned in their letters and despatches. The name of the firm was probably Khêm Chand Chintâman.]

CHINTZ.

Fol. 37. Metchlipatam. Affordeth many very good and fine Commodities, vizt . . . . . divers Sorts of **Chint** curiously flowred, which doth much represent flowred Sattin, of Curious linely Colours.

Fol. 134. Two of ye Grandees of his Councill must alsoe be Piscashed wth 6 pieces of fine Callicoes or **Chint** each of them . . . ffine and course **Chint** of very Small flowrs . . . . . but 20 bailes of **Chint** and Callicoes is Enough for ½ a yeare for the whole countrey.

Fol. 158. are brought hither [Achin] . . . . fine **Chint** of Metchlipatam.

See Yule, *s. v.* Chintz. [*N. and E.* p. 17, for 22nd April, 1680, has "**Chints.**"]

CHOOLIA.

Fol. 141. buildinge houses . . . . wch were noe Sooner built but were giuen to one **Chulijar** or Other ye Radjas favourites.

Fol. 141. and in theire Stead he placed **Chulyars** . . . . whereupon ye Malayars and Syamers rose Vp in arms . . . and killed . . . . all ye Moors and **Chulyars** . . . . I judge they killed in this insurrection 70 or 75 Moors and **Chulyars.**

Fol. 142. The **Chulyars** are a People yt range into all Kingdoms and Countreys in Asia: and are a Subtle and Roguish people, of ye Mahometan Sect, but not very great Observers of many of his laws, theire Natiue land is Vpon ye Southermost parts of ye Choromandell Coast, Vizt Porto Novo: Pullicherrie: Negapatam: &c.

Fol. 144. Sold the goods to Sarajah Cawn: a **Chulyar** & chiefe Shabandar of Quedah: (and rogue Enough too) . . . . . . but got very little or noe Satisfaction, beinge outwitted by this Cunninge **Chulyar.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Choolia. [The above quotations are remarkable for the period and valuable for the history of the name and for the accuracy of the description of this class of adventurous Muhammadans from the East Coast of Madras.]

CHOP.

Fol. 54. he [the Governour] is Very ready to giue his **Chopp** wch **is Signet** by Vertue of wch he goeth very Safely to ye next Goverment and there tendered wth his **Chopp** and soe forward; it is **a Seale put upon his wrist in black** wch giues a durable impression not at once Easily washed off.

Fol. 93. ye water and Mudde of ye Ganges Sent from them [the Brachmans] wth theire **Choppe or Seale** Vpon it is accompted Sacred . . . . Sealed wth ye great Brachmans **Choppe** (Otherwise of noe Esteeme).

Fol. 161. She [the Queen of Achin] Sendeth downe to them her **Chopp** (i. e.) her **broad Seale**; and then it is granted according to theire request, if ye **Chopp** cometh not downe to them they must desist from ye businesse in hand, and mind Somethinge else. The **Chopp** is made of Silver 8 or 10 inches longe & like to a Mace wch openeth on ye topp where ye Signet is Enclosed. Before any fforaigner can land in this Port he must receiue this **Chopp,** and then hath he freedome to buy and Sell and land his goods at pleasure, the like must be done when he is almost ready to depart ye Countrey, by ye Master or Commander onely e'lse it is taken as a most grosse Affront . . . . and ye **Choppe** is made ready about 9 or 10 ye next morninge.

Fol. 162. And there wee pay for ye **Chopp** 2 pieces of very fine callicos or Muzlinge or 4 tailes in moneys vizt four pounds Sterlinge.

Fol. 163 . . . . noe Other duties are payable by any of ye English Nation Except ye **Chopp** in and out.

Fol. 164. to informe ye Officers there that wee are ready and want onely ye Queen's **Chopp.**

Fol. 166. onely once more he must goe to ye Custome house and there take ye **Chopp** for his departure.

See Yule, *s. v.* Chop.

[*N. and E.* p. 20, May 20th, 1680: "All goods (except planks and such bulky things of small vallue) goeing & comeing by sea must pass through the sea gate & there be searcht, examined and customed and being **chopt** with Red Inke P may pass out or in without

further question from any person." P. 23, 3rd June, 1680: "Measure or cause to be measured with such lawfull measures as shall have the Company's **chop** upon them all."

CHOULTRY.

Fol. 74. one of yͤ finest **Chowlteries** or free lodgeinge houses for all travellers that is contained in this Kingdome [Bengala].

See Yule, *s. v.* Choultry. [*N. and E.* has frequent references to the word in its sense of Court-house; see pp. 10, 21, 23 and 39, all for 1680. Carrying this essentially Madrasi word to Bengal in the text is curious.]

CHUNAM.

Fol. 163. then [cut] one betelee leafe or two . . . . and Spread a little **qualified lime** thereon wᶜʰ by them is called **Chenam.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Chunam.

COBANG.

Fol. 152. yͤ Coyne [of Queda] is good gold and in Small pieces & are called **Copans,** 3 of which Value one Royall of 8 or 4*s*: 6*d*: English. **4 Copans** is one mace . . . . Small Coppar moneys tinned over called Tarra: 96 of wᶜʰ make one **Copan.**

Not in Yule. [See *ante,* Vol. XXVII. p. 223; Vol. XXXI. p. 51 ff.]

COCHIN-CHINA.

Fol. 101. Great quantities of Muske brought from **Cochin-China** and China it selfe.

See Yule, *s. v.* Cochin-China. The spelling in the text is remarkable for the period.

COCKS ISLAND.

Fol. 91. The Riuer of Ganges is of large & wonderfull Extent: Once I went through a Small rivolet of it called Dobra: wᵗʰin yͤ **Jsle of Cocks.**

Fol. 95. neare yͤ mouth of yͤ Ganges, vpon my returne of a Voyadge to yͤ Maldivæ I lost 3 men by theire Salvagenesse. I sent them On Shore upon **Cocks Island** to cut wood well armed . . . . 3 were torne in pieces by yͤ Tygers vizᵗ two Moors and one Portugnees.

Not in Yule. [An island at the entrance of the Hugli River which has now absorbed into Saugor Island. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary,* Vol. III. p. 207.]

COCONUT.

Fol. 29. yͤ Groves consistinge of . . . . **Coco nut** trees.

Fol. 69. [Cuttack] adorned with . . . . delicate Groves of . . . **Coconutt** trees all very much adorneinge.

Fol. 134 f. doth often Send us henns ducks coconuts . . . . all the fruite this countrey [Janselone] affordeth is **Coconutt.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Coco.

COFFEE.

Fol. 45. drinke much **Coffee.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Coffee.

COIR.

Fol. 27. the boats they doe lade and Vnlade Ships or Vessels with . . . . Sowed togeather wᵗʰ **Cayre.**

Fol. 48. yͤ falls of 15 or 16 inch **Coyre** Cable.

Fol. 49. The Cables, Strapps &c: are made of **Cayre,** viz: y^e Rhine of Coco nuts very fine Spun, y^e best Sort of w^{ch} is brought from the Maldiva Isles . . . . y^e **Cayre** of y^e Maldiva grows Vpon a very brackish Soyle.

Fol. 77. y^e rest 6 or 7 yearly goe to y^e 12000 Islands called Maldiva to fetch cowries and **Cayre.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Coir. [It is used in the text in the sense of rope made from coconut husk. See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 399.]

COLOMBO.

Fol. 77. They are bought [in Ceylone] from y^e Dutch . . . in Gala or **Colomba.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Colombo. [The transition spelling in the text is valuable.]

COMBOY.

Fol. 134. **Cambayas** of 8 Covets longe Checkered wth blew and white wth red Striped heads and borders.

Fol. 158. ffrom Bengala . . . . . **Cambayas.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Comboy. [The quotations are valuable. *N. and E.* p. 16, 8th April 1680, has "about 20 peeces of **Cambayas.**"]

COMORIN, CAPE.

Fol. 91. Tutacree (a Dutch ffactorie neare y^e **Cape Comorin**).

See Yule, *s. v.* Comorin.

CONGEE.

Fol. 20. **Congye** w^{ch} is noe more then fresh Water boyled with a little rice in it.

Fol. 54. **Congy** w^{ch} is water boyled very well with Some rice in it.

See Yule, *s. v.* Congee: [Water in which rice has been boiled; invalid diet; slops: also a substitute for starch in stiffening cloth.] [*N. and E.* p. 18, 13th April, 1680: "The washers engage to wash, whiten, **conjee,** beat and well cure according to custom all callicoes and cloth at the rates following."]

CONICOPOLY.

Fol. 18. theire Secretaries are called **Conecopola's.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Conicopoly. In Madras, a clerk. [*N. and E.* pp. 21 and 27, has Cancoplys, and on p. 34 for 21st Sept. 1680 a very valuable quotation: "The Governour accompanyed with the Councell . . . . attended by six files of Soldyers . . . . the **Cancoplys** of the Towne and of the grounds, went the circuit of Madrass ground, which was described by the **Cancoply** of the grounds and lyes soe intermixed with others (as is customary in these Countrys) that 'tis impossible to be knowne to any others, therefore every village has a **Cancoply** and a Parryar who are imployed in this office which goes from Father to Son for ever."]

CONJAGUAREE, POINT.

Fol. 59. a very wild Open bay that Extendeth it selfe from **Point Conjaguaree** to Palmeris.

Not in Yule. [An undefined point near Point Palmyras, probably representing a form Kanhayyagaṛhî or Kaniâgaṛhî.]

CORINGA.

Fol. 2. It [the Choromandel Coast] Extendeth it Selfe to point Goodaware on y^e South Side of y^e bay **Corango.**

Fol. 56. Point or Cape Goodawaree the Entrance or South Side of yͤ bay **Corango** . . . . beinge a Very Secure Coast to harbour in namely in **Corango.**

Yule, *s. v.* Coringa, has no quotations.

COROMANDEL.

Fol. 2. The Extent of the **Choromandel** coast: This coast begineth at Negapatam . . . . It Extendeth it Selfe to point Goodaware on yͤ South Side of yͤ bay Corango. which by Computation is in length 400 English miles.

See Yule, *s. v.* Coromandel.

COSSA.

Fol. 101. ffrom Dacca: The Chiefe Commodities brought are **fine Cossas, commonly called Muzlinge.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Piece-goods. [The above is a valuable quotation. The word is *khâsâ*, a cotton cloth still used in India, softer than longcloth, and closer than muslin: between longcloth and muslin.]

COSSIM.

Fol. 92. **Cossumbazar** . . . . whence it receiued this name, **Cossum** signifieinge yͤ husband or Chiefe and Bazar a Markett.

Not in Yule. [This derivation of this once well-known name in Bengal is of course fanciful.]

COSSIMBAZAR.

Fol. 9. **Cossumbazar**: A Very famous and pleasant towne.

See Yule, *s. v.* Cossimbazar. See *ante*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 294.

COTWAL.

Fol. 90. Every thursday night repaire to yͤ Governours and **Cattwalls** i. e. the Justice of peace his house, before whom they doe and must dance and Singe.

See Yule, *s. v.* Cotwal. [The spelling is remarkable for the period.]

COUNTRY.

Fol. 35. yͤ Abundance of fish caught here for yͤ Supply of many **countrey** Cities and inland towns.

See Yule, *s. v.* Country. It means "Indian" as opposed to "European." [*N. and E.* has, p. 38 for 21st November 1680, "safe arrival in the Bay of the English ships, some **Country** ships being cast away."]

COVID.

Fol. 94. They measure . . . . Callicoes, Silks &c . . . . by yͤ **Covet** wᶜʰ contˢ 18 inches and is called hawt.

Fol. 134. Cambayas of 8 **covets** longe.

See Yule, *s. v.* Covid. [The *covid* is a cubit or ell.]

COWRY.

Fol. 77. yͤ rest 6 or 7 goe yearly to yͤ 12000: Islands called Maldiva to fetch **cowries.**

Fol. 86. cowries . . . . yͤ currant moneys of this Kingdome [Bengala] & Orixa: and Arackan . . . . **Cowries** . . . . . . are Small Shells brought from yͤ Islands of Malldiva: a great quantitie passe for one Rupee, not lesse then 3200.

Fol. 94. Theire Small moneys called **Cowries** being Small Shells taken out of y^e Sea, passe Very currant by tale . . . . They seldome rise or fall more then 2 Pone in one Rupee and y^t onely in Ballasore at y^e arrivall of the Ships from Ins: Maldivæ.

See Yule, *s. v.* Cowry. See *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 290 ff.; Vol. XXVIII. p. 170 ff.; Vol. XXIX. pp. 38, 41.

CREASE.

Fol. 160. Which soe enraged the Old bloody Tyrant that he drew his **Creest** and Stabbed his Son dead.

Fol. 176. and armed wth **Creest** and Lance.

See Yule, *s. v.* Crease, the Malay dagger or *kris.* [The form in the text may be compared with the spelling **Christ**! adopted by the 17th Century translater of La Loubère, though I have unfortunately mislaid the quotation.]

CUPINE.

Fol. 132. When wee have a considerable quantitie of these Smal pieces of tinne togeather [in Janselone] wee weigh wth Scales or Stylyard 52 pound w^t and $\frac{1}{2}$: and melt it in a Steele panne for y^e Purpose, and runne it into a mold of wood or clay: and that is an Exact **Cupine**: . . . . In any considerable quantitie of goods Sold togeather wee agree for soe many Baharre or soe many **Cupines.**

Not in Yule. Vide *ante*, Vol. XXXI. p. 51 ff.

CUTTACK.

Fol. 69. The Secound best Citty that is in this Kingdome [Bengala] is called **Cattack**: a very decent and more comely Citty then Dacca.

Fol. 71. The Old Nabob of **Cattack** beinge Sent for to the Court at Dacca.

Fol. 73. Some few days afterwards the Nabob rode through y^e towne of Ballasore in his greatest State, mounted upon a Very large Elephant, and thus proceeded towards the Citty **Cattack.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Cuttack.

DACCA.

Fol. 64. Hee fled to a Small Villadge Seated upon the banks of Ganges and thence to **Dacca** y^e Metropolitan of this Kingdome [Bengala].

Fol. 64. the Arackan Kinge Sends a parcell of Gylyars viz^t Gallys, well fitted and manned wth Arackaners and ffrangues who came through y^e Riuers to **Dacca.**

Fol. 65. Hee makes **Dacca** y^e Metropolitan beinge a fairer and Stronger Citty then Radja Mehal: the antient Metropolis.

Fol. 68. The Citty **Dacca** is a Very large spacious one, but standeth Vpon low marshy Swampy ground . . . . . haveinge a fine and large Riuer that runneth close by y^e walls thereof.

Fol. 69. The English and Dutch have each of them a ffactorie in the Citty of **Dacca.**

Fol. 73. up y^e Riuer of Ganges as high as **Dacca.**

Fol. 94. rupees, halfe rupees and quarters, a very good Sort of fine Silver moneys, Coyned in y^e Mint at **Dacca.**

Fol. 101. ffrom **Dacca**: The Chiefe Commodities brought are fine Cossas, commonly called Muzlinge.

See Yule, *s. v.* Dacca.

DAMMER.

Fol. 158. ffrom y^e W^t Coast of this Jsland [Sumatra] . . . . **Dammar** . . . . The **Dammar** of Sumatra is accompted and I know it by Experience to be better then any other in Jndia or South Seas, wee make all our pitch and Tarre w^th **Dammar** and Oyle as followeth. One third **dammar** and 2/3 Oyle, well boyled togeather, make very good tarre, but not Serviceable for any ropes, by reason of y^e Oyle. Again 2/3 **Dammar** and 1/3 Oyle make a Very Excellent Sort of pitch not inferiour to y^e best wee vse for our Shippinge in England. And indeed wee have noe Other Pitch or tarre in any of y^e Easterne parts of y^e knowne World.

See Yule, *s. v.* Dammer. See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 337.

DECCAN.

Fol. 62. Hee Sent . . . his third Son Aurenge-Zebe into **Decan.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Deccan.

DELHI.

Fol. 65. Much flyinge news arrived att Agra and **Delly.**

Fol. 67. hence was a Short answer y^t y^e treasure was as Safe in Dacca as in his owne Exchequer in Agra or **Delly.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Delhi. [It is a pity that Yule did not trace the rise of the *h* in Delhi, as it is not in the vernacular forms, nor in the old 17th century writers.]

DOBRA RIVER.

Fol. 91. The Riuer of Ganges is of large & wonderfull Extent: Once I went through a Small rivolet of rivolet of it called **Dobra** : w^th in y^e Jsle of Cocks.

Not in Yule. [It is almost impossible to trace this among the existing deltaic streams on the left bank of the Hugli, by Saugor Island.]

DIVI, POINT.

Fol. 31. Pettipolee . . . . lyeth to the SWard of Point **Due.**

Fol. 51. y^e River Kishna . . . . jssueth out Vpon Point **Due**, y^e Entrance of y^e Roade of Metchlipatam.

Not in Yule. [Well known to mariners of old as the Southern point of the Kistna estuary. *Vide ante*, Vol XXX. p. 392.]

DUBASH.

Fol. 24. my **Dubashee** whose name was Narsa asked me if I wold Stay to See a handsome younge Widdow burned.

Fol. 162. Some of y^e Custome-house Officers and commonly y^e English **Dubashee** . . . . . but in y^e interim y^e Shabandar & **Dubashee** . . . . . doth accompanie him and discourse most friendly.

Fol. 164. wee Send to y^e Custome house y^e English **Dubashee** to informe y^e Officers there that wee are ready.

See Yule, *s. v.* Dubash. [The quotations are good for the date and the form of the word. It meant an interpreter and mercantile broker.]

[*N. and E.* p. 20, for 25th May 1680: "bringing letters . . . . that Verona the **Dubass** was dead." P. 27, for 5th July 1680: "the wages of the Company's **Dubasses.**" P. 43, for 28th Dec. 1680: "Resolved to Tasheriff the seven Chief Merchants and **the Chief Dubass** upon New Years Day."]

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

HINDUISM IN THE HIMALAYAS.

BY H. A. ROSE.

I.

The Shrine of Balak Rupi, near Sujanpur in Kangra.

My informants are: — (1) Chuhrû, Brâhmaṇ Chêlâ (or disciple), (2) Lâlman Brâhmaṇ, (3) Nîm Nâth Jôgi,[1] (4) Bâsî Jôgî, (5) Darshnun Jôgî, and (6) Bisâkhû Jôgî, *jôgîs* of Bâlak Rûpî.

One Ganêshâ Brâhmaṇ, a *parôhit* of the Jaswâl Râjâs, gave up his office and took up his abode in Dhâr Bâlak Rûpî, whence he repaired to Har, where the temple of Bâbâ Bâlak Rûpî now stands. His grandson, Jôgû, when he was about 10 or 12 years old, one day went to his fields with a plough on his shoulder. In the jungle he met a young *gosâîn*, who asked him if he would serve him. Jôgû consented, whereupon the *gosâîn* instructed him not to tell anybody what had passed between them.[2]

Leaving the *gosâîn*, Jôgû went to the fields, where other men were working, and on his arrival there, began to dance involuntarily saying that he did not know where he had left his plough. The men rejoined that the plough was on his shoulder and asked what was the matter with him. Jôgû told them the whole story, but when he had finished telling it he became mad. Ganêshâ, his father, thereupon took some cotton-thread, and went to a *gosâîn*, by name Kanthar Nâth, who recited some *mantras*, blew on the thread, and told him to put it round the neck of Jôgû, who on wearing it was partially cured. Kanthar Nâth then advised Ganêshâ to take the lad to Bâbâ Lâl Pûrî, a good Mahâtmâ, who lived in the village of Ganyârâ Ganjhar, which he did. Lâl Pûrî let him depart, telling him that he would follow him. He also declared that the *gosâîn*, whom the mad lad had met, was Bâbâ Bâlak Rûpî, and that he had been afflicted because he had betrayed the Bâbâ. Ganêshâ went his way home, but Bâbâ Lâl Pûrî reached Har before him. Thereafter both Bâbâ Lâl Pûrî and Jôgî Kanthar Nâth began to search for Bâbâ Bâlak Rûpî.

At that time, on the site where Bâlak Rûpî's temple now stands, was a temple of Guggâ, and close to it was a rose-bush. Bâbâ Lâl Pûrî told Ganêshâ to cut down the bush and to dig beneath it. When he had dug to a depth of four or five cubits he discovered a flat-stone (*piṇḍî*) against which the spade, with which he was digging, struck (the mark caused by the stroke is still visible) and blood began to ooze from it till the whole pit was filled with blood. After a short time the blood stopped and milk began to flow out of it. Next came a stream of saffron which was followed by a flame (*jôt*) of incense (*dhûp*), and finally by a current of water. Bâbâ Lâl Pûrî said that all these were signs of Bâbâ Bâlak Rûpî. He then took the idol (*piṇḍî*) to the Nêôgal Nadi in order to bathe it, whereupon milk again began to issue from it. The idol was then taken back to its former place.

While on the way near Bhôchar Kund (a tank near the temple on the roadside) the idol by itself moved from the palanquin, in which it was being carried, and went into the tank. Bâbâ Lâl Pûrî and Kanthar Nâth recovered it and brought it back to the place where it had first appeared. During the night it was revealed to Bâbâ Lâl Pûrî in a vision that Guggâ's temple should be demolished and its remains cast into the Nêôgal Kund, or Nadî, or used in building a temple to Bâlak Rûpî on the same site.[3] Accordingly the idol was stationed on the place pointed out.[4] Bâbâ Lâl Pûrî said that Jôgû's eldest son and his descendants would have the right to worship the idol, while the out-door duties would be performed by Kanthar Jôgî's descendants. At that time Sasrâm Chand Katôch was the Râjâ of this territory.

First of all Râjâ Abhî Chand made a vow at the temple of Bâbâ Bâlak Rûpî in order that he might be blessed with a son. When he begot a child, the Bâbâ began to be resorted to more eagerly.

A Râjpût girl was once told by her brother's wife to graze cattle, and on her refusing, the latter said: — 'Yes, it is below your dignity to graze cattle because you are a Râṇî; be sure you will not be married to a Râjâ.' The girl in distress at the remark untied the cattle and led them to jungle. At that time Bâbâ Bâlak Rûpî had again become manifest. The girl supplicated him and said that she would not believe him to

[1] Nîm Nâth, or lord of the *nîm* tree. The names of Jôgîs will repay investigation.

[2] *Cf.* the story of Birag Lok, *infrâ*.

[3] Does this mean that the cult of Bâlak Rûpî is, or was, hostile to that of Guggâ? Has the latter cult been displaced elsewhere by that of a Sidh?

[4] This looks like Śiva worship. Is Bâlak Rûpî to be considered an incarnation of Śiva?

be really Bâlak Rûpî unless she married a Râjâ, adding that if her desire were fulfilled she would offer a bullock[5] of copper at his temple. Five or seven days had not elapsed when a Râjâ of the Katôch dynasty chanced to pass where the girl was herding cattle, and seeing the girl, he ordered her to be taken to his seraglio, where he married her. Unfortunately the girl forgot to fulfil her vow, and so a short time after all the Rânîs in the seraglio began to nod their heads (*khêlnâ*,[6] as if under the influence of a spirit), and continued doing so day and night. The Râjâ summoned all the *sâdhus* and *chêlâs*. One of the latter said that the cause of the Rânîs' being possessed by spirits was that a vow to Bâbâ Bâlak Rûpî had not been fulfilled. The Râjâ replied that if all the Rânîs recovered he would take all his family to the temple and present the promised offering. The *chêlâ* then prepared a thread in the name of the Bâbâ, and this was put round the necks of the persons possessed, who recovered. Thereafter a bullock was made of copper, and the Râjâ also erected a temple. When the bullock was offered (*jêb-dan*), the artist who had made it died forthwith.[7]

Whenever any misfortune is to befall the family of the Katôch Râjâs, the copper bullock is affected as if by fear. This occurred on the 29th of Har Sambat 1902, and His Highness Râjâ Partâb Chand died on the 15th of Sâwan in that year. On that day Bâbâ Bâlak Pûrî's idol also perspired. It is for these reasons that the bullock is worshipped and vows are made to it. The *jâtris* (offerers) who make vows at the temple of the bullock, offer on the fulfilment of their desires *jôpu tôpu* and *bêtnâ*,[8] and rub the bullock with the offering. They also put a bell round his neck. These offerings are taken by the *jôgî* on duty, there being several *jôgîs* who attend by turn.

Four fairs, taking eight days, are held in honour of Bâlak Rûpî on every Saturday in Jêṭh and Hâr. Those who have vowed to offer living he-goats present them alive, while those who had vowed to kill he-goats slaughter them at a fixed place within the temple precincts. The head, fore-legs, and skin are given to the *jôgî* on duty, and some rice and a pice are also paid to him *as compensation for ancestor-worship*.[9] The he-goats that are brought to be slaughtered there are killed at Nêogal Kund, and cooked and eaten at the same place. Sometimes they take the cooked meat home and distribute it as a holy thing.

The ceremony of *jamwâlâ*[10] (or shaving the hair of a child for the first time) is usually performed in the temple of Bâlak Rûpî, and the hair is thereupon offered at the temple, or those who observe the ceremony at home often come to the temple and offer the hair. An additional present, the amount of which varies from two pice to the sum that one's means allow, is also made. All these offerings are taken by the *jôgî* on duty. The *jâtris* who make offerings (*e. g.*, a *human* being, *i. e.*, a child or a buffalo, cow, horse, etc., according to their vows,[11] give it, if an animal, to the *jôgî* on duty, while in the case of a child its price is paid to the *jôgî* and the infant is taken back. Besides, cash, curds, umbrellas, cocoanuts, and *ghî* are also offered. These offerings are preserved in the *bhandâr* (store-house).

The people living in the vicinity of the temple, within 15 or 20 *kôs* distance, do not eat any fresh corn (termed *nawan*, literally meaning 'new') unless they have offered it at Bâlak Pûrî's temple.[12]

II.

The Shrine of Bawa Baroh Mahadeo, near Jawala Mukhi.

The real history of the Bâwâ is not known, but the story goes that under a *banyân* or *baṛî* tree (whence the name *Baṛôh*) appeared an idol of stone still to be seen in Danâyâ, by name Kâlî Nâth, whose merits Bâwâ Lâl Pûrî preached. In *St.* 1740 Dhiân Singh, Wazîr of Gôlêr, was imprisoned at Kôtlâ and a soldier at the Fort, a native of Danâyâ, persuaded him to make a vow to Bâwâ Baṛôh, in consequence of which he was released. The *wazîr*, however, forgot his vow and so fell ill until he made a large pecuniary offering to the shrine. In this year the small old temple was replaced by the present larger one under Bâbâ Bal Pûrî. The *gôsaîns* in charge have been: — (1) Bal Pûrî — Shib Pûrî, *gur-bhâîs*; (2) Sukh Pûrî, died *St.* 1938; (3) Dêo Pûrî.

[5] *Bail* in the Vernacular. Again, this looks like the bull of Siva.

[6] Can anyone explain this use of *khêlnâ* (*khêḍnâ*) for demoniacal possession?

[7] Parallels are wanted. [There is something very like this in the legends relating to the erection of the colossal Jain figures at Belgula: *vide ante*, Devil-worship of the Tuluvas, stories of Kalkuḍa and Kallurti. — ED.]

[8] Not traceable in Dictionaries.

[9] What does 'compensation for ancestor-worship' mean.

[10] Why so called? *jandîân* is the usual term.

[11] Under what circumstances is a child vowed to Bâlak Rûpî?

[12] An instance of first-fruits offered to the god.

The followers of Bâwâ Baṛôh keep a *jhôlî*[13] (cloth bag), an iron chain, *kharwan* (sandals), and a *chôlî* or shirt, in their houses.

Grain is usually offered at the shrine, with flour, *ghî* and *gur* for the bullock (there appears to be an image of a bullock also). If a he-goat is sacrificed, the skin and a hind-leg are offered up, the rest being eaten by the *jâtri* on his way home.

Sometimes a *kudnû*, or living he-goat, is offered, as the substitute for a life in case of sickness, or by one who is childless. Women can enter the shrine.

III.

The Shrine of Birag Lok, near Palampur.

The founder of the shrine, when a boy, once, when herding cattle, met a *gosâîṅ*, who told him never to disclose the fact of their friendship or he would no longer remain in his place. Keeping the secret however made him ill, and so at last he told his parents all about the *gosâîṅ*.[14] They gave him *sattu* for the holy man, but when about to cook it, the boy complained that he had no water, whereupon the *gosâîṅ* struck the ground with his *gajâ* (an iron stick) and a spring appeared, which still exists. The *gosâîṅ* did not eat the food, saying his hunger was satisfied by its smell. The boy then caught the *gosâîṅ* by the arm, upon which the latter struck him with his hand and turned him into stone.

A few days later a Bhâṭ Brâhmaṇ became possessed and saw all that had occurred. So a temple was erected and the place called Birâg (Gosâîṅ) Lôk (corrupted from *âlop*, disappearance). As Birâg Lôk had been a herdsman he became peculiarly the god of cattle and fulfils vows made regarding cattle. The fair is on Har 3rd. He-goats and corn are offered. In this Sidh-temple there is also an image of Gôrakhnâth, placed therein by a Golêriâ Mîâṅ in the Sikh times. The stone idol of the boy has disappeared. The followers of the shrine regard the *gosâîṅ* as Gôrakhnâth himself. The keepers of the shrine are (Gir) Gosâîṅs and Bhâṭ Brâhmaṇs.

IV.

Bawa Fathu's Shrine, near Raniwal.

300 years ago a Brâhmaṇ of the Bhâri *ilâqa* in Râwalpindi District asked Bêdî Bâwâ Parjâpati for a charm, as his children had all died, and vowed to give his first-born to him. The Brâhmaṇ had five sons, but failed to keep his word, so two of them died. Thereupon he brought one of his sons, Fathû, to the Bêdî who kept him with him. So Bâwâ Fathû became a *sâdhu*, and people began to pay him visits.[15] The Brâhmaṇs of the shrine are descendants of Bâwâ Parjâpati, a Bhagat of Guru Nânak. The fair is held on 1st Baisâkh.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ÇIVA SAVED BY A SPIDER ON HIS FLIGHT.

(A Query by Prof. Ludwig.)

VEMANA (the Telingana poet; age?) alludes to such a story in his *Padyamulu* (Book III., strophe 159):—

pura Harunaku nêta purugu tâ nêrina
sthiramu galgu jñânajîvama' yye
nêtakĕ mivacce? nijabhakti hêtuvu,

"formerly for Hara('s benefit) a web the spider himself weaving, permanent-become knowledge-soul obtained having (having obtained a soul endowed with true knowledge) — for the weaving what came (what of this reward was the quota for the weaving)? (nothing; for) true (inborn) faith (or devotion) (alone was) the motive (for the reward)."

An analogous story is told about an escape by Robert Bruce, and I am informed likewise of King David in a *Midraš*, *viz.*, that he was saved by the intervention of a spider, which spread its net across the opening of a cavern, where he had sought and found a temporary refuge. In neither of these two instances I am able to furnish the exact references, although the facts themselves are well known.

Although it is pity to risk that future fugitives may fail to derive advantage from well-intentioned spiders by giving greater publicity to these stories, it would be interesting to learn whether the story about Çiva is of exclusively South Indian origin or is known in the North or any other part of India also. I do not remember to have met with it in the course of a tolerably extensive reading.

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[13] These usages point to some ceremony of initiation. The followers of the god have the devotee's *jhôlî*, but the meaning of the iron chain, etc., is obscure.

[14] These stories point to some allegorical meaning underlying the popular legend. The *gosâîṅ* is said to be Gôrakhnâth himself. Can anyone say what is the belief underlying these legends?

[15] An instance of worship being transferred from the god of the shrine to a person vowed to him and so made holy or accurst.

BOOK-NOTICE.

CÂNDRA-VYÂKARAṆA: DIE GRAMMATIK DES CANDRAGOMIN. SÛTRA, UṆÂDI, DHÂTUPÂṬHA. Edited by DR. BRUNO LIEBICH. Brockhaus. Leipzig, 1902.

THE foundations of the scientific study of the native system of Sanskrit grammar having been laid by Böhtlingk in his two editions of Pâṇini and by Kielhorn in his monumental edition of the *Mahâbhâshya*, the *paramparâ* of researches in this field is being worthily continued by the latter scholar's pupil, Prof. Liebich, of the University of Breslau, himself long well-known by his writings on Pâṇini and the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti.* He has in the volume now before us produced a valuable critical edition of the most important parts of the system of the Buddhist Sanskrit grammarian Chandragômin. This grammar, though not belonging to the Pâninean system, is yet of historical value in connexion with that system, since Sûtras of Chandra which have no parallel in Pâṇini and Patanjali, are borrowed, in a modified or unmodified form, by the authors of the Kâśikâ Vṛitti, but always without any acknowledgment of the source (*e. g.*, *Chândra Sûtra* III, ii, 61 in K. V. IV, ii, 138 and IV, iv, 72-73 in K. V. V, iv, 75). Hence Prof. Liebich's edition of Chandragômin is a necessary preliminary step towards the elucidation of several passages in the present text of the *Kâśikâ*. Sanskritists will look forward to the critical edition of the latter commentary which Prof. Liebich intends to bring out later on.

The expectation that MSS. of Chandragômin's grammar might turn up in a Buddhist country like Ceylon, has never been fulfilled. But the work was at one time undoubtedly known there; for an elementary Sanskrit grammar entitled *Bâlâvabôdhana*, which is an abstract of Chandra written about 1200 A. D. by a Buddhist monk in Ceylon, has been preserved (published at Colombo in 1895).

In Kashmir, which was probably the native country of Chandragômin, nothing beyond a single leaf containing the *varṇa-sûtras*, or phonology, and the *paribhâshâ-sûtras*, or rules of interpretation, belonging to this grammarian's system, has been brought to light. This fragment, though so small in extent, has, however, proved of critical value in connexion with the texts subsequently discovered.

On the other hand, Nepal, that small country to which we owe the preservation of so many works of Buddhistic Sanskrit literature, has yielded, after persistent search, MSS. of all the most important treatises connected with Chandra's grammar. These and several subsidiary texts and commentaries, comprising altogether twenty works (briefly described in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1896, pp. 103-5), are all preserved in the Tibetan translations made between 700 and 900 A. D., and contained in the *Tanjur*. These accurate translations are of the utmost value to the editors of the corresponding Sanskrit texts.

The main part of Prof. Liebich's edition consists of the *Sûtra* of the grammar itself (pp. 1-139). This is preceded by the *Dhâtupâṭha* (pp. 1*-34*), to which is added a transliterated list of the roots in alphabetical order (pp. 35*-47*). Judging by the pagination, this part of the volume was added after the rest had been printed. The third part is formed by the *Uṇâdi-Sûtra* (pp. 140-171), to which is appended a transliterated alphabetical list of the Uṇâdi words (pp. 172-181). The volume concludes with an index to the grammatical and the Uṇâdi Sûtras combined (pp. 182-235). There is a short preface of four pages dealing chiefly with the MS. material used by the editor. A long introduction was unnecessary after the author's extensive article on the *Chândra-vyâkaraṇa* in the *Göttinger Nachrichten* for 1895 (pp. 272-321), and his contribution to the *Vienna Oriental Journal* for 1899 on the date of Chandragômin (pp. 308-315). His chronological argument, in the latter article, is based on a happy and convincing conjectural emendation of a sentence occurring in his MS. of the *Chandra-vṛitti*, a commentary on the *Chândra-sûtra*, which he believes Chandragômin himself to have composed, though he reserves the proof of this belief for a future occasion. The sentence in question, *ajayad Guptô Hûṇân iti*, is employed as an illustration of the use of the imperfect to express that an event occurred within the lifetime of the speaker. Now the event here spoken of can only refer to the temporary defeat of the Hûṇas by Skandagupta soon after 465 A. D., or to their final expulsion, in the year 544 A. D., by Yaśôdharman. The author of the Chandra-vṛitti must therefore have flourished either about 480 or 550 A. D., the former date being the more probable according to Prof. Liebich's showing. Even if the foregoing argument were to be set aside, the date of Chandragômin's grammar could not be later than 600 A. D., as it was known to the authors of the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti.*

The grammatical Sûtras, which number about 3,100, are printed separately, each line containing but one Sûtra together with the reference to the

corresponding passage in Pâṇini, the *Mahâbhâshya*, or the *Kâśikâ*, when such exist. The whole work is divided into six books (each subdivided into four *pâdas*), which correspond to the last six of Pâṇini, the contents of the latter's first two books being scattered over various parts of Chandra's grammar. The first thirteen Sûtras are identical with Pâṇini's fourteen *Śiva Sûtras*, the only variation being, that the fifth and sixth of Pâṇini — *hayavaraṭ laṇ* — are here run into one : *hayavaralaṇ*. The degree of correspondence between Chandra's sûtras and Pâṇini's varies. There is sometimes complete identity; *e. g.*, *upamânâd âchârê* (I, i, 25 = P. III, i, 10). Occasionally the sûtras differ in the order of the words only, as *śid anêkâl sarvasya* (I, i, 12) = *anêkâl śit sarvasya* (P. I, i, 55). The agreement in many cases is only partial; for instance, *shashṭhyântyasya* (I, i, 10) = *alô 'ntyasya* (P. I, i, 52). The identity is, lastly, often restricted to the matter, as *ṛikô 'ṇô ralau* (I, i, 15) = *ur aṇ raparaḥ* (P. I, i, 51). Chandra's new material, amounting apparently to about 35 Sûtras, has for the most part been incorporated in the *Kâśikâ*.

The commentary on this Sûtra, the Chandravṛitti already referred to, is no doubt the most important text of the whole system. Corresponding in style and treatment of the subject-matter to the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti*, it will most probably render important help in emending the corrupt passages of the printed text of the latter commentary. It is therefore to be hoped that Prof. Liebich will before long publish the complete text of this valuable work also. In the meantime, he has in the present volume given extracts from it, in the form of notes to those portions of Chandra's sûtra which have no parallel in the Pâninean system.

Prof. Liebich's text of the *Dhâtupâṭha-sûtra* is based on a Cambridge MS. (dated A.D. 1356) and on one of the three recensions of the work in the Tibetan *Tanjur* (No. 3724). That recension he regards as containing the purest form of the *Dhâtupaṭha* of the Chândra system (see *Gött. Nachrichten*, p. 304). The number of roots enumerated in that recension is 1,659, while that in Liebich's text is, according to my reckoning, hardly 1,600. It would be interesting to have this discrepancy explained. The Sûtras are here printed in two columns to the page, the number of the corresponding root in Böhtlingk's *Dhâtupâṭha* (contained in his edition of Pâṇini, 1887) being added in each case. In matter, Chandra agrees here pretty closely with Pâṇini, the roots being similarly divided according to the ten classes. The arrangement of the verbs within the classes is, however, different, Chandra grouping them according to the voices of the verb. Thus in the second or *ad-âdi* class we have first 36 Parasmaipada verbs (called *ataṅânâḥ*), then 19 Âtmanêpada ones (*taṅâninaḥ*), and lastly seven conjugated in both voices (*vibhâshitâḥ*).

Prof. Liebich points out the interesting fact that the Dhâtupâtha of the Kâtantra Grammar is in reality that of the Chândra system as modified by Durgasiṁha, the well-known commentator of the *Kâtantra*. This modified *Chândra Dhâtupâṭha* is No. 3727 in the *Tanjur*. The genuine *Dhâtupâṭha* of the *Kâtantra* is also preserved in the Tibetan version as No. 3723 in the same encyclopædic collection, but the original Sanskrit text appears to have been lost.

Prof. Liebich has constituted the text of the *Uṇâdi-sûtra* from two incomplete Nepalese Sanskrit MSS. of the *Uṇâdisûtra-vṛitti*. One of these MSS. contains, in this commentary, all the Sûtras, except the last fifteen, of the first two books, while the second MS. has preserved the whole of the third book except the first six Sûtras. Fortunately the missing twenty-one Sûtras can be restored with certainty from the very faithful Tibetan version of the *Tanjur*.

Chandragômin disposes the *Uṇâdi* words in his three books independently of Pâṇini, the suffixes being arranged by him according to their final letter; he also frequently derives the words in a different way. Owing to the great divergencies in this case, Prof. Liebich has not thought it worth while to refer to the parallel sûtras of the Pâninean system. He has, instead, added after each sûtra the complete *Uṇâdi* word and its paraphrase from the commentary. Thus the Sûtra III, 105, *vaśeḥ suṭ cha*, is followed by the derived and explanatory words *vakshaḥ : krôḍaḥ*. The Tibetan version retains the Sanskrit synonym intact, but adds to it the Tibetan translation.

Prof. Liebich is to be congratulated on his thoroughly accurate and scholarly publication, which not only marks in itself an advance in our knowledge of the intricate systems of native grammar, but is also a stepping-stone to further advance in the subject. His work should also be specially welcomed by Indian Sanskritists, to whom the study of the native grammar is a peculiarly interesting and important branch of Sanskrit learning. The employment of German being almost entirely limited to the brief preface, a knowledge of that language can be dispensed with for the perusal of the book.

A. A. MACDONELL.

Oxford, March 10th, 1903.

NOTES ON THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

BY SYLVAIN LÉVI.

Extracted and rendered into English, with the author's permission, from the "Journal Asiatique," July-Dec., 1896, pp. 444 to 484, and Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 5 to 42,
by W. R. PHILIPPS.

THERE were published not long ago by M. Sylvain Lévi, in the *Journal Asiatique*, some interesting Notes on the Indo-Scythians, in connection with the question of the date of Kanishka and other points of early Indian history. Some people may differ from M. Lévi's conclusions; and others may think that he has not carried them quite far enough. No one, however, can fail to admire the thorough and lucid manner in which he has dealt with his subject, and to appreciate the value of the matter which he has laid before us. And an English rendering of these Notes will be acceptable and useful to students to whom the Notes themselves may not be accessible in the original. The object of this paper and its continuations is to supply what is necessary in that direction. Space has rendered some abridgment unavoidable; and, as the result, an abstract has mostly to be offered, instead of a full translation. But all the leading features of these Notes are, it is believed, brought to the front. M. Lévi has kindly looked through a proof of the English rendering, and has made some corrections in details, and has added some supplementary information.

M. Lévi's Notes are divided as follows : —

Part I. — *Journal Asiatique*, July-Dec., 1896, pp. 444 to 484. — **Stories.**

Part II. — *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 5 to 26. — **Historical Texts.**

Part III. — *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 27 to 42. — **St. Thomas, Gondophares, and Mazdeo.**

M. Lévi's spellings of Chinese names and words are followed, but the Indian ones have been altered so as to be in harmony with the system of transliteration generally observed in the *Indian Antiquary*. Chinese characters, where they appear in the original, have necessarily been omitted. The figures in thick type in square brackets mark the pages of the original, to facilitate reference if it should be desired to follow up more fully any particular points.

PART I. — STORIES.

[444] In the traditions of Northern Buddhism, the name of Kanishka has been surrounded with a halo, but in literature we find little information about the history or legend of this king. According to the Chronicle of Kashmir he was the founder of a town, Kanishkapura, and of several religious buildings, monasteries or temples (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. Stein, I, 168 *seq.*). The Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-tsang relates the miraculous circumstances of his conversion, predicted by the Buddha, his pious zeal, the convocation of the last council during his reign, and mentions several times the vast extent of his dominions and the fame of his power (*Vie* (I.), 84, 95: *Mémoires* (II.), 42, 106, 113, 172, 199). The Tibetan Tāranātha also relates the meeting of a great religious assembly and the prosperity of Buddhism in his reign; but expressly distinguishes him from another prince of almost the same name, whom he calls **[445]** Kanika (Schiefner's translation, 2, 58, 89). Coins and epigraphy have partly corrected and completed these data, and shewn the strange syncretism of this Turkī king, who borrowed his gods and formulas pell-mell from China and from Iran, from Greek sources and from India. Nevertheless we do not know much about him; we can, however, get a little additional light from some of the stories preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. M. Lévi takes these tales from **three works**, which, though of Indian origin, no longer exist in Sanskṛit. They are the Sūtrālaṁkāra, the Saṁyukta-ratna-piṭaka, and the Dharma-piṭaka-nidāna-sūtra (?).

The **Sūtrālaṁkāra-śāstra** (*Ta-tchoang-ien-king-lun* ; Nanjio, 1182) purports to be by the Bōdhisattva Aśvaghōsha (*Ma-ming Pou-sa*). The Chinese translation was made by the famous Kumārajīva, under the later Ts'in dynasty, about 405 A.D. Beal, in *Buddhist Chinese Literature* (31, 101, 105), pointed out the value and interest of the work, and gave long extracts from it.[1] It is a collection of stories, intended to illustrate the Buddha's word. A short sentence [446] from the sūtras serves as text for each. The work is worthy of the great teacher, whom the Chinese authorities unanimously name as its author. The vivid and vigorous style, the variety of information, the frequent allusions to Brahmanical legends, and the aggressive controversial tone, all shew it to be by the author of the Buddha-charita and Vajra-sūchī. The discovery of the original would restore a gem to Sanskrit literature, but even in its Chinese form, it is one of the happiest productions of Buddhism.

The **Saṁyukta-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra** (*Tsa-pao-ts'ang king* ; Nanjio, 1329) is an anonymous collection of 121 avadānas in ten chapters. It was translated into Chinese by the two śramaṇas Ki-kia-ye and T'an-iao, under the dynasty of the Northern Wei, in A. D. 472. Beal in his catalogue (85 *seq.*) translated the final story ; he also called attention to the two stories in which the king Tchen-t'an Ki-ni-tch'a figures. Beal, however, made this name into Chandan Kanika, without recognising the title or the person, and consequently he did not extract the information to be found in the story (*The date of Nâgârjuna Bōdhisattva, I. A.*, XV. 353, 356). The Chinese translators are no doubt responsible for the difficulties of their style : but the clumsiness, roughness and confusion of the composition must be due to the Sanskrit author. Sometimes he mutilates his [447] legends : sometimes he runs into verbiage and prolixity.

The **Śrī-Dharma-piṭaka-nidāna-sūtra** (? *Fou-fa-ts'ang-in-iuen-king* ; Nanjio, 1340) is an anonymous history of the twenty-three patriarchs from Mahā-Kāśyapa to Siṁha. As in the case of the Saṁyukta-ratna-piṭaka, the Chinese translation is by the same Ki-kia-ye and T'an-iao, and of the same date, A. D. 472. The stories from this work which are translated or given in resumé further on, form a biography of Aśvaghōsha. The greater part has been reproduced, hardly altered, and most often simply copied, in the *Fo-tsou-t'oung-ki* (Nanjio, 1661) or Buddhist history composed by Tche-p'an in the 13th century (biography of Aśvaghōsha in Chapter V.). Tche-p'an's text confirms the text of the *Fou-fa-ts'ang-in-iuen*, but does not elucidate it.

The traditional details set forth by the story-tellers are briefly as follows : — The Dēvaputra king Kanishka, a Kushaṇa by race, reigned over the Yue-tchi, seven hundred years after the Nirvāṇa ; he had two eminent ministers, Dēvadharma and Māṭhara. The bōdhisattva Aśvaghōsha was his spiritual counsellor ; the famous physician Charaka attended him. He was a zealous Buddhist, but on one occasion he mistook a Jain stūpa for a Buddhist one : [448] he rode to Kashmir to venerate the arhat K'i-ye-to (perhaps Tcheu-ye-to), also named Dharmamitra, who had expelled the Nāgarāja Alina from that country. He was master of the South, and when the king of the Parthians wished to close the West to him, Kanishka triumphed over him. The king of Pāṭaliputra was the suzerain of Eastern India, but, vanquished by the Yue-tchi, he had to buy peace with nine hundred thousand pieces of gold : to pay off this heavy ransom he gave his conqueror the Buddha's bowl, Aśvaghōsha, and a miraculous cock. Only the north was still unsubdued : Kanishka organised a great expedition, and got as far as the passes of Ts'oung-ling ; but he let out his projects of conquest too soon, and his people, tired of always waging war, smothered him, when he was lying ill. To stop his sufferings in

[1] In a footnote M. Lévi remarks that Beal's translations should be accepted with much reserve, especially as to his restitutions of Sanskrit words. Thus he turns *wei-che* into *Vyāsa*, instead of *Vaiśeshika*, *jou-to* (*tzeu*) into *Jyōtisha*, instead of *Jñāta-putra*, and *Fou-kie-la* (*wei*) into *Bactres*, instead of *Pushkalavatī*. M. Lévi intended in another article to publish several stories from the Sūtrālaṁkāra, and to point out the corrections to be made in Beal. — M Lévi now informs us that one of his pupils has prepared a complete translation of the Sūtrālaṁkāra, which is finished and will be published next year.

the next world on account of the blood he had spilt, the monks in a convent rang the bell continuously for seven days, and this practice was kept up for many years after Kanishka's death, and till the time of the narrator. Lastly, a town in India bore the name of this prince: Kanishkapura.

If we compare the stories with other documents we find some of these data confirmed: we are therefore led to think favourably of the rest. Kanishka, by the inscriptions, was certainly a Kushaṇa, and had the title of dēvaputra; the Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions the foundation of Kanishkapura [449] by him. Hiouen-tsang knew of Kanishka's conquests west of China, and speaks several times of the Chinese princes detained as hostages at his court; he even expressly names the Tsoung-ling mountains as the eastern limit of his dominions. The relations between Kanishka and Aśvaghōsha were an embarrassment to Tāranātha; his chronological system obliged him to separate the two persons, and he had to invent a king Kanika, contemporary with Aśvaghōsha, one "whom we must consider as a different person from Kanishka." According to Tāranātha, the king Kanika sent a messenger to the country of Magadha to fetch Aśvaghōsha, who excused himself on account of old age, but sent the king a letter of instruction by his disciple Jñānapriya.[2] The Chinese biography of Aśvaghōsha (*Ma-ming pou-sa-tchoen*; Nanjio, 1460), abridged by Wassilieff (*Buddhismus*, 211), relates that the king of the Yue-tchi invaded Magadha to demand the Buddha's bowl and Aśvaghōsha,[3] but it does not give the invader's name. Wassilieff (*Notes sur Tāranātha*, trans. Schiefner, 299) thinks Kanishka's son is meant. This would be the king of the Yue-tchi, Jen-kao-tchin, son of Kieou-tsieu-kio, called the conqueror of India in the annals of the second Han dynasty.

[450] When we have so many testimonies, and even their differences bear witness to the original agreement of the traditions, we may legitimately admit **Kanishka and Aśvaghōsha** to be contemporaries.[4] The date of one ought to fix the date of the other. The current opinion, based on Fergusson and Oldenberg's theories, [451] takes Kanishka's coronation as the starting-point of the 'Saka era in 78 A. D. M. Lévi had previously expressed his doubt on this point; and returns to it afterwards, as will be seen in Part II. Meanwhile he observes that Western Indologists can excuse the disagreement of their chronologies by the contradictions of the Indian

[2] The letter is preserved in the Tibetan Canon, Tandjour, Mdo. xxxiii: *Rgyal-po Kanishka-la sprins pa'i phrin-yig.* The work belongs no doubt to the same literary class as the Suhṛillēkhā of Nāgārjuna and the Sishyalēkhā of Chandragōmin. Tāranātha's account is reproduced in *King Kanishka and some historical facts . . . . translated from Sumpáhi C'hoijûng : Journal of the Buddhist Texts Society of India*, I. 18-22. — [For the Tibetan text, and a translation by Mr. Thomas, of the Mahārājakanikalēkhā, the letter of Mātṛichēṭa-(Aśvaghōsha) to king Kanika, see page 345 ff. above. — W. R. P.]

[3] M. Lévi has here added a note, as follows: — We may observe that in the time of Hiouen-tsang and Harsha-Śilāditya, in the course of the seventh century, Kumāra, the king of Kāmarūpa, threatened both to invade the territory of Nālanda at the head of an army and to annihilate the convent, if the chief of the monks, Śīlabhadra, delayed to send to him the Chinese pilgrim who had installed himself for purposes of study at that great Buddhist university.

[4] Such synchronisms should not be despised. As they become more numerous they control each other, and fix the floating lines of history. The famous inscription on the Lion-Pillar at Mathurā (*J. R. A. S.*, 1894, 525-540) mentions, together with the satraps, two Buddhist-teachers who can be identified with sufficient probability.

Inscription K. is cut in honour of the āchārya Buddhadēva. A personage of this name, styled as mahābhadanta, is reckoned among the four great āchāryas of the Vaibhāshika school, with Dharmatrāta Ghōshaka (who has the characteristic surname Tukhāra; *cf. inf.* 2nd art.) and Vasumitra (Tāranātha, p. 67). Ghōshaka and Vasumitra taught in the time of Kanishka and his successor (*ibid.* 61); Buddhadēva belonged to the generation immediately after these two teachers, just before Nāgārjuna (*ibid.* 69). The traditional list of the patriarchs (Nanjio, 1340), on the other hand, puts the interval of a generation between Aśvaghōsha (Kanishka's contemporary according to our stories) and Nāgārjuna, contemporary of Śātavāhana. Buddhadēva is mentioned by Vasubandhu in the Abhidharmakōśa (comm. on stanza 35), and by Yaśōmitra in the commentary on the same work (MS. Burnouf, p. 475 *b*).

Inscription N. contains the praises of the bhikshu Budhila, native of Nagara, of the Sarvāstivādin school, who illustrated (or edited) the Prajñā of the Mahāsāṁghikas. He no doubt is the same as Fo-t'i-lo (in Chinese K'io-ts'iu, K'io = bōdhi), master of the śāstras, who composed the treatise Tsi-tchin-lun (Saṁyukta-tattva-śāstra?) for the use of the Mahāsāṁghika school, in a convent of the same, 140 or 150 li west of the capital of Kashmir (*Hiouen-tsang*, Mem. I. 186). Bōdhila's (or Budhila's) work explained metaphysics, the Prajñā of the Mahāsāṁghikas.

authorities. The Rājataraṅgiṇī puts the Turushka or Yue-tchi dynasty just after Nāgārjuna. The Buddha's prophecy quoted by Hiouen-tsang announces Kanishka's accession in the year 400 of the Nirvāṇa. Finally, the Saṁyukta-ratna-piṭaka, which puts Kanishka and the arhat Ki-ye-to together, makes the arhat appear 700 years after the Nirvāṇa.[5]

The mention of **Charaka** is the first positive indication obtained as to the date of the learned practitioner, who disputes with Suśruta the glory of having founded medical science in India. The Greek influences thought to be found in Charaka's teaching are easily explained, if he lived at the time, and at the court, of the Indo-Scythians, when Hellenism seemed to be conquering the old brahmanical civilisation.

The appearance of **Jains** in the legend of Kanishka is not surprising. The Kankali Tila inscriptions, at Mathurā, have recently revealed the prosperity of Jainism under Kanishka and his successors. Buddhism doubtless had much to fear from this rival, for Aśvaghōsha pursued it [452] with implacable fury: it appears often in his stories, and always in odious or ridiculous colours. One of his sūtras, preserved only in the Corean edition, and reprinted in the new Japanese one, shews Ni-kien-tzeu (*Nirgrantha-putra*) reduced to the part of hearer, and being instructed on the sense of the "Not-I" (*Ou-ngo, Anātma*) (Ni-kien-tzeu-ouenn-ou-ngo-i-king, Japanese edition, boîte xxiv, fasc. 9).[6]

So far, M. Lévi's introductory remarks. We now come to **the stories** transcribed by him. Space does not permit of their being quoted in full; it must suffice to give only such particulars as bring out the traditional facts about Kanishka, to which M. Lévi has alluded, and also some brief quotations showing the Chinese versions of Sanskrit names and terms.

Sūtrālaṁkāra (ch. 3).

[452] This describes how the king Tchen-t'an Ki-ni-tch'a (*dēvaputra Kanishka*) met 500 mendicants while he was on the way to visit the town of Ki-ni-tch'a (*Kanishkapura*). Presumably the journey was made on horseback, for when **[453]** the minister T'ien-fa (*Dēvadharma*) is mentioned, it is said that he got off his horse to speak to the king. The king explains to his minister the request made by the mendicants, and the lesson to be drawn from it, and **[454 to 457]** the minister replies.

On the question of identification of *tchen-t'an* = *Chīnasthāna[rāja]* and *dēvaputra* = *t'ien-tzeu* (son of Heaven), M. Lévi has referred us **[452, note]** to *Mélanges Charles de Harlez, Deux peuples méconnus*, p. 182; and he has observed that the transcription Ki-ni-tch'a suggests the pronunciation *Kaniksha* along with the ordinary form *Kanishka*, and that this alternation is confirmed epigraphically: Huviksha in *Epigr. Ind.* I., 371-393, Mathurā inscription No. 9; Huksha, *ibid.* II., 196-212, No. 26. On the first of these points, he has now added some remarks, as follows: — *Tchen-t'an* suggests still another explanation, in addition to *dēvaputra*. Sarat Chandra Das, in the *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1886 (Vol. LV., Part I.), p. 193, said, on the strength of Tibetan texts: — "In ancient times when Buddha Kashyapa appeared in this world, Li-yul" — [the country of Khoten] — "was called the country of Chandana;" to which he added, in a note: — "The earliest intercourse of the Indians

[5] M. Lévi has here added a note, as follows: — The dates assigned by Buddhist traditions to Aśvaghōsha are, equally, so discordant that, from the end of the fourth century, the Hindu monks distinguished six personages of the same name who had appeared (1) in the time of Buddha, (2) after the Nirvāṇa, (3) in the year 100, (4) in the year 108, (5) in the year 300, and (6) in the year 600, of the Nirvāṇa. I may be content, at present, to refer to the Introduction of the Mahāyānaśraddhōtpāda, translated from the Chinese by M. Teitaro Suzuki: "Aśvaghōsha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna;" Chicago, 1900.

[6] M. Lévi has here added a note, as follows: — In fact, I have since found another version of this sūtra, in the edition of the Tripiṭaka of the Mings; it is that which is entered in Nanjio's Catalogue under No. 818 (Japanese edition, vi., 1, 27); it is there erroneously designated as a tradition of the Śāli-saṁbhavasūtra, with which it has nothing in common. The sūtra does not there bear the name of its author; the translator is the Indian monk Fa-t'ien (973-981 A. D.).

with China was through Khoten which they called Chandana and it is very probable that they subsequently extended that designation to China." Unfortunately, Sarat Chandra Das does not give his authorities. But the fact seems to me very probable. And I had been personally led, in an independent manner, to form that hypothesis, but with a modification. *Chandana* seems to me to be a form restored in Tibetan out of the Chinese *Tchen-t'an* = Chīna-sthāna. The original Tchen-t'an or Chīn-thān would be Kashgaria; and Tchen-t'an Kanishka would be Kanishka, king of Khoten. I cannot avoid believing that the cradle of the power of the Tukhāra-Turushkas is to be found in that region.

M. Lévi points out **[455, note]** that a verse of some stanzas uttered by T'ien-fa at the end of the story is almost identical with the 5th verse in "One hundred and fifty stanzas in honour of the Buddha" by Mātṛichēṭa, preserved in the Chinese translation of I-tsing. Now, according to Tāranātha (p. 89), the āchārya Matṛichēṭa, foretold by the Buddha to be a glorious author of hymns, was the same person as Aśvaghōsha, Śūra, Durdharsha, Dharmika-Subhūti; all these names designate one individual, a contemporary of Kanika. It has also been observed that Indian poets, in spite of their indifference to literary proprietorship, liked to insert an identical stanza in their different works, as if to mark their common authorship. Thus the repetition of the same verse in the Sūtrālaṁkāra and the Sārdhaśataka seems to confirm Tāranātha. The analogy of procedure in the Sūtrālaṁkāra and the Jātakamālā is equally striking: in both, the story is developed like a sermon, and a text from the sacred books is taken as theme : in both, prose and verse are intermingled with taste; and, even through the medium of the Chinese version, an equal happiness of style is apparent. If the Jātakamālā was not by Aśvaghōsha, it probably came from his school.

Sūtrālaṁkāra (ch. 6).

[457] This story begins : "In the race of Kiu-cha (*Kushaṇa*) there was a king named Tchen-tan "Kia-ni-tch'a (*dēvaputra Kanishka*). He conquered Toung T'ien-tchou (Eastern India) and pacified "the country. His power spread fear ; his good fortune was complete. He set out to return to his "kingdom. The route passed through a broad, flat land. At that time the king's heart was pleased "only with the religion of the Buddha; he made it his necklace. Now, in the place where he stopped, "he **[458]** saw afar off a stūpa which he took for a stūpa of the Buddha. With a suite of one "thousand men he went to visit it. When he got near the stūpa, he got off his horse, and advanced "on foot. The imperial cap set with precious stones adorned his head."

The king, after reciting some stanzas, bowed his head and adored. At that very moment the stūpa broke into little pieces. The king was troubled and affrighted. He thought the destruction must be due to magic. **[459]** In the past he had adored a hundred thousand stūpas, and never one was the least damaged. He feared some impending calamities. **[460]** At last a man of a neighbouring village approached and explained that the stūpa was not one of the Buddha, but of the Ni-kien (*Nirgranthas*), who "are very stupid"; moreover, there were no relics in it. The king was filled with joy. Among the stanzas he then utters, we have: —

[461] "He is not pure, the son of Ni-kien (*Nirgrantha-putra*)."

" At the moment when the stūpa tumbled down, a great noise came from it, which denounced "it as a stūpa of Jou-to-tzeu (*Jñāta-putra*).

" The Buddha formerly having gone where Kia-che (*Kāśyapa*) was, Kia-che adored the feet "of the Buddha : — 'It is I, O Bhagavat; it is I, O Buddha Lōkajyēshṭha!'"

As to the Ni-kien, " their knowledge is not omniscience."

"Nan-ou po-kia-po (*Namō Bhagavatē*), it is he whom all adore as the master of deliverance."

[462] " All heretics together are not worth a straw. How much less then the master of the "Ni-kien, Fou-lan-na Kia-che (*Pūraṇa Kāśyapa*)!"

"The body has, in all, four kinds of bonds; hence the name of Ni-kien-to (*Nirgrantha*); just as "when there is a great heat, he who can drive away this heat also is called Ni-to-kia (*Nirdâgha*)."

As regards the opening words of the above story, "In the race of Kiu-cha (*Kushaṇa*)," M. Lévi observes [457, note] that the Chinese translator, whether carelessly or through ignorance, doubtless read *Kushāṇāṁ vaṁśē* instead of *Kushaṇa-vaṁśē*. The "race of Kushaṇa" closely recalls the expression *Gushaṇa-vaṁśa-saṁvardhaka*, applied to Kanishka in the Manikyāla inscription.

Saṁyukta-ratna-piṭaka (ch. 7).

[463] Story 13.

The arhat K'i-ye-to forces the wicked Nāga to go into the sea.

As regards the name of this arhat K'i-ye-to, M. Lévi observes [463, note] that the character *k'i* differs only from the letter *tcheu* by a simple stroke subscribed. *Tcheu-ye-to* would give in Sanskṛit *Jayata*, known as the name of a Buddhist patriarch. On the other hand, the characters *k'i-ye* often serve to transcribe the word *geya*. We might then think of Geyata, Gayata, Kayata; but none of these names have as yet been found. The last suggests Kayyaṭa, well known as the name of a commentator on Patañjali.

The story briefly is as follows. There was an ārya arhat named K'i-ye-to. In the Buddha's time he left the world. Seven hundred years afterwards he appeared in the kingdom of Ki-pin, where a wicked Nāga-rāja named A-li-na was causing calamities. Two thousand arhats [464] failed to move him by their supernatural force, but he departed at the command of K'i-ye-to.

K'i-ye-to and disciples go towards Pe-T'ien-tchou (Northern India), and [465] arrive at the town of Cheu-cheu (house of stone). But beyond this there seems to be nothing in the story worth noting here. M. Lévi remarks [465, note] that the kingdom of Cheu-cheu (Aśmaparānta ?) is also mentioned in the *Sūtrālaṁkāra*, ch. 15; the king of Cheu-cheu is there named Ou-[in note = Siang]-iue-ki.

[467] Story 14.

Two bhikshus, seeing K'i-ye-to, obtain the grace of being born as dēvas.

At that time there were two bhikshus in Nan-T'ien-chou (Southern India). They heard of the virtue and power of K'i-ye-to and went to Ki-pin to see him. [468] K'i-ye-to transports himself miraculously up a mountain, where he recounts to them his previous birth as a dog.

[469] Story 15.

The king of the Yue-tchi sees the arhat K'i-ye-to.

This begins: "In the kingdom of the Yue-tchi there was a king named Tchen-tan Ki-ni-"tch'a (*dēvaputra Kanishka*). He heard it said that, in the kingdom of Ki-pin, the ārya arhat "named K'i-ye-to had a great reputation. Then he mounted his horse, and, escorted by his suite, "went quickly into that kingdom." The king goes ahead of his people, and [470] prostrates himself before the ārya, who at that moment wants to spit, and the king respectfully hands the spittoon to him. He gives the king an abridgment of the law and doctrine, in the following sentence: — [471] "When the king comes, the way is good; when he goes, it is as when he comes." The king then returns to his kingdom. On the way home, he explains to his servants the meaning of the sentence: it is to the effect that his good deeds as a Buddhist, his construction of vihāras, stūpas, &c., are the cause of his present prosperity; they are the merits on which a royal race is founded: they secure his felicity in the life to come.

[472] Story 16.

The king of the Yue-tchi united in friendship with the three learned counsellors.

The story opens thus: — "At the time when the king Tchen-tan Ki-ni-tch'a (*dēvaputra* "Kanishka) reigned in the kingdom of the Yue-tchi, there were three learned men, whom the king

" considered as his intimate friends; the first was called Ma-ming pou-sa (*Aśvaghōsha Bōdhisatva*): "the second, who was prime minister, was called Mo-tch'a-lo (*Māṭhara*); the third was a famous physi- "cian named Tche-lo-kia (*Charaka*). These three intimate friends of the king were treated with honour "and liberality. When he was on a journey, or when he was resting, they were on his right hand and "on his left." Then follows the advice given by each of these counsellors to the king. The advice of the prime minister was: "If the king puts in practice the secret counsels of his servant without "divulging them, the entire world can be submitted to his empire." [473] This advice was followed, "and there was no one who did not submit to his authority. In the world, three of the four regions "were at peace; only the eastern region had not yet come to submit itself, and to demand protection. "Soon he equipped a formidable army to go to chastise it. In front he made the Hou (barbarians) "march, and the white elephants as head of the column and as guides. The king followed, and he "led his army behind. He wished to go as far as Ts'oung-ling (Bolor). In crossing the passes, "those who rode the elephants and the horses in front could not advance any longer." The king in his surprise let out the secret of his expedition, and his minister warned him that, as he had done so, death was near. The king understood, and, as in his wars he had slain more than three hundred thousand men, he was troubled at the thought of the punishments awaiting him. So [474] he confessed his fault and repented, gave alms, kept the prohibitions, built a monastery, and gave food to the monks. His courtiers represent to him that his past has been so bad, that these good works will not now profit him. The king has a large pot boiled, and throws his ring into it, and allegorically convinces the courtiers of their error. They rejoice at his wisdom.

[475] Fou-fa-ts'ang-in-iuen-tch'oen

(Śrī-Dharma-piṭaka-sampradāya-nidāna ?).

(Chap. 5.)

We learn here how Ma-ming (*Aśvaghōsha*) by his music and teaching caused 500 king's sons in Hoa-cheu (*Pāṭaliputra*: literally "the town of flowers," *Kusumapura*) to give up the world. So the king, in fear that his kingdom would become empty, ordered the music to be stopped.

The total number of men in the town of Hoa-cheu was nine hundred thousand. The king of the kingdom of the Yue-tchi, [476] Tchen-tan Ki-ni-tch'a (*dēvaputra Kanishka*) equipped "the four forces," came to Hoa-cheu, and in a battle defeated its king, who made his submission. The conqueror demanded nine hundred thousand gold pieces. Then the king of Hoa-cheu, considering that Ma-ming, the Buddha's wooden bowl, and a naturally compassionate cock, which would not drink water containing insects, were each worth three hundred thousand pieces, offered the three to Ki-ni-tch'a, who accepted them joyfully, and returned to his kingdom.

Then follows a story telling how a ball of clay, placed at the top of a stūpa, [477] was miraculously changed into a statue of the Buddha, at the prayer of Ki-ni-tch'a.

The history of the Jain stūpa which tumbled to pieces, is here also given as in the Sūtrālaṁkāra (see above, p. 385).

The next story of Ki-ni-tch'a and a barber has nothing worth abstracting.

[478] The bhikshu Ta-mo-mi-to (*Dharmamitra*) is mentioned as being at that time of great renown in Ki-ni-tch'a's kingdom. "He was able to well recite and explain the characters of the "San-mei-ting (*samādhi*)." Then comes the story of the visit of two bhikshus from the kingdom of Nan-T'ien-tchou (Southern India) to him, much the same as the similar story of the visit to K'i-ye-to in the Saṁyukta-ratna-piṭaka (see above, p. 386).

Ki-ni-tch'a also goes to visit Ta-mo-mi-to in the mountains of Ki-pin. The bhikshu teaches the king all the doctrine in a short formula, and the king returns to his kingdom, and on the way explains the formula to his ministers. (Compare the similar story in the Saṁyukta-ratna-piṭaka, 15; see above, p. 386.)

[479] After this we have again the story of Kanishka and the mendicants. *Cf.* Sūtrālaṁkāra, ch. 3 (see above, p. 384).

"At that time, the king of the Ngan-si (*Pahlava*) was very stupid and of a violent "nature. At the head of the four forces he attacked Ki-ni-tch'a," who defeated him and slew nine hundred thousand men. Then he asked his ministers if this sin could be wiped out or not, and, to instruct them, had a pot boiled and put his ring in it, &c. *Cf.* Saṁyukta-ratna-piṭaka, story 16 (see above, p. 387).

There was a bhikshu arhat who, seeing the evil deed done by the king (in slaughtering nine hundred thousand men), wished to make him repent. So by his supernatural force he caused the king to see the torments of hell. The king was terrified and repented. [480] Then Ma-ming told him that if he obeyed his teaching he would escape hell. Ki-ni-tch'a replied, "Well! I receive the teaching." Then Ma-ming expounded the law, and gradually caused the sin to be entirely weakened.

There was also a physician called Tche-le (*Chara*, for *Charaka*). Ki-ni-tch'a had often heard of him, and wanted to see him. It happened that Tche-le came of his own accord to the palace. [481] The king promised to follow any advice he might give. Soon after this, the king's favorite wife had a difficult confinement, and Tche-le delivered her of a dead male child. He advised the king not to touch this wife in future. His advice was not followed, and another child was delivered with the same pains as before. [482] Tche-le therefore quitted the court and left the world.

There was a minister named Mo-tchouo-lo (*Māṭhara*). He told Ki-ni-tch'a that, if he followed his advice without divulging it, all the earth would be subject to him, "the eight "regions will take refuge in thy virtue." The king promised to do so; the minister chose good generals, equipped the four forces, and the peoples of three regions were subdued. Then the king let out that he intended to conquer the northern region, [483] and his people, hearing this, took counsel among themselves: "The king is greedy, cruel and unreasonable; his campaigns "and frequent conquests have fatigued the mass of his servants. He cannot be contented: "he wants to reign over the four regions. The garrisons cover distant frontiers, and our "relations are far from us. As such is the case, we must all agree to get rid of him. After "that, we shall be able to be happy." As the king was ill, they put a blanket (converture) over him; a man sat upon it, and the king expired at once.

Because he had heard Ma-ming (Aśvaghōsha) expound the law, he was born as a thousand-headed fish in the great ocean; but, in consequence of his deeds, his heads were constantly cut off, and thus he was tortured horribly in successive existences for an unmeasurable time. There was, however, an arhat, who, among the monks, was the Wei-na (*Karmadāna*, bell-ringer). The king told him that, [484] while the bell was rung, his sufferings were alleviated, and he asked the bhadanta in charity to prolong the ringing. This was done, and, at the end of seven days, the evil, which had lasted so long, ceased. On account of the king, the bell on top of this monastery was continually rung, and this practice is kept up now.

In a note [483] M. Lévi explains that the *Karmadāna* was the ringer of the bells (*ghaṇṭā*) of a convent. *Cf.* I-tsing, *Les Religieux éminents* . . . trad. Chavannes, p. 89. As regards the hybrid transcription *wei-na*, *cf.* I-tsing, *A Record of Buddhist Practices* . . . trans. Takakusu, p. 148.

Supplementary Note.

From the "Journal Asiatique," July-Dec., 1897, pp. 527 ff.

M. Lévi here gives an additional story of Kanishka from the *Fa-iuen-tchou-lin* (ch. 50: Japanese ed., boîte 36, vol. 8, p. 14*a*), which cites as its source the *Pi-p'o-cha-lun* (Vibhāshāśāstra composed by Kātyāyanīputra and translated into Chinese by Saṅghabhūti in 383).

This story begins thus: — "Formerly Kia-ni-che-kia, king of Kien-t'o-lo (Gandhāra), had "a door, all yellow, to his palace. He passed all his time in superintending household affairs "(affaires de l'intérieur) and hardly went out into the city and to the outside." Then follows the tale of some oxen he saw, which ends in saying: —"He charged a high functionary henceforth "to make known to him the outside affairs."

With reference to the "yellow door," *cf.* the "golden door" of the royal palace at Bhatgaon, in Oldfield: *Sketches from Nipal*, 1, 130, and Le Bon: *Les monuments de l'Inde*, fig. 369.

In answer to a doubt expressed by a friendly critic as to the identity of Ki-ni-tch'a and Kanishka, M. Lévi refers to the *Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong* (*Journal Asiatique*, July-Dec., 1895, p. 337). Ou-K'ong, or rather his mouthpiece, mentions briefly an episode related in detail by Hiouen-tsang: he designates under the name of Ki-ni-tch'a the king whom Hiouen-tsang calls Kia-ni-che-kia. Further, the *Chenn-i-tien* (bk. 77, fol. 44) relates the miraculous conversion of Kanishka in the same manner as Hiouen-tsang (*Mémoires*, 1, 107), but substitutes the form *Ki-ni-t'cha* of our texts for the *Kia-ni-che-kia* of Hiouen-tsang.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON A COLLECTION OF STONE-IMPLEMENTS FROM LADAKH.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

In the Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga (*ante*, Vol. XXXI. p. 39) I remarked that **the Stone Age was not quite a matter of the past in Ladakh,** and that remains of it were to be found there to the present day. Ladakh is still in many respects in the Stone Age, and a collection of genuine **stone-implements** still in use is to be made there without any difficulty. In fact, the articles included in the illustrations to this paper were collected without any great trouble within the space of three months.

The articles in this collection fall naturally into two groups. **Those in common use,** made out of a soft serpentine or bacon-stone, the Speckstein of German, and **those practically never now used,** made out of a hard granite or slate. Both varieties were collected readily.

In **Plate I., Fig. 1,** are shown articles made of the **serpentine,** and in **Fig. 2** articles made of **hard stone.** I do not yet know exactly how the modern articles are worked up, but a good deal of skill is required in their manufacture, as I ascertained that the stone was not easily worked with even steel tools. They are nevertheless locally quite cheap in price, the larger vessels costing from six annas to a rupee and a half. The **manufacturers are Baltis,** who either make them in Baltistan and bring them to Ladakh for sale, or come to a hill called *r*Do-*l*tog-ri near **Wanla in Ladakh,** where there is a suitable stone, and make them there.

Of stone-implements not shown in the Plates attached, may be mentioned the following:—

1. **Granite rectangular** tables of the same shape and height from the ground as the ordinary Ladakhi wooden tables. They are called *rdo-chog*, are about 8 inches from the ground, and are found in many houses.
2. **Oil-press** for expressing oil from apricot-kernels. The upper surface resembles a very flat dish with a mouthpiece. They are called *tsig*.
3. **Granite chessboard** for playing *mig-mang*, carved in heavy boulders. There is one such near the Fort of Khalatse and another in the middle of the village.
4. An **Oblong granite "log"** for breaking up firewood by beating.

Description of the Plates.

Plate I., Fig. 1.

Nos. 1 to 5. — These are **stone-pots**, called *rdo-ltog.* The special name of Nos. 1 and 2 is *lung-tho,* and of No. 5 is *rdulu.* The extreme width of No. 4 is 15 inches and the diameter of No. 5 is 5 inches. These pots are to be found in every house in Khalatse, and are used as kettles.

Nos. 6 and 8. — These are lamps to be found in every house. No. 6 bears an ornament in relief of the following pattern :—



No. 6 is 5 inches and No. 8 is 4 inches in length. These lamps are furnished with wicks of wool burning in an oil made out of apricot-kernels.

No. 7. — This is a **spindle-whorl**, called *phang-lo.* It is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter.

No. 9. — This is the **tobacco-holder** of a *hukka,* called *trob.* The accompanying water-vessel is made of cow-horn.

No. 10. — This is the ordinary **butter-dish** of Khalatse, called *mar-lug.* Its length is 7 inches.

No. 11. — This is a small **cup** closely resembling the usual wooden cup of Khalatse. It is 3 inches in diameter.

Nos. 12 and 13. — These are stone **spoons**, but No. 13 is made of slate. The handle is bound round with strips of leather. I have seen spoons of serpentine beautifully worked up so as to represent the silver spoons of the rich Ladakhis, which are highly chased.

Plate I., Fig. 2.

Nos. 1, 2, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16. — These are specimens of the old Ladakhi *kalam,* a kind of **blunt axe.** Nos. 2 and 16 are halves only. The handles were of wood, and two such handles have been inserted in Nos. 11 and 14 to show how they were used. The *kalam* was really a rough piece of flat granite, through which a carefully polished hole was bored. Its use was, and probably still is, in secluded valleys, for breaking up dry wood for fuel, and for rooting up out of sandy soil the long woody roots of certain plants also used for fuel. No. 13 is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

No. 15. — This is also a *kalam,* but it differs from the rest in being entirely polished. It may be the blunted half of an axe that once had an edge, or even a hammer.

Nos. 8 and 9. — These are **edged stone axes** with a very narrow perforation about half an inch in diameter. But the tamarisk of Ladakh makes a very tough thin stick or handle. The length of No. 9 is 7 inches. These axes are called *rdo-star.*

Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. — These are stone knives called *rdo-gri.* The blade is of rough slate with a natural edge. Only in one case have I seen any traces of polishing. The handles of the specimens illustrated are shown with their original leather fastenings. The length of No. 5 is 10 inches.

Find-Spots.

Plate I., Fig. 1. — No. 9 came from Hanu, No. 13 from Nubra, the rest from Khalatse. Plate I., Fig. 2. — Nos. 1, 2, 10, 12, 13, 16, came from the store-rooms of inhabitants of Wanla.

STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM LADAKH.

Plate I.

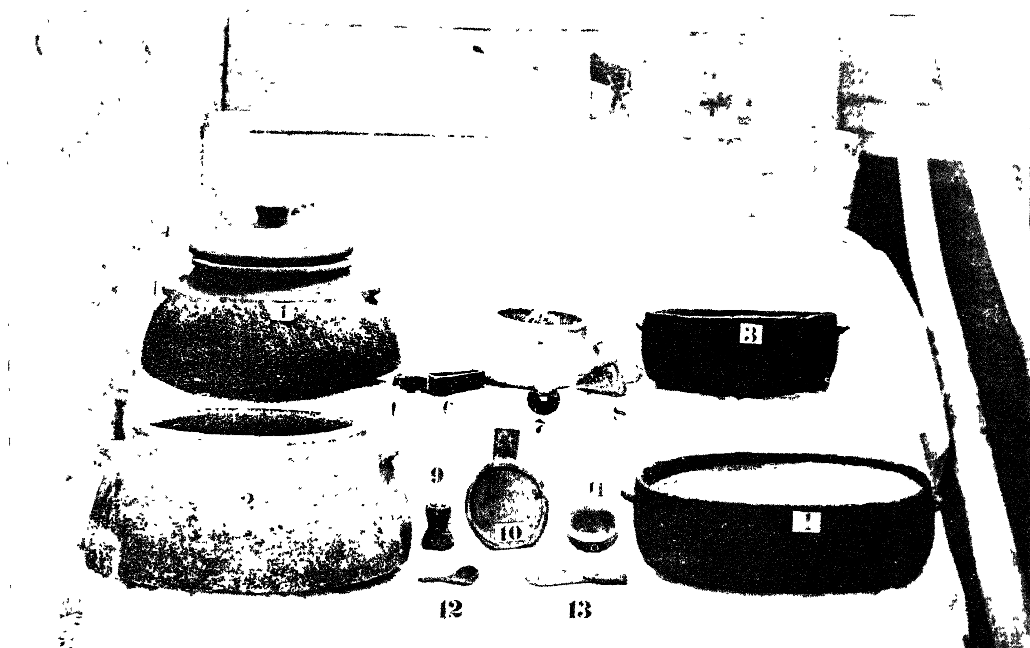
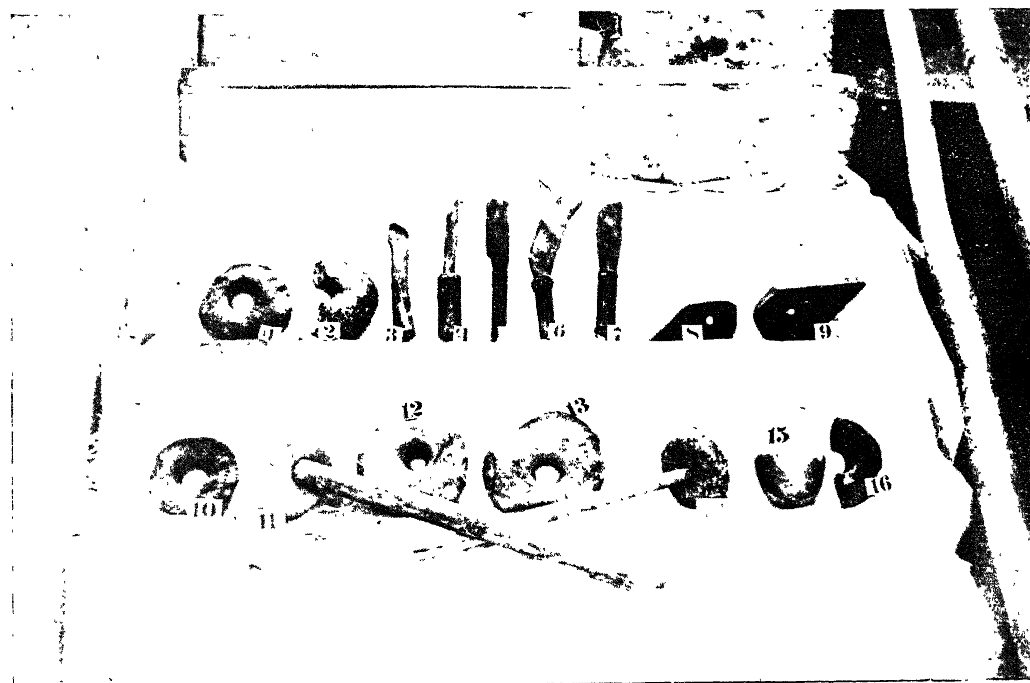


Fig. 1



DR. F. E. SHAWE, PHOTO. Fig. 2. W GRIGGS.

Plate II.



The Boulder-mortar of Ladakh.

DR. F. E. SHAWE, PHOTO.

W GRIGGS.

No. 11 is from Khalatse, No. 14 from Skyin-gling, 7 miles distant from Khalatse. Nos. 3, 4, 5, are still in the store-rooms of Skyin-gling. Nos. 6, 7, 9, are from Nubra. Though out of daily use, these articles are still kept in store.

The Boulder-mortar of Ladakh.

In Plate II. is shown one boulder out of many **in Leh**, used by the people as a mortar for their daily wants. That in the illustration contained one small and five large mortar holes, the largest being 15 inches deep and shaped like the small end of an egg. The smallest is only two or three inches deep and hemispherical. The others vary from 8 to 12 inches in depth and in sphericity.

These boulder-mortars are called *'og-stun*, and the pestle for using them *gong-stun*. In the illustration a man is shown in the act of using a boulder-mortar.

MUHAMMAD. HIS LIFE. BASED ON THE ARABIC SOURCES.

BY DR. HUBERT GRIMME, PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG.

(*Translated by G. K. Nariman.*)

Prefatory Notes.

The following relation of **Muhammad's life**, which forms a necessary complement to the exposition of his doctrines, is **based throughout on original sources** published either in the Orient or the Occident, and in which, so far as I know, all information worth having has been exhaustively set forth. In utilizing these sources, I have partly followed lines other than those along which most of my predecessors had proceeded, and, in consequence, I have been more often than not unable to share their views.

In respect of **the traditional literature** I consider an attitude of caution absolutely requisite. No one can question that the earlier collections of the traditions offer much that is genuine and indispensable to an historical outline of the life of the Prophet. Yet it is equally indubitable that into no province of literature is deliberate falsehood worked up with so much unblushing effrontery as here. But we are still far from possessing a method or test which should differentiate the spurious from the true with infallible certainty: a number of independent investigations on the compilations, authorities, contents and forms of the traditions is necessary to this end. Nevertheless individual explorers must still fall back each upon his own subjective judgment. And one cannot penetrate too far back to the *fons et origo* in order to clear the ground of the prevailing perversions. Besides, alongside of distorted versions of events **the Ahadith** embody much, too much, trivial matter, which, be it authentic or imaginary, is at all events immaterial to history. What, for instance, avails it to us, who do not participate in the Moslem's ever retrospective and imitative instinct, to know how the Prophet made his toilet, to what dishes he was particularly partial, or what pet-names he bestowed upon his favourite horses, asses, and camels? Finally all the traditions suffer from the besetting and inherent evil that they reflect only the spirit of the Medina, and never the earlier Mecca, epoch of Islam. This would still remain the greatest abiding defect, should we be even able to trace with tolerable precision the falsification and mutilation of facts to the latter-day court theologians or to the garrulous loquacity of the original biographers.

If, therefore, we had to depend solely on the *Ahadith* for an account of the life of Muhammad, we should be in a predicament similar to that of the thirsty wanderer in the desert, who catches sight, not of water, but of the delusive mirage. Happily, however, a strong spring of veracity bubbles up for us in **the Qorân**, and I have endeavoured to turn it to the best account. Not, however, that even here there is no need of circumspection. The difficulty is not the question

whether the *Qorân* be essentially authentic, a question which I believe must be answered in the affirmative, nor yet the form of its text which has been preserved and transmitted to us from Muhammad's down to our own times without important variants, but the sequence and the elucidation of its chapters. For any one who would examine into the life and teachings of Muhammad it is imperative to construct a new order of the *Sûras*, the best works on the subject like Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans* not claiming to have arrived at definite or conclusive results. In treating the Meccan *Sûras* the critical scholar has to weigh with the minute accuracy of a goldsmith the use of certain words and turns of expression with a view to ascertaining the gradual development of the dogma of Islam. But as regards the Medina *Sûras*, whose text is accompanied with commentaries apparently replete with correct explanations, he must beware of placing too implicit a reliance in these ready-made glosses. The text calls for research, and that in passages where the Moslem exegete appears fully sanguine. It will be universally conceded, therefore, that it is time we overleaped the fence of *scholia* raised by the Moslems round their sacred book.

A word touching the works consulted in the preparation of this life of Muhammad. Of the several prominent authors, who are, as a rule, quoted from their editions published in the West, I have at my disposal only Oriental impressions, and I refer to them only. I have drawn, *inter alia*, upon: Bukhari, Sahih, Kahira 1299 A. H.; Baidhawi with the Jelalain on the margin, Constantinople 1303 A. H.; Ibn Athir, Kamil, Kahira 1303 A. H.; Masûdi, Muruj-ud-Dhahab, on margin of Ibn-el-Athir, Vols. I.-X.; Ibn-Kotaiba, Kitab-el-Maarif, Kahira 1300 A. H. Wakidi I have used in the abridged translation of Wellhausen. — THE AUTHOR.

CHAPTER I.

Political Condition of Arabia at the end of the Sixth Century.

From the political point of view the palmy days of Arabia were over with the expiry of the sixth Christian century. The independence of yore yielded to the mighty forces at work from without. In a few parts of the peninsula the old order almost completely changed, giving place to the new. The ancient civilization of the Sabeans or Southern Arabs survived, but their dominions passed into the hands of the Abyssinians as a prize of war in 525 A. D. The national strength was not adequate to get rid of these hereditary foes, and Persia found a tempting opportunity to interfere in the struggle for freedom. The country was doubtless evacuated by the Axumites, but was converted into a Persian satrapy. From all sides almost, Central Arabia fell within the sphere of Persian influence. The north-eastern marches, with the pasture fields of the Lower Euphrates and the territory of the kings of Hira, had long since sunk into a state of vassalage to the Persians. The east coast, from Bahrein to Oman, was a tributary of the same power. Kinda, which bade fair to be a national kingdom, was soon subverted. And the possession of South Arabia, with its important commercial emporia, completed the circuit. Meanwhile in the north-west the great rival of the Sassanian Empire, East Rome, strained every nerve to plant its foot furthest into the interior of Arabia. The greatest portion of the ancient Nabatean monarchy, that extraordinary product of Arab mercantile spirit and Græco-Aramaic culture, which had extended from the *gräberstadt* of Hijr to Petra and Damascus, was under the secure supremacy of Byzantium, and constituted its province of Arabia with Bastra for its capital. A House of Arab princes, the Ghassanides, were the wardens of the marches. They at once kept back the marauding bands of the autocrats of Hira and the Sassanides, and overawed the Bedouins of the desert.

Thus only the tribes of Hijaz, Nejd, and Yemama had contrived to continue their independence from remote antiquity. But there was nothing to act as a common lodestone of national interests or prejudices on them all alike, — a deficiency which, in the case of Hijaz, even the trading city of Mecca, carrying on commerce between Yemen and Syria and the Euphrates, could ill-supply.

Religious Condition.

But the cultured peoples of Arabia were not only deprived of their political authority, but had lost their ancient religion as well. Here, as everywhere else in antiquity, government and cultus, dependence on the fatherland and the deities native to the soil, had one and the same root. With the enfeeblement of the Sabean monarchy the great South Arabian gods Athar and Almagah began to decline, and the Jewish encountered the Christian propaganda before the gigantic temples of the Sabeans. Judaism was benefited by the struggle — how, it has not been explained; but, according to the tradition, in consequence of the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews pressed into the south of the Peninsula, and. countenanced by the local rulers, leavened vast masses of people with notions of monotheism. Christianity was grafted in Arabia from East Rome, and was further professed by the Abyssinians. (Philostorgeus, III. 4.) But the national bias against the Gospel was a heavy obstacle to its propagation, whereas Judaism passed for a state-supported movement. It was therefore an advantage to the sporadic Christian colonies of Najran, Aden, &c., that the Khosroes were the lords of the land, because the latter conferred their favour and patronage on their Christian subjects and chiefly on the Nestorians.[1] Christianity developed fresh vitality in the North Arabian lands, acknowledging the overlordship of East Rome, such as the principality of Hauran. Whilst, on the other hand, the Hebrew faith counted its professors among the heathens of Hijaz and in numerous ancient settlements like Medina, Wadi'l Kora, Khaiber, and Taima.

The religion of the Arabs, who owed allegiance to no sovereign authority, was in a primitive stage of evolution. It is difficult to credit them with the conception of great ultra-terrestrial gods. On the contrary, they had no small number of tribal and household deities who haunted certain places and objects, *e. g.*, statues, trees, and stones. The more trivial the conception of the gods became the more terrible grew the potency of many-named Fate as pictured to itself by the Arab imagination, yet generally the gods formed no important factor in the Arab's public life. He scarcely ever kindled into ecstasy over them. Of the thousand upon thousand verses bequeathed to us, not one contains any encomium of them. The people swore by them and transmitted their memories from generation to generation in mutilated proper names. Time-honoured oblations of the field-produce and of the surplus of cattle were offered as tribute to them. At appointed seasons the more famous fanes were visited by the devotees, who burlesqued ceremonies which had long since ceased to be intelligible. But the season festivals continued to be held through the necessity of meeting together for the exchange of commodities. And these were facilitated by the sacred plot of ground round each sanctuary, within the confines of which everbody was perfectly secure from harm. The shrines expanded into immense markets, where the spirtual as well as temporal wares of the Arabs were bartered. In course of time the palm of commercial superiority was assigned to Mecca.[2] Its importance to all Hejaz it owed to the magnet of its holy place which was presumably the oldest portion of the town.[3] The sanctuary famed as the *bait* (house), or the *kaaba* (cube), occupied a position precisely in the middle of a valley running from north to south, and approached only by three passes. An uncouth stone structure of a cubical shape, probably

[1] [Khushran I., surnamed Anosharvan (the immortal), not only "did not oppress his Christian subjects so long as they remained law-abiding, but he directly supported their cult and extended this treatment, not to the Nestorians alone, but to the Monophysites, who were more closely allied with the (rival) Roman Empire than the Nestorians. Apostasy from the State religion (Zoroastrianism) was punished with the extreme penalty of the law according to time-honored usage, and proselytizing of the faithful was naturally strictly prohibited; but when the monophysite Abbot Ahuderumeh, who was munificently helped in the construction of a cloister by the king, baptised his own son, who then flew to the Romans, all the penalty awarded to the offending priest was two months' mild incarceration, which admitted of his free intercourse with his disciples . . . . . . And Khoshran was no weakling; he was energetic even to bellicose ruthlessness." — Noldeke, *Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte*. — TR.]

[2] The ancient names of Mecca are Bekka and Nassa. — Tabari, I. 1132.

[3] Al-Bekri, *Geogr. Lexicon*. p. 58. El-Kalbi says men came here on pilgrimages, but soon after dispersed themselves, so that Mecca, or, properly speaking, the neighbourhood of the fane, remained unoccupied by men.

statues in the inside; in the wall a dark sacred stone;[4] and around the temple an unpretentious circuit marked out for the purpose of circumambulation, — such was the renowned Kaaba. A single fount belonging to Mecca, the Zemzem, rises inside the enclosure of the temple, and is of course hallowed by its propinquity to the sanctum and its utility to the city.

Mecca and its Importance.

The credit of directing the trade of West and Central Arabia into the sterile rocky vale, scantily supplied with water, is due to the practical ingenuity of a branch of the Kenana called the Koreish, who had settled down in the environs of the Kaaba. Although the adoration of the deity in the Meccan temple had been crystallized, as in all other fanes, into an inane formula, the Koreish took care to celebrate with much *éclat* and solemnity the festival of the temple which fell annually during the month Dhu'l Hija. They provided for the reception, sojourn, and safety of the pilgrims, and embraced within the enclosure of the festivities the holy hamlets of Mina and Muzdalaifa, and a *haram* of sacred piece of ground. No other religious solemnization, indeed, of Central Arabia could compete with that held at Mecca. The yearly inundations of many thousand pilgrims were shrewdly utilized as so many avenues of commercial gain. The desert Arabs were afforded opportunity on these occasions to purchase their stock of necessaries to last a year. And the wealth which flowed into Mecca availed its citizens to monopolize the caravan traffic of the west coast.

The rise of the Koreishite power promoted a sense of united counsel and combined enterprise foreign to most Arabs. The various clans and families, dwelling each in its own suburb, did not indeed go the length of submitting their private differences to a common tribunal. but for the regulating of public affairs a central authority was created consisting of the representatives of the leading families. The *mala* met and deliberated in the council-house, not far from the Kaaba, known as the Dar-en-Nadwa, which was erected by their reputed ancestor Kosai. The matters which came on for disposal before the assembly referred to questions affecting war and domestic policy, the rearing of the martial standard, and adoption of matrimonial alliances.[5] Yet, doubtless, the annual despatch of caravans, of which at least two (one in winter, one in summer) were of paramount importance, was also committed to the joint deliberations of the *mala*. For the mercantile trips were nearly always of the nature of joint-ventures, in which the different families, each proportionately to its means and prosperity, had something at stake. Perchance the neighbours, too, participated, like those of Taif situate eastward in the mountains.[6] Through this commercial institution Mecca had outstripped all other tribal settlements, and could be accounted the only city worthy of the name in Central Arabia.

The Prophet's Birth and Childhood.

Muhammad,[7] the religious and political reformer of Arabia, came of the Meccan family of Benu Hashim, numbered neither amongst the greatest nor the most illustrious of the city.[8] The year of his birth lies in obscurity. Tradition places it in 571 A. D.[9] His father, Abd Allah bin Abd el Muttalib, died before the child saw the light. Amina, the mother, survived

[4] On the stone-cult in ancient Arabia, see Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, p. 180.

[5] Beladhari, p. 52.

[6] The expression "double city," *Sûra* 43, 30, indicates the close connection between the two cities.

[7] *I. e.*, the highly praised.

[8] [The most influential families in Muhammad's time in Mecca were the Makhzum and the Abd-Shams.— Nöldeke, *Das Leben Muhammad's*, 9. — TR.]

[9] [According to the tradition he was born in the year in which Abraha, a Christian prince of Yemen, invaded Mecca; the expedition, however, came to nought, a fearful epidemic having broken out in his army. Muhammad's mother is said to have entrusted the child, according to the custom of the Koreshites, to a Beduin woman for a few years, in order to nurse him in the salutary air of the desert, but even this seemingly authentic circumstance is called in question by Sprenger with cogent arguments. He traces the story to *a subsequent practice*. — Nöldeke, *op. cit.* p. 11. See also for exhaustive details, Muir, *op. cit.* ci. — TR.]

till the sixth birth-day of Muhammad. The next two years were spent under the fostering care of Abd-el-Muttalib, the grandfather. At his decease Muhammad, now eight years old, was taken into the guardianship of his uncle Abu Taleb (Abd Menaf), an elder brother of Ab Allah. The uncle brought him up to man's estate. The multitude of circumstantial accounts of the future Prophet's early days have no value for us, being, as they are, gratuitous fabrications or tortuous narratives wrested out of passages in the *Qorân*. The sole authentic testimony to Muhammad's childhood is imbedded in *Sûra* 93, 38: —

Thy Lord did not abase thee, nor despised,
Yet the next world shall be better for thee than this,
And thy Lord will endow thee with content.
Did He not find thee an orphan, and yet gave thee shelter?
He found thee astray and conducted thee aright,
And He found thee needy and has enriched thee.

From the above we derive the certainty that Muhammad was an orphan in his youth, that he was reared a heathen, and that only after tiding over a period of straitened circumstances he attained to competence. The latter change was apparently brought about by his first marriage. When he was made a sound merchant by Abu Taleb, and had taken part in several journeys undertaken for purposes of trade, especially to Syria, a rich Meccan widow, named Khadija, who had learnt to appreciate his assiduity and attentions, gave him her hand in marriage. Five and twenty years of age, Muhammad united himself to Khadija, aged 40.[10] He was noted for his newly-acquired fortune — no mean distinction for a Meccan — as much as he had been distinguished by the superiority of his character which had won for him the honoured sobriquet of Amin or the Faithful. Khadija bore him two sons and four daughters, Kasim, Abd Allah,[11] Rukaiya, Umm Kulthuru, Zainab and Fatima. The sons died in infancy.[12] In pursuance of an Arab custom Muhammad got his surname of Abu'l Kasim, father of Kasim, from the name of his eldest boy.

Thus he arrived at mature manhood without having anywise made himself conspicuous among his fellow-burghers. There was nothing extraordinary in him; nothing foreshadowing unusual good fortune. Even the later traditions, which riot in fables, dare not smuggle into the years of travel uncommon traits bespeaking coming greatness. The improbable incident of the part of arbiter, which an accident called upon Muhammad to play, when the Kaaba was reconstructed, serves at best as a proof of his judicious tact, but not of any unique intellectual gift.[13]

Muhammad grew to be full forty years of age — a man like all other men. Then, however, as is the usual Oriental phenomenon, he struck into the path of miracles and visions and was straightway metamorphosed into a spiritual being, who held communion with God Himself and founded and spread a new religion!

This naïve version is given expression to in a variety of traditions, which, as a connected whole as given by **Ibn Ishaq,** the best of the earlier biographers of Muhammad, may be **summarised as under.**

[10] [Khadija's father had set his face against marrying his daughter to a pennyless youth like Muhammad, who had long out-grown the age when marriage could be decently celebrated. But Khadija plied the old man with wine and extorted his consent. When he was sober, it was too late to mend matters, and eventually Muhammad's relatives succeeded in pacifying the father, whose wrath had threatened to terminate in bloodshed. — Nöldeke, *op. cit.* 14. — TR.]

[11] [According to Nöldeke (*op. cit.* 15), the original and real name of the boy was Abd Manaf, which, literally, means slave of the (god) Manaf, and therefore clearly shows that Muhammad at the birth of the child was still an idolater. He adds that Abd Allah is a later invention. — TR.] See Mas'udi, V. 89.

[12] [Verily, "he who hates thee shall be childless" (*Sûra* 108). — "This," says Palmer (*S. B. E.* IX. 343), "is directed against As ibn Wail, who, when Muhammad's son El Qasim died, called him *Ablar*, which means 'docktailed,' *i. e.*, childless." — TR.]

[13] [The story is as interesting as it is apocryphal. See Muir, *op. cit.* 28. — TR.]

Muhammad's inspirations began in this, that he saw "true" visions in sleep; visions which stole on him like the first glow of the dawn. Next, he was seized with an ungovernable passion for solitude. He was wont to pass every year a long month on Hira, a hill near Mecca, and there practise, after the vogue of the heathen Meccans, the rite known as the *tahannuth*.[14] At the end of the month he would go through the sacred ceremony of encircling the Kaaba and return home. In the first year of the "revelation," in the month of Ramadhan, he had once more left Mecca with his family, when one night the angel Jibril (Gabriel) approached him at God's command with a piece of writing and cried: Read. Muhammad did not obey and replied "I do not read."[15] Upon this the visitant pressed him so hard that he thought he would succumb. The angel repeated his demand a second time, and a second time Muhammad stuck to his refusal. But at last he was pleased to interrogate: "What must I read?" Jibril recited: Read in the name of thy Lord who created — man from clotted blood created — read thy Lord is the richest in honour — who taught with the pen — taught men what they knew not." (*Sûra* 96.)

Muhammad repeated it and the angel vanished. He awoke from his trance, rushed out into the open, ran up the middle of the hill, where again his ear was assailed by a voice, "O Muhammad thou art the Apostle of God and Jibril am I." Wrapt in wonderment at this apocalypse, he stood rooted to the spot, till found by some men whom Khadija had sent after him.

With a throbbing heart Muhammad confided to his wife his experience of the apparition, and received in reply words of comfort and encouragement. Waraka bin Naufal, a kinsman of Khadija, who had perused the holy books of the Christians and Jews, and who was himself a Christian convert,[16] gave it as his conviction that the great Nomos, which had descended on Moses, was now sent down to Muhammad. Soon after, Muhammad, quitting Hira, was encompassing the Kaaba, when Naufal predicted to the Prophet that he would be decried and persecuted.

From the familiar's now frequently visiting Muhammad, the wise Khadija argued his genuineness. He must be an angel indeed, and no *shaitan* or satan. She professed herself his first believer and laboured to persuade the Prophet out of his uneasy misgivings.[17]

To the intense annoyance of Muhammad for a time the apparition or 'revelation' ceased, but at last Jibril, once more appearing, announced the commencement of an era of grace with the 93rd *Sûra*. At the same time the Prophet was charged with the duty of prayer, the good spirit coming down every day and training him to punctual devotions at stated hours.

The above is a synopsis of the narrative of Ibn Ishaq. He, too, is no original writer in a strict sense of the term. He goes to work with scissors and paste to harmonise the discrepancies between the elder and the latter-day tradition, as collected by Bukhari, Muslim, &c. But it can be predicated of his and all other accounts of Muhammad's first revelations, no matter whether they are manufactured wholesale or are simply touched up by later chroniclers, that they have next to no value for us and conduce to no trustworthy exposition of Islam in the nascent stages. Let alone the fact that the outlines in them can be rejected without extensive research, as the result of a Qoranic exegesis, either superficial or tortuous and far-fetched, the ground is cut away from under their feet by the circumstances that none of the authors of these relations were in a position to correctly know the events as they happened. Among the so-called authorities we miss all along the old Meccan companions of Muhammad, and this *lacuna* cannot be bridged over by the pleasantries and gossip of even the most favourite of Muhammad's spouses, Aiysha, whose name is coupled with the most

[14] No satisfactory explanation of the term is forthcoming, but see Bukhari, I. 4.

[15] Not an inability to read, but a refusal to do so underlies Muhammad's reply.

[16] [Nöldeke is inclined to hold that Waraka was a convert to Judaism. — TR.]

[17] [Muhammad was tormented with the hallucination that he was possessed with a demoniac spirit and was driven to the verge of laying violent hands on himself. *Cf.* the received authorities, Weil, Sprenger, Muir, Nöldeke. — TR.]

esteemed traditions. Still, if the testimony of the earliest comrades is not forthcoming, we have that of the *Qorân* — a testimony which is authentic and not buried in a mass of apocrypha.

Primitive Islam based on Social Reform.

Now since the testimony of Moslem tradition is extremely doubtful, we shall do well to have solved by Muhammad himself the problem of the origin of the Islamic movement and the circumstances in particular under which Muhammad set out on his career as the founder of a religion, that is, in other words, with the help of the intimation the Prophet affords us in his *Qorân*.

No idea or view in the *Qorân* is inculcated with such sustained insistence as that the Book was the reproduction or recapitulation of supernatural revelation, to proclaim which to the world Muhammad was appointed by God. The manner and mode of this apocalypse is represented in varying images and concepts not lacking a certain air of the mysterious about them. Nevertheless it is not claimed for these inspired divulgations that they are without a precedent or parallel, and that Muhammad, as the messenger of the divine commands and prohibitions, occupied an unique unexampled position in the scheme of creation. On the contrary, the *Qorân* witnesses to several personages of Arab and non-Arab descent, who were the recipients of the written word of God, the so-called *Kitâb*; and in virtue of the writing vouchsafed to himself, Muhammad seems to have regarded himself, not as a superhuman being, but only as a link in the chain of divinely-favoured men. Besides, the times in which he lived evince striking instances of the phenomenon of prophetic vocation assumed by Muhammad. There was a class of men of an extraordinary mental disposition, whose proclivities, to our thinking, bordered upon hallucination. In this connection an inscription, which, along with several others constituting a group, has been recently brought to light,[18] is worthy of notice. **The peculiarity of these stone-cut writings consists in their manifestly monotheistic tone, in which we fail to discover any specific Jewish or Christian traits.** The age of the inscriptions may, with certainty, be fixed at **the middle of the fifth century**; but they may be even of a later origin. They embody prayers in a style greatly akin to the Qoranic diction and addressed to Rahmân or the Merciful, imploring his forgiveness for sins committed, and his acceptance of the offered sacrifices and desiring that he would grant revelations — if the interpretation here does not err — and unfold the future to the faithful. This lends probability to the assumption that **in South Arabia** there prevailed **a monotheistic sect,** according to whose tenets God favoured the men who offered prayers to Him with revelations, though we are left in the dark relative to the mode and the import of such celestial communications. It must have been an analogous notion or belief, with which people were actuated or inspired in Muhammad's age in various localities of Mid and South Arabia, and which expressed itself in pretensions to divine communion. Of these pretenders, the prophet of Yemama, called **Maslama,** whom the Moslems derisively stigmatized the "diminutive," excites special interest. His teachings, which bear a peculiar and rational stamp of their own, and by no means contain all the doctrines of Islam, argue that he was no shallow and sheer imitator of Muhammad. Ibn Hisham (p. 189) says that so early as in the pre-Meccan period the small Maslama was known as the preceptor of the Prophet, which, if a fact, would demonstrate that Maslama's prophetic calling began before Muhammad's. Besides, there arose in the tribe of Aus a prophet **El-Aswad** by name, who carried with him a large part of Yemen. Further, there arose a prophetess called **Sagah,** in whose character, as well as in that of El-Aswad, we come upon many a feature reminiscent of Muhammad. They consider themselves inspired, but whether their claim was based on imitation of Muhammad's pretensions, who had set up as God's mouthpiece much earlier, is an obscure point.

Finally, the system of **the Kahins,** divination, which was flourishing mainly in South Arabia, was, as Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*. III. 133) properly observes, rooted in the popular belief or fallacy that demons or supra-terrestrial existences utilized certain among men as the organs through whom to announce the future. And we have handed down to us aphorisms of Kahins, in which they speak directly in the first person of the Deity.

[18] *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1896, p. 285, *seq.*

Muhammad's claim, therefore, **to divine inspiration**, viewed at in the light of his own generation, **cannot be held something out of the common and astonishing.** When, however, he voiced his call to prophecy with moral earnestness and impressed the circle of his first proselytes with a spirit of ethical rigidity, it was not due so much to his so-called inspiration as the singular nature of the contents of his previsionary outpourings. For, while the clairvoyance of the Kahins concerned itself with the conditions of private life and touching matters of secondary moment, while Maslama's gift of prognostication was occupied with homilies and rules for the conduct of life, while that of El-Aswad to a great extent subserved political interests, Muhammad evinced the aim and ultimate purpose of his afflatus in announcing in burning words, to those around him, the "mene-tekel" of an approaching doomsday. This **doctrine of the Judgment Day**, which starts with the resurrection of the dead and ends with the division of the human race, one part being assigned the region of eternal felicity, the other the seat of the flaming abyss of inferno — this doctrine of the last day Muhammad shared with the Jewish-Christian concept of the same. But with him it is invested with a certain originality in that he contemplates it through the vision of prescience and proclaims it in the poetic phraseology of the Kahins.

The inculcation of the doctrine of doomsday is **the pivot on which turns the entire system of primitive Islam.** It was calculated to strike terrifying awe into the minds of his audience, to permanently turn towards and fix their thoughts on God, and to purge their demeanour in practical life of the barbarous taint of heathenism. Those who acknowledged the Judge of creation must abandon all belief in the Arabian gods of old. The omnipotence of the Lord of mankind and the worlds had no point of contact with the circumscribed power of the heathen deities, male and female. The former ruled over the latter, who were merely his subordinate creatures, if not empty inanities.

The oldest components of the *Qorân* lay more stress on moral obligations than on dogmatic verities, for therein resided the source of internal purification and preparation for the world to come. Prayers were such a source, good works in a higher degree so, but alms was reckoned the supreme fount of purification. Even this precept at the first blush appears to possess slender title to originality, since it was formulated by Judaism and Christianity prior to Muhammad's teaching. The Jews had the identical term *zakat* to connote, "means of purification." But it does not, therefore, follow that the Prophet borrowed it from Judo-Christianity, and, so to say, translated it into Arabic. The preacher of Mecca knew so little about Christians and Jews that, long after his first apparition, he still assumed a sympathiser and supporter in every Jew and Christian and in consequence expected that the truth of his teaching would be corroborated and countenanced by both.[19] Nor was it till after his entry on the Medina period that he came in personal intercourse with the followers of both these relegions and learnt of the principles of their faith which divided them from Islam. Accordingly, what is apparently of Judo-Christian origin in Muhammad's first evangel he must doubtless have acquired in an indirect or roundabout way; and the intermediary must be sought in the circle of those men whom Moslem tradition designates **Hanifs,** and further describes as settlers in diverse places of Central Arabia, Mecca, &c. They were inclined to eschew the immemorial Arabian idolatry and the sacrificial feasts, to worship instead the God of Abraham, to denounce social abuses like the burying alive of new-born infants, and lastly to devote themselves to an ascetic mode of life. It will be evident therefore that we have to look upon **the Hanifs of mid-Arabia as the exponents of a monotheistic community arisen on the confines of Christianity and Judaism.**

In Hanifism, however, Muhammad saw but a preliminary step towards the sanctuary of his new dogma. He did not style himself a Hanîf, and confined the epithet almost exclusively to Abraham. The consciousness, probably, of himself being a Prophet raised him above the relatively insignificant status of a Hanif, and he was actuated by the ambition to see the reverence paid to him by his disciples deepen and to bring that awful homage in line with the circumstances amid

[19] *Sûra* 10, 94; 26, 19; 28, 52.

which he was placed in Mecca. For it was in Mecca that his keen observation spied out the numerous evils of time-honoured vogue, which were corroding society and were crying the loudest for reform. A class of affluent inhabitants, who had the monopoly of money and market, was opposed to the indigent many, whose faces it ground with relentless cruelty. The heaviest indictments and attacks in the *Qorân* are directed against this aristocracy, who were prompted by their insatiate passion for lucre, and who perpetrated fraud with false weights and measures. Against them are contrasted the famishing poor, the mendicants that are spurned, the orphans who are defrauded, and the slaves who in vain struggle for manumission or ransom.[20] This social atmosphere of Mecca, as delineated by the Prophet, enables us to comprehend how Muhammad's first exhortations placed the advancement of practical piety at the head of the duties incumbent upon the faithful who feared the Judgment Day, and why he recommended eleemosynary gifts as the *sine qua non* of spiritual purification. Nevertheless, that this cleansing of the soul was so prescribed as to be solely dependent upon the free will and the unfettered action of the individual is a characteristic feature of the primitive Islam. "Let him who will adopt the path leading to his Lord" (*Sûra* 76, 29). At this period the doctrines of the limitations to salvation, election and predestination as yet were not propounded. The hopes entertained were too fervid and the success obtained against the bad world too rapid for the introduction of such circumscribing innovations.

Then, with this programme, behold **Muhammad** standing at the commencement of his mission. What is novel and what imparts greatness to the initial stage of his career is that **he unites in one person the ecstatic Kahin and the ascetic Hanif,** the preacher of the gospel of doomsday and the enthusiastic social reformer.

(To be continued.)

SUBHASHITAMALIKA.

Translated from German Poets.

BY PROFESSOR C. CAPPELLER, PH.D., JENA.

(Continued from p. 308.)

Great and Small.

30

Wisst ihr, wie auch der Kleine was ist? Er mache das Kleine
Recht; der Grosse begehrt just so das Grosse zu thun. GOETHE.

अल्पोऽपि पात्रतामेति सम्यक्कुर्वन्यदल्पकम् ।
एतेनैव प्रकारेण यन्महत्कुरुते महान् ॥

alpô 'pi pâtratâm êti samyak kurvan yad alpakam ।
êtênaiva prakârêṇa yan mahat kurutê mahân ॥

31

Wenn einer sich wohl im Kleinen deucht,
So denke, der hat was Grosses erreicht. GOETHE.

स्वल्पे वस्तुनि कस्मिंश्चित्परितुष्यति यो नरः ।
अनेनैव महत्किंचिदवापीति विभाति मे ॥

svalpê vastuni kasmiṁśchit paritushyati yô naraḥ ।
anênaiva mahat kiṁchid avâpîti vibhâti mê ॥

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[20] *Sûra* 102, 1, 100, 8, 83, 1, 89, 16; also 107, 2, 80, 1.

32

Mit leichtem Muthe knüpft der arme Fischer
Den kleinen Nachen an im sichern Port,
Sieht er im Sturm das grosse Meerschiff stranden.

SCHILLER.

लघूडुपं प्रसन्नात्मा तीरे बध्नाति धीवरः ।
नावं सुमहतीं पश्यन्भज्यमानां महार्णवे ॥

laghûḍupaṁ prasannâtmâ tîrê badhnâti dhîvaraḥ ।
nâvaṁ sumahatîṁ paśyan bhajyamânâṁ mahârṇavê ॥

33

Nicht jeder wandelt nur gemeine Stege:
Du siehst, die Spinnen bauen luftge Wege.

GOETHE.

न क्षुद्रोऽपि जनो नित्यं नीचारम्भणतत्परः ।
उच्चैःस्थानेषु लूताभिर्बध्यन्ते पश्य तन्तवः ॥

na kshudrô 'pi janô nityaṁ nîchârambhaṇatatparaḥ ।
uchchaiḥsthânêshu lûtâbhir badhyantê paśya tantavaḥ ॥

34

Frei von Tadel zu sein ist der niedrigste Grad und der höchste:
Denn nur die Ohnmacht führt oder die Grösse dazu.

SCHILLER.

जघन्यां च गतिं विद्धि परमां च विदोषताम् ।
तस्या यल्लघिमा हेतुः शीलस्य महिमाथवा ॥

jaghanyâṁ cha gatiṁ viddhi paramâṁ cha vidôshatâm ।
tasyâ yal laghimâ hêtuḥ śîlasya mahimâthavâ ॥

Cf. Subhâshitâvali 1925.

35

Die Sterne zankten sich, wer grössres Licht verbreite;
Die Sonne stieg: aus war es mit dem Streite.

NICOLAI.

ताराभिः स्पर्धमानाभिर्मम ज्योतिर्महत्तरम् ।
इति त्यक्तो विवादोऽसावुदये तीक्ष्णमालिनः ॥

târâbhiḥ spardhamânâbhir mama jyôtir mahattaram ।
iti tyaktô vivâdô' sâv udayê tikshṇamâlinaḥ ॥

Cf. Drishṭântaś. 94.

36

Völker verrauschen,
Namen verklingen;
Finstre Vergessenheit
Breitet die dunkelnachtenden Schwingen
Ueber ganze Geschlechter aus.

Aber der Fürsten
Einsame Häupter
Glänzen erhellt,
Und Aurora berührt sie
Mit den ewigen Strahlen,
Als die ragenden Gipfel der Welt. SCHILLER.

नश्यन्ति क्षितयो जनाश्च बत रे वंशाश्च नामानि च
क्षिप्रं विस्मृतितामसी जनपदान्व्याप्नोति सान्द्रा भुवि ।
ईशानां तु यशांसि भान्ति विरलं शृङ्गाणि भूमेरिव
स्पृष्टान्यर्कमरीचिभिः समुदितैः स्मर्तव्यशोभानि च ॥

naśyanti kshitayô janâś cha bata rê vaṁśâś cha nâmâni cha
kshipraṁ vismṛititâmasî janapadân vyâpnôti sândrâ bhuvi ।
îśânâṁ tu yaśâṁsi bhânti viralaṁ śriṅgâṇi bhûmêr iva
spṛishṭâny arkamarîchibhiḥ samuditaiḥ smartavyaśôbhâni cha ॥

Lords and Servants.

37

Mit einem Herren steht es gut,
Der was er befohlen selber thut. GOETHE.

भर्तुरेवंविधस्यैव कार्यसिद्धिर्भविष्यति ।
यो यदाज्ञापयामास भृत्यवत्कुरुते स्वयम् ॥

bhartur êvaṁvidhasyaiva kâryasiddhir bhavishyati ।
yô yad âjñâpayâmâsa bhṛityavat kurutê svayam ॥

38

Wer ist ein unbrauchbarer Mann ?
Wer nicht befehlen und auch nicht gehorchen kann. GOETHE.

अमुं कुपुरुषं मन्ये यो नाज्ञापयितुं स्वयम् ।
न च शुश्रूषितुं वाचं साधूनामध्यवस्यति ॥

amuṁ kupurushaṁ manyê yô nâjñâpayituṁ svayam ।
na cha śuśrûshituṁ vâchaṁ sâdhûnâm adhyavasyati ॥

39

Mancher liegt schon lang im Grabe und beherrscht noch diese Welt ;
Unterdessen schläft der andre, der zum Herrschen ist bestellt. W. MÜLLER.

कश्चिच्छास्ति गुणोत्कर्षान्महीं चिरमृतोऽपि सन् ।
साम्राज्ये स्थापितो यावदन्यो मुह्यति निद्रया ॥

kaśchich chhâsti guṇôtkarshân mahîṁ chiramṛitô 'pi san ।
sâmrâjyê sthâpitô yâvad anyô muhyati nidrayâ ॥

40

Aber wenn sich die Fürsten befehden,
Müssen die Diener sich morden und tödten ;
Das ist die Ordnung, so will es das Recht.

SCHILLER.

अन्योऽन्यं चेदसूयन्ति विद्विषन्ति च पार्थिवाः ।
व्यतिघ्नन्ति प्रजास्तेषामिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः ॥

anyô 'nyaṁ chêd asûyanti vidvishanti cha pârthivâḥ ।
vyatighnanti prajâs têshâm iti dharmô vyavasthitaḥ ॥

41

Entzwei und gebiete! tüchtig Wort.
Verein und leite ! bessrer Hort.

GOETHE.

वरं मित्रोपलम्भेन प्रणेतुं साधुना पथा ।
न तु शत्रूपजापेन शासितुं विवशाः प्रजाः ॥

varaṁ mitrôpalambhêna praṇêtuṁ sâdhunâ pathâ ।
na tu śatrûpajâpêna śâsituṁ vivaśâḥ prajâḥ ॥

Friends and Foes.

42

Wer Freunde sucht, ist sie zu finden werth ;
Wer keinen hat, hat keinen noch begehrt.

LESSING.

मित्रमिच्छति यो लब्धुं स मित्रं प्राप्तुमर्हति ।
यस्य नो सन्ति मित्राणि न मित्राण्यन्वियेष सः ॥

mitram ichchhati yô labdhuṁ sa mitraṁ prâptum arhati ।
yasya nô santi mitrâṇi na mitrâṇy anviyêsha saḥ ॥

43

Der sei dir nicht erkiest,
Der Freund ihm selbst nicht ist ;
Wer Freund ihm selbst nur ist,
Der sei dir nicht erkiest.

LOGAU.

आत्मनो नास्ति यन्मित्रं तस्य मान्विष्य सौहृदम् ।
न चाप्येष सुहृत्कार्यः प्रिय आत्मन एव यः ॥

âtmanô nâsti yan mitraṁ tasya mânvishya sauhṛidam ।
na châpy êsha suhṛit kâryaḥ priya âtmana êva yaḥ ॥

44

Wenn die Armuth durch die Thüre kommt geschlichen in das Haus,
Stürzt auch schon die falsche Freundschaft aus dem Fenster sich heraus.

W. MÜLLER.

यदा विशति दारिद्र्यं द्वारेण शनकैर्गृहम् ।
कुमित्राणि गवाक्षेण निष्पतन्ति बहिः क्षणात् ॥

yadâ viśati dâridryaṁ dvârêṇa śanakair gṛiham ।
kumitrâṇi gavâkshêṇa nishpatanti bahiḥ kshaṇât ॥

Cf. Mṛichchh. I. 4.

45

Fache den Funken nicht an, der zwischen Freunden erglimmt ist:
Leicht versöhnen sie sich, und du bist beiden verhasst.

HERDER.

मा कृथा मित्रयोरन्तर्वैरज्वलनधुक्षणम् ।
अचिराच्चक्रुषोः संधिं स्वयं द्वेषमुपैष्यसि ॥

mâ kṛithâ mitrayôr antar vairajvalanadhukshaṇam ।
achirâch chakrushôḥ saṁdhiṁ svayaṁ dvêsham upaishyasi ॥

46

Theuer ist mir der Freund; doch auch den Feind kann ich nützen:
Zeigt mir der Freund was ich kann, lehrt mich der Feind was ich soll.

SCHILLER.

वयस्यो बहुमन्तव्यो न त्वमित्रोऽप्यनर्थकः ।
शक्यक्रियं दिशत्येकः कार्यं यत्त्वस्ति मेऽपरः ॥

vayasyô bahumantavyô na tv amitrô 'py anarthakaḥ ।
ṡakyakriyaṁ diṡaty êkaḥ kâryaṁ yat tv asti mê 'paraḥ ॥

47

Zum Hassen oder Lieben
Ist alle Welt getrieben,
Es bleibet keine Wahl,
Der Teufel ist neutral.

BRENTANO.

कर्तव्यौ सर्वलोकेन रागद्वेषौ ब्रवीम्यहम् ।
प्रसक्ते पक्षपातित्व उदासीनो नपुंसकः ॥

kartavyau sarvalôkêna râgadvêshau bravîmy aham ।
prasaktê pakshapâtitva udâsînô napuṁsakaḥ ॥

Calumny.

48

Die Mücken singen erst, bevor sie einen stechen;
Verleumder lästern drauf, indem sie lieblich sprechen.

LOGAU.

रुवन्ति प्रथमं कर्णे तुदन्ति मशकास्ततः ।
भाषन्ते मधुरं यावद्व्रणयन्त्यपरं खलाः ॥

ruvanti prathamaṁ karṇê tudanti maṡakâs tataḥ ।
bhâshantê madhuraṁ yâvad vraṇayanty aparaṁ khalâḥ ॥

Cf. Hitôp. I. 76.

49

Wenn dich die Lästerzunge sticht,
So lass dir dies zum Troste sagen:
Die schlechtsten Früchte sind es nicht,
Woran die Wespen nagen.

BÜRGER.

दष्टो लोकापवादेन सुखमास्ते विचक्षणः ।
कुफलानि न खाद्यन्ते मक्षिकाभिरिति स्मरन् ॥

dashṭô lôkâpavâdêna sukham âstê vichakshaṇaḥ ।
kuphalâni na khâdyantê makshikâbhir iti smaran ॥

50

Es liebt die Welt das Strahlende zu schwärzen
Und das Erhabne in den Staub zu ziehn.

SCHILLER.

यततेऽयं सदा लोकः श्यामीकर्तुं यदुज्ज्वलम् ।
उच्चस्थानगतं यच्च न्यक्कर्तुं पादपांसुवत् ॥

yatatê 'yaṁ sadâ lôkaḥ śyâmîkartuṁ yad ujjvalam ।
uchchasthânagataṁ yach cha nyakkartuṁ pâdapâṁsuvat ॥

Concord and Strife.

51

Schön ist der Friede, ein lieblicher Knabe
Liegt er gelagert am ruhigen Bach,
Und die munteren Lämmer grasen
Lustig um ihn auf dem grünenden Rasen;
Süsses Tönen entlockt er der Flöte,
Und das Echo des Berges wird wach,
Oder im Schimmer der Abendröthe
Wiegt ihn in Schlummer der ruhige Bach.

Aber der Krieg hat auch seine Ehre,
Der Beweger des Menschengeschicks.
Das Gesetz ist der Freund der Schwachen,
Alles will es nur eben machen,
Möchte gerne die Welt verflachen;
Aber der Krieg lässt die Kraft erscheinen,
Alles erhebt er zum Ungemeinen,
Selber dem Feigen erzeugt er den Muth.

SCHILLER.

सुरम्यः क्षेमो यः प्रियतमवपुर्बालक इव
प्रसन्नाया नद्याः सुतृणवति शेते द्रुमतटे ।
गवां मध्ये प्रीतो मुखरयति वंशीं च मधुरं
लघुं त्वस्मै स्वप्नं श्रवणसुभगागायति सरित् ॥

प्रशंसेयुश्चान्ये नृकलनकरं विग्रहमपि
प्रतन्वन्तं शौर्यं सकलगुणवृद्धिं विदधतम् ।
वरं वीर्यं धर्मादबलजनमित्रात्प्रयतते
समीकर्तुं कृत्स्नं प्रकृतिविषमं यो जगदिति ॥

suramyaḥ kshêmô yaḥ priyatamavapur bâlaka iva
prasannâyâ nadyâḥ sutriṇavati śêtê drumataṭê ।
gavâṁ madhyê prîtô mukharayati vaṁśîṁ cha madhuraṁ
laghuṁ tv asmai svapnaṁ śravaṇasubhagâgâyati sarit ॥

praśaṁsêyuś chânyê nṛikalanakaraṁ vigraham api
pratanvantaṁ śauryaṁ sakalaguṇavṛiddhiṁ vidadhatam ।
varaṁ vîryaṁ dharmâd abalajanamitrât prayatatê
samîkartuṁ kṛitsnaṁ prakṛitivishamaṁ yô jagad iti ॥

52

Es kann der Frömmste nicht in Frieden bleiben,
Wenn es dem bösen Nachbar nicht gefällt.

SCHILLER.

नोत्सहेत क्षमिष्ठोऽपि संधिं संपरिरक्षितुम् ।
विग्रहो यदि रोचेत दुर्धिये प्रतिवेशिने ॥

nôtsahêta kshamishṭhô 'pi saṁdhiṁ saṁparirakshitum ।
vigrahô yadi rôchêta durdhiyê prativêṣinê ॥

Pleasure, Wealth, Merit.

53

"Gerne dien' ich den Freunden, doch thu ich es leider mit Neigung,
Und so wurmt es mich oft, dass ich nicht tugendhaft bin."
"Da ist kein anderer Rath, du musst suchen, sie zu verachten,
Und mit Abscheu alsdann thun, was die Pflicht dir gebeut."

SCHILLER.

कामान्मित्रजनं सेवे न धर्मेण प्रचोदितः ।
तस्मादधार्मिकोऽस्मीति दह्यते हृदयं मम ॥
यतितव्यं सखीन्द्वेष्टुं प्रीतिमुन्मूल्य तत्परम् ।
धर्महेतोर्भजस्वैनानन्यदत्र न विद्यते ॥

kâmân mitrajanaṁ sêvê na dharmêṇa prachôditaḥ ।
tasmâd adhârmikô 'smîti dahyatê hṛidayaṁ mama ॥
yatitavyaṁ sakhîn dvêshṭuṁ prîtiṁ unmûlya tatparam ।
dharmahêtôr bhajasvainân anyad atra na vidyatê ॥

54

Nicht an die Güter hänge dein Herz,
Die das Leben vergänglich zieren;
Wer besitzt, der lerne verlieren,
Wer im Glück ist, der lerne den Schmerz.

SCHILLER.

मा द्रव्येषु मनो धत्स्व नश्वरद्युतिशोभिषु ।
चिन्तनीयः क्षयो वृद्धौ स्मर्तव्यापच्च संपदि ॥

mâ dravyêshu manô dhatsva naśvaradyutiśôbhishu ।
chintanîyaḥ kshayô vṛiddhau smartavyâpach cha ṣampadi ॥

55

Wüsst' ich mein Herz an zeitlich Gut gefesselt,
Den Brand würf' ich hinein mit eigner Hand.

SCHILLER.

वित्तेषु यदि जानीयामासक्तं हृदयं मम ।
आनीय निजहस्ताभ्यां दहेयं तानि वह्निना ॥

vittêshu yadi jânîyâm âsaktaṁ hṛidayaṁ mama ।
ânîya nijahastâbhyâṁ dahêyaṁ tâni vahninâ ॥

56

Geniesse was du hast, als ob du heute
Noch sterben solltest, aber spar' es auch,
Als ob du ewig lebtest. Der allein ist weise,
Der, beides eingedenk, im Sparen zu
Geniessen, im Genuss zu sparen weiss.

WIELAND.

मुमूर्षुरद्येव धनानि भुङ्क्ष्व
जिजीविषुस्तानि सदेव रक्ष ।
यो रक्षति स्वानि धनानि भुञ्ज-
न्भुङ्क्ते च रक्षन्स जनो मनस्वी ॥

mumûrshur adyêva dhanâni bhuṅkshva
jijîvishus tâni sadêva raksha ।
yô rakshati svâni dhanâni bhuñjan
bhuṅktê cha rakshan sa janô manasvî ॥

Cf. Hitôp. Introd. 3.

57

Lockte die Neugier nicht den Menschen mit heftigen Reizen,
Sprecht, erführ' er wohl je, wie schön sich die weltlichen Dinge
Neben einander verhalten? Denn erst verlangt er das Neue,
Suchet das Nützliche dann mit unermüdlichem Fleisse,
Endlich begehrt er das Gute, das ihn erhebet und werth macht.

GOETHE.

दुर्धर्षेण कुतूहलेन यदि न प्रेर्येत जन्तुः सदा
वस्तूनां व्यतिषङ्गमद्भुतमिमं लोके समीक्षेत किम् ।
आदौ प्रार्थयते नवं प्रियकरं यत्त्वर्थकृत्तत्परं
पश्चाद्धर्मपथं चरन्बहुमतो यात्युन्नतिं पुण्यभाक् ॥

durdharshêṇa kutûhalêna yadi na prêryêta jantuḥ sadâ
vastûnâṁ vyatishaṅgam adbhutam imaṁ lôkê samîkshêta kim ।
âdau prârthayatê navaṁ priyakaraṁ yat tv arthakṛit tatparaṁ
paśchâd dharmapathaṁ charan bahumatô yâty unnatiṁ puṇyabhâk ॥

58

Thu nur das Rechte in deinen Sachen;
Das andre wird sich von selber machen.

GOETHE.

धर्ममाचर विश्वस्तः सर्वेषु तव कर्मसु ।
धर्मस्य व्रजतां मार्गे यद्यदीप्सन्ति सेत्स्यति ॥

dharmam âchara viśvastaḥ sarvêshu tava karmasu ।
dharmasya vrajatâṁ mârgê yaḍ yad îpsanti sêtsyati ॥

59

Thu nur das Gute und wirf es ins Meer;
Weiss es der Fisch nicht, so weiss es der Herr.

सत्कृत्यैव यथाशक्ति क्षिप सत्कारमर्णवे ।
मत्स्यो यद्यपि नो वेद वेद त्वत्कृतमीश्वरः ॥

satkrityaiva yathâsakti kshipa satkâram arṇavê ।
matsyô yady api nô vêda vêda tvatkṛitam îsvaraḥ ॥

60

Und was kein Verstand der Verständigen sieht,
Das übet in Einfalt ein kindlich Gemüth. SCHILLER.

यच्च बुद्धिमतां बुद्ध्या मनागपि न दृश्यते ।
स्वैरं तदाचरत्येव बालको मुग्धमानसः ॥

yach cha buddhimatâṁ buddhyâ manâg api na dṛisyatê ।
svairaṁ tad âcharaty êva bâlakô mugdhamânasaḥ ॥

Love.

61

Mein Herz, ich will dich fragen:
Was ist denn Liebe? Sag! —
"Zwei Seelen und ein Gedanke,
Zwei Herzen und ein Schlag!"

Und sprich: woher kommt Liebe?
"Sie kommt und sie ist da."
Und sprich: wie schwindet Liebe?
"Die wars nicht, ders geschah." HALM.

हृदय ब्रूहि किंभूतः शृङ्गारः प्रतिभाति ते ।
चित्तद्वंद्वस्य धीरेका कम्प एको द्वयोर्हृदोः ॥

किमुद्भवस्तु शृङ्गार उद्भवत्यास्ति च क्षणे ।
किमन्तो नास्ति तस्यान्तो नाभवद्ध्यभवद्यदि ॥

hṛidaya brûhi kiṁbhûtaḥ sṛiṅgâraḥ pratibhâti tê ।
chittadvaṁdvasya dhîr êkâ kampa êkô dvayôr hṛidôḥ ॥

kimudbhavas tu sṛiṅgâra udbhavaty asti cha kshaṇê ।
kimantô nâsti tasyântô nâbhavad dhy abhavad yadi ॥

62

Das ist die wahre Liebe, die immer und ewig sich gleich bleibt,
Wenn man ihr alles gewährt, wenn man ihr alles versagt. GOETHE.

सत्यां प्रीतिमवैम्येतां तुल्यतां या न मुञ्चति ।
कामं प्राप्य च सर्वत्र प्रतिषिद्धा च सर्वतः ॥

satyâṁ prîtim avaimy êtâṁ tulyatâṁ yâ na muñcati ।
kâmaṁ prâpya cha sarvatra pratishiddhâ cha sarvataḥ ॥

63.

Auch die Liebe bewegt das Leben,
Dass sich die graulichten Farben erheben.
Leicht betrügt sie die glücklichen Jahre,
Die gefällige Tochter des Schaums;
In das Gemeine und Traurig-wahre
Mischt sie die Bilder des goldenen Traums.

SCHILLER.

कामोऽपि लोकस्य महाप्रचोदको
विचित्रयत्यस्य विधूसराकृतिम् ।
तत्त्वे च मायां ललितां विमिश्रय-
न्प्रतारयत्यभ्यधिकं वयो नवम् ॥

kâmô 'pi lôkasya mahâprachôdakô
vichitrayaty asya vidhûsarâkṛitim ।
tattvê cha mâyâṁ lalitâṁ vimiśrayan
pratârayaty abhyadhikaṁ vayô navam ॥

64

Liebe, menschlich zu beglücken,
Nähert sie ein edles Zwei;
Doch um göttlich zu entzücken,
Bildet sie ein köstlich Drei.

GOETHE.

कामो मानुषहर्षाय शुभं योजयति द्वयम् ।
देवानां तु महातृप्त्यै निर्माति त्रयमद्भुतम् ॥

kâmô mânushaharshâya śubhaṁ yôjayati dvayam।
dêvânâṁ tu mahâtṛiptyai nirmâti trayam adbhutam ॥

Separation.

65

Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt,
Weiss was ich leide!
Allein und abgetrennt
Von aller Freude,
Seh ich ans Firmament
Nach jener Seite.
Ach, der mich liebt und kennt
Ist in der Weite.
Es schwindelt mich, es brennt
Mein Eingeweide.

GOETHE.

औत्सुक्यस्यानभिज्ञः प्रणयिविरहिता यत्क्षमेऽहं न वेद
प्रोत्पश्यन्ती दिगन्तं गतनयनसुखा तुष्टिहीना स्थितास्मि ।
यो मां जानाति यो मां मनसि निहितवान्दूरवर्ती जनोऽसौ
भ्रान्त्याक्रान्तं शिरो मे दहति च हृदयं निर्दयः कामवह्निः ॥

autsukyasyânabhijñaḥ praṇayivirahitâ yat kshamê 'haṁ na vêda
prôtpaśyantî digantaṁ gatanayanasukhâ tushṭihînâ sthitâsmi ।
yô mâṁ jânâti yô mâṁ manasi nihitavân dûravartî janô 'sau
bhrântyâkrântaṁ śirô mê dahati cha hṛidayaṁ nirdayaḥ kâmavahniḥ ॥

66

Das ist im Leben hässlich eingerichtet,
Dass bei den Rosen gleich die Dornen stehn,
Und was das arme Herz auch sehnt und dichtet,
Zum Schlusse kommt das Voneinandergehn. SCHEFFEL.

केतकीनां सुगन्धीनां यथा कण्टकवेष्टनम् ।
विश्लेषः प्रणयस्यान्तो हतदैवेन कल्पितः ॥

kêtakînâṁ sugandhînâṁ yathâ kaṇṭakavêshṭanam ।
viślêshaḥ praṇayasyântô hatadaivêna kalpitaḥ ॥

Care.

67

Die Sorge nistet gleich im tiefen Herzen,
Dort wirket sie geheime Schmerzen,
Unruhig wiegt sie sich und störet Glück und Ruh ;
Sie deckt sich stets mit neuen Masken zu,
Sie mag als Haus und Hof, als Weib und Kind erscheinen,
Als Feuer, Wasser, Dolch und Gift ;
Du bebst vor allem, was nicht trifft,
Und was du nie verlierst, das musst du stets beweinen. GOETHE.

चिन्ता रे हृदयं नृणां निविशते दुःखं रहः कुर्वती
स्वास्थ्यं चात्र विनाशयत्यहरहः संरुन्धती निर्वृतिम् ।
नानावेषधरा विषाग्निसलिलस्त्रीपुत्ररूपान्विता
मिथ्या संतनुते भयं विलपनं चैतस्य नष्टं न यत् ॥

chintâ rê hṛidayaṁ nṛiṇâṁ niviśatê duḥkhaṁ rahaḥ kurvatî
svâsthyaṁ châtra vinâśayaty ahar ahaḥ saṁrundhatî nirvṛitim ।
nânâvêshadharâ vishâgnisalilastrîputrarûpânvitâ
mithyâ saṁtanutê bhayaṁ vilapanaṁ chaitasya nashṭaṁ na yat ॥

Cf. Châṇ. 62.

68

Nimmer verzage der Mensch umringt von düsteren Sorgen.
Auf das Dunkel der Nacht folget der leuchtende Tag. BUBE.

चिन्तातिमिरसंछन्नो मा विषीदतु मानुषः ।
उद्यतः सवितुर्ज्योतिः शर्वरीमनुषज्जते ॥

chintâtimirasaṁchhannô mâ vishîdatu mânushaḥ ।
udyataḥ savitur jyôtiḥ śarvarîm anushajjatê ॥

Cf. M. Bh. III. 15489 ; XII. 754 ; XIV. 1229.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE LUSHAIS AT HOME.[1]

Marriage is entirely civil contract among the Lushais, and can be dissolved by either party. A woman on leaving her husband takes with her only what she brought originally from her father's house. If a young man takes a fancy to a girl and wishes to marry, he informs his father, who sets about negociations with the girl's parents, aided by two old counsellors, who are called *pillai*, and who do all the talking and fix the amount demanded. The parents of the girl generally commence by asking a great deal, but eventually a settlement is made, the price being in ordinary cases a gun, valued at Rs. 25 to Rs. 30, and a pig or fowls. On the price being paid, the pig is killed, and several big jars of rice-beer are brewed and feasting and dancing take place. On the second day the bride goes to her husband's house and they are man and wife. It may happen that a father, tempted by a high offer, gives his daughter in marriage to some one she does not like. In this case she runs away from her husband and is not thought wrong for doing so, but her father has to return the price paid for his daughter, and she is free to marry again. Very lengthened periods elapse sometimes before the price of the bride is paid by the husband, and I mention as an instance an old friend of mine, Shyaltonga by name, who is the father of eight children, and who only paid the remainder of his wife's purchase a very short time ago on receiving a large reward from me for services rendered as a guide.

Women are held in much consideration among the Lushais, and they have much influence and are consulted on all matters. Yet upon them falls all the heavy bodily burden of fetching water, hewing wood, bringing food from the *jhûms*, cooking, brewing liquor and spinning. The Lushais are not prolific as a race, and seldom have more than three or four children. They suckle their children for a great length of time — up to three and four years of age. One peculiarity I have noticed, *viz.*, that a mother gives her child rice two or three days after birth, a thing I have never known among any other natives of India. She chews the rice in her mouth and puts it into the child's mouth with her tongue.

Just before entering every Lushai village one sees groups of *machâns* made of hewed logs, and alongside them upright poles covered with heads of pigs, deer, *gyâl* and other animals. These are the burial-grounds. When any one falls ill and seems likely to die, the Pui-thiem, literally the great knower (we should call him sorcerer; *N.B.*—The Lushais call all our doctors *pui-thiem*), is called in, and as he may direct, a *gyâl*, pig, goat, or dog is killed and feasted on, a slight portion being given to the sick man who may or may not recover. In the event of a goat being the animal killed, a small portion of its skin with hair attached is tied round the sick person's neck. If the sick person dies, all the relatives are called in, and according to the family's means, pigs, &c., are killed, and all friends and relatives are feasted. Quantities of liquor are drunk, and the next day the body is buried in the ground. If a male, with the corpse is placed his pipe, his knife, dagger or spear, and in all cases cooked rice and a small quantity of rice-beer are placed by the side of the body. In some cases, such as when the father of a family dies, the corpse is dressed in a fine cloth and propped up in the presence of all the friends and relatives, food is placed in front of him and a pipe is placed between his teeth, and he is addressed thus: "Eat and drink. You have a long journey before you."

When a chief or his son dies, the ceremony is, of course, more imposing. When a large and powerful Sailû chief died some years ago, 60 *gyâls* were slaughtered by his relatives and friends, and the feasting and drinking lasted for several months. On one occasion I myself, when visiting the Haulong Chief Sayipuia, witnessed the funeral rites of his son, a boy about ten years of age, who had been dead for more than a month, going on. I was invited into his house as I had known the boy well, and this is what I saw:—In the centre of the room was a coffin roughly hewed out of a tree in which the corpse lay. The top had been plastered with mud to make it air-tight, and from the bottom of the coffin, through the floor of the house, ran a large bamboo tube, which was buried deep in the ground. By the coffin was a gun, and close to it sat the poor mother weeping and calling on her son by name. At times she would turn to me and say: "Brother, you knew my son and he called you father, and now he is dead." I was much affected, and according to custom I purchased a goat and killed it in honour of the dead.

[1] From the *Pioneer Mail*, May 1890.

To continue, however. The corpse was kept in this coffin in the house for five months, during which time Sayipuia never left his house, never ate rice or meat. At the end of five months the bones were taken out and removed to the family burial-ground. The Shendus, from what little we saw of their country during the last expedition, have more elaborate burial-grounds. The graves are lined with huge slabs of stone, and slabs are also erected over the tomb; and on one occasion, in addition to the skulls of animals, two human skulls were seen fastened on poles over the tomb. When Hausata's tomb was opened out by us after burning his village during the late expedition, by his side was Lieutenant Stewart's gun, the chief's pipe, knife, a bottle of liquor, and a small head-dress made of the tail feathers of the chemraj bird.

The Lushais as a race may be said to be free from any **infectious diseases.** They suffer from remittent fever, boils, and inflammation of the bowels, brought on from over-eating and over-drinking. They, in the year 1861, brought back cholera with them from a raid they made in British territory, and thus spread the greatest terror among them, many of them, I am told, blowing out their brains on the first appearance of the disease showing itself. They named cholera *vay-dam-loh* (foreign sickness). In the same way they once caught small-pox in the Kassalong Bazaar in 1860.

A very curious fact is that the Lushais have absolutely **no knowledge of any drug or medicine in any form whatever.** This I look upon as most extraordinary, and I have never heard of any tribe, however savage it may be, without any knowledge of such. The Chakmas, Maghs, and Tipperahs, who, though to a certain extent civilized, still have the same mode of life as the Lushais, all have their drugs. A great many of the Lushais have, of course, heard of our medicines, and the result is that, when visiting their villages, old men and maidens, young men and old women and children with various ailments are brought to me to be doctored. I restrict myself to cases of fever, and the effect of a few grains of quinine on them is simply marvellous. I have effected a few simple cures with the aid of quinine, cholorodyne, and essence of ginger, but the climax in my doctoring capabilities was reached when a husband brought his wife to me and solemnly assured me that her accouchement was already two months overdue, and could I give any drug that would make up for lost time? I saw at a glance that the poor woman was suffering from dropsy, but looked very wise and suggested that perhaps the cares of his family, coupled with the scarcity of rice, had interfered with his powers of calculation. As I am writing this I have with some difficulty persuaded an old Lushai friend of mine to bring in his daughter to be operated on by our medical officer here. The woman is suffering from a cancerous tumour on the back of the head, which is necessarily very painful, and she has with great courage given herself entirely into my hands, though I told her she would suffer pain and have to be lanced. I am glad to say the operation has been most successful.

The Lushais have in every village one or more **blacksmiths,** the *thir-deng,* who is a man of some importance; he receives certain tribute of rice and other produce for his work. Close to the *zalbuk* a small shed is generally found, and this is the forge, which is very simple but at the same time effective. It consists of two upright hollow bamboos about six inches in diameter, which are placed in the ground; into these two rammers made of bird's feathers, with handles attached, when pulled up and down act as bellows on the channel made at the foot of the bamboos. The Lushais have learnt all they know of blacksmith's work from Bengal captives, and the trade has been handed down. They can repair the locks of guns, can make spears, *daos* and knives, and I have heard, though I cannot vouch for the accuracy of it, that they have been known to turn a Snider rifle into a flint-lock. Brass they can also work slightly in, the stems of all the women's pipes being made of an ornamental pattern in brass, also the handles of knives. Then, again, the bowls of the men's bamboo pipes are often lined with copper made from pice procured in the bazaar. The Lushai's knowledge of **pottery** is confined to making cooking pots and huge big vessels for making rice-beer. They are made of a blackish clay and are very strong and rarely break. The liquor vessels are made nearly an inch thick and about two feet in height. They have **wooden platters** for their food and wooden or bamboo spoons. They make all kinds of very fine **basket-work** with split cane and bamboo, and are very ingenious in making devices. It is astonishing what a complete feature in the life of all the Chittagong Hill tribes the bamboo is as well as the cane. I may mention here a few of their uses. First, the houses are nearly all bamboo, the roof being of cane leaves; the water is fetched by the women from their springs in hollow bamboos; from bamboo they make spoons,

rice-sifting baskets, baskets to carry loads, baskets to hold their household goods, baskets to hold fowls ; they use bamboo root to make handles for their daos ; when in the jungle they even cook their rice in green bamboos; and last, but not least, they eat the bamboo shoots, and very delicious they are.

The Lushais give to the name of the Creator the word Pathien, who is supreme. After him comes Khua-Vang, who carries out the Pathien's orders and appears on earth at certain times. I give a story of the appearance of Khua-Vang as it was told me by a Lushai. He was sitting drinking in the chief's house and found he could not get drunk, which perplexed him. On returning to his house he saw a man whom he knew to be Khua-Vang by his enormous stature. He addressed him in fear and trembling, but received no answer, and as he watched him Khua-Vang became smaller and smaller till he dwindled into space. Soon after this his village was raided and an enormous number of captives taken, men and women slaughtered, and the chief's power completely broken. The Lushais further believe that besides the deity the sun and moon are gods, and that the worship of them is agreeable to the deity. Their ideas of an after-world are very quaint. There are two abodes, the Piel Ral abode and the Mi-thi-Khua (people-dead-village). These two are separated by the big river Piel, from which Piel Ral takes it name. Piel Ral answers to our heaven, and no one from either abode can cross the river. Mighty hunters and great warriors only go to Piel Ral, where they live at ease and have no labour of any kind; they hunt and enjoy themselves. No woman can go to Piel Ral, but small children of both sexes who died before they had left their mothers' breasts are exceptions to this. To the Mi-thi-Khua go all men who have in no way distinguished themselves and all women. Life here is much the same as on earth : they have their daily labour and household duties, etc. In both abodes all live and die three times. After the third death the spirit becomes mist, falls to the ground, and with it is extinguished for ever. The idea is that when people on earth become sick and die, Khua-Vang is slowly but surely eating all the flesh from off their bodies and death is the result, the spirit going to one of the two mentioned abodes.

Every chief has one or two, or in case of big chiefs three or four, old men who act as his councillors and ambassadors: these are called by them *koubal* and by us *karbaris*. On entering a chief's village, the custom is to go to the *karbaris*, and there wait until the chief demands your presence. These *karbaris* are held in great estimation, and receive a yearly tribute of rice from the village. I have heard of a custom, answering much to the fiery cross of the old days: when a chief wishes to collect any of his clan or give emphasis to any order, he gives his spear to the messenger. If a hostile message be intended a fighting sword is sent with the messenger. Another form of expressing orders is a small cross made of split bamboo wands, which can signify various things. If the tips of the cross be broken, a demand for blackmail is intended; if the tips be charred, it implies an urgent assemblage at the chief's house; if a green chilli be fixed on the tip, it implies disobedience to obey orders will be rewarded by punishment as hot as the chilli.

The whole art of war among the Lushais may be described in one word — "surprise." They always send forward spies to see if their foes can be taken unawares : if the foes be on the alert, they are left in peace. As an instance of this I know of a village in the south of the Hill Tracts, whose inhabitants only numbered, men, women and children, about 100. The villagers, owing to a recent raid on a neighbouring village, had a night patrol. Two hundred Shendu warriors crept up to the village at early dawn. One of the sentries saw them and threw a stone at them, whereupon they all disappeared. The village, I may add, was stockaded to a certain extent.

A raid being decided on, the preliminary step is a sacrifice and a big drink. On starting off for the raid the old men and women of the village accompany the raiders for an hour or two on their journey and then leave them with such expressed wishes as these: " May you bring home many heads and come back unhurt!" On arriving at some distance from the village to be raided, they make their preparations, and creep up to the village just before dawn. They generally commence by firing several shots at the village and rush on the surprised inhabitants. I have never heard of a village thus attacked attempting to defend itself. At the first shot every man, woman and child bolts into the jungle. The women are seized, and if old and unmarriageable killed on the spot. All children too small to travel are killed and frequently torn from their mothers' breasts and murdered before their eyes.

After two or three hours' bloodshed, unless the raiders feel no danger of a surprise, in which case they prolong their stay, they move out of the village, taking the women and girls captives with them, all tied together. They never take a full-grown male captive; it saves them trouble to kill him on the spot. As a rule the heads of all slain are carried off, though sometimes only the scalps. On their return journey the captives endure many hardships: if any one through weakness or ill-treatment cannot keep up, instant death is the result. When nearing their village the raiders are again met, if successful, by all the women and old men, who bring them down cooked food and liquor and accompany them in triumph to their houses. On entering the village one or more captives are always sacrificed as a thanksgiving offering, the booty is divided and the captives are set to work as slaves As a rule after they have been a short time in the village they are well treated. The women invariably marry one from among their captors, and have been known when offered release years after to cling to them and refuse to go back to their own relatives.

One extraordinary custom among the Lushais which I would not have believed had I not had personal knowledge of the fact is that men and women change their sex in all outward appearances and customs. I give as an instance a woman who has twice accompanied a chief to see me and who is dressed as a man, smokes a man's pipe, goes out hunting with men, lives with them and has in every way adapted herself to the habits of men. She actually married a young girl who lived with her for one year. I myself asked in the presence of several chiefs and other Lushais why she had, being a woman, become a man. She at first denied being a woman, but when I suggested that we should change coats she demurred and finally confessed she was a woman, but that her *khua-vang* was not good and so she became a man. I have heard of other cases in which men have adopted the dress and customs of women.

Constant disputes arise among the chiefs, regarding their necklaces of amber and other stones, which arise through intermarriages of different clans, and I have found it a hard task sometimes to settle these disputes satisfactorily when I have been appointed arbitrator by them. Differences arise owing to sisters, brothers, wives, sons and daughters claiming portions on the death of a chief, and often ended in the old days in bloody feuds.

The Lushais are great at songs and dancing. I give a few typical songs, translated literally :—

1.— "The long day song" runs thus:

> I do not aspire for the day,
> Evening dusk I want not,
> Sweet girls ? their speech I solicit,
> Then I wish for the day again.

2.—An ode to Thluk-Pui, a famous gallant, and his mistress Dil-Thangi, a great beauty :

> Walk on, walk on, Oh Big Thluk-Pui,
> Walking on the cloudy plain
> Far over the vault of the sky,
> Go and embrace Dil-Thangi.

Powerful chiefs have their songs dedicated to them and the various clans have their songs, all of which are sung on the occasion of big feasts.

One of the great difficulties in gathering genealogical tables, etc., is the extraordinary way in which the relatives of two chiefs, who may be at distinct enmity with one another, intermarry, and also the migrations of chiefs and their followers from one clan to another distinct clan. Broadly speaking, I would classify these tribes as follows :—All west of the Koladain I would call Lushais, and east of it or across it Shendus. These, again, can be classified. The Lushais consist of Sailûs and Haulongs and Tanglauas, but have living in their territory Pankhos and Banjogis, who are distinct offshoots of the Shendus. The Shendus consist of Molien-Puis, Thlang-Thangs, Lakhers, Halkas, etc., under the general designation of Pois. The main difference in the appearance of the Lushais and the Shendus can be seen at a glance. The Lushai men and women wear their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head, while the Shendus or Pois, as they are called, wear the hair tied in a huge knot right over the forehead : the latter in the case of men only. The languages are totally distinct also, but the Lushai language is, I believe, understood as far as the west border of the Chin country in Burma. One thing has struck me as being most extraordinary, and that is how rarely one meets a really old man amongst these people. Old women I have seen in abundance, but from what I can judge of their ages, I should say that a man of over 65 years is most uncommon.

Taking the Lushais as I have found them in their own villages, they are far superior to many savages one reads about. They are most hospitable, and I rarely enter a house in any village

without being offered food and drink, even when I have known myself at times the person offering it has barely enough for his day's food. They are extremely intelligent and quickly master the meaning of anything said to them or shown them. In fact it is most difficult to reconcile their apparent mildness with the well-known instances of the atrocities committed by them when raiding. One of my old friends and guides, who is now the father of a grown-up family of eight children and who is apparently an exceedingly mild and benevolent old gentleman, astonished me very much the other day when I questioned him about the feats of his youth. I led him on gradually and eventually he told me he had with his own hands speared and killed six persons. I asked him if they were men or women, and he then told me three were men and three were women. I got an account of the death of each one from him, his features becoming gradually more ferocious as he continued his narrative, till, finally, when he described how his last victim had been a woman whom he had speared in cold blood, he became quite excited and with a piece of stick in his hand enacted the whole performance over again. He gradually subsided, but no amount of expostulation on my part would convince him that he had behaved in a way not to boast of.

Notwithstanding it being most unpleasant at times, still I have always tried as the most effectual way of thoroughly understanding these people to adopt the policy of "when you are at Rome," etc., and by this means only can one get a thorough insight into the character of the people. Another good old saying I have found most effective, namely, "*In vino veritas*," and many a time by a judicious application of rum at the right moment I have wormed out information which was being kept back.

I have given a fair outline, I think, of the Lushais and their habits and customs, and I will now content myself with giving a few anecdotes in connection with the people generally by way of illustrating their character, etc. I paid my first visit into the heart of the Lushai country in February, 1887, when I went with a guard of ten men to Sayipuia's village, a chief I had heard a great deal of. I trusted to the fact of Sayipuia having previously known Captain Lewin, who interviewed him in 1872 (from which time he had never seen a European), and to a certain knowledge of the language and of the Lushais' customs and habits which I had acquired in villages within our frontier, to getting, if not a welcome, at any rate an interview. When within a few hours' of the chief's village I left my men behind to cook and proceeded with a friendly chief to show me the way and my interpreter. On reaching the village, I marched boldly in and made for the Karbari's house, and he informed the chief I had arrived. I waited most patiently, according to custom, till the chief sent for me, and as this was not till 9 p.m. I became somewhat anxious. All this time I was surrounded by the men, women and children of the village, who clustered round me in hundreds exclaiming in wonder at my white skin. On the chief sending for me I went to his house, and though at first he was inclined to be grumpy we soon became chatty over several bottles of rum which I produced. I spent the next day with him and gave him more rum and a small present of rupees, he giving me a handsome cloth. The third day I went away well satisfied with my visit and returned to Demagiri, my starting-point, through three other Haulong chiefs' villages, in all of which I was well received. In one village, where Lallura was the chief's name, I as usual produced rum and made merry with the chief and his friends. Unfortunately I found the rum running short, and in an evil moment I had it watered on the quiet to make the supply last longer. But the chief spotted it at once, and was loud in his wrath at my giving him, as he said, "water" and not spirit. I was at my wits' end and in desperation produced my only bottle of whisky: he tasted it, and, with his eyes up-raised, exclaimed: "Words are not available to express how delicious it is!"—and he very soon got drunk. In his cups he boasted of his power and strength, etc., while his old warriors sitting alongside of him commenced chaffing him (he was lame I must mention from an accident to his hip when a boy), saying: "You a warrior and a chief? why, you can't walk from one village to another," and so on. This little story shows what I have said previously, that no outward respect is paid to a chief, and that they have a great craving for strong drinks.

My next visit to Sayipuia was in December, 1887: on this occasion I knew my ground better, was provided with more authority to deal with him, and last but not least, had a supply of rupees. Accordingly I asked him to swear an oath of friendship with me according to Lushâi customs, and he at once agreed, and the following morning was fixed for the ceremony, which took place as follows. A *gyâl* was tied in the open space facing

the chief's house. Sayipuia came out dressed in his best, which was a very handsome check cloth, with an enormous plume made of the tail feathers of the *bhîm-râj*, or mocking bird, in his hair, and a spear in his right hand. He called me to him close to the *gyâl*, and both of us, holding the spear in our right hands, simultaneously plunged it into the brute's ribs. Sayipuia drew out the spear and taking the warm blood in his hand smeared his and my hands, face and legs with its blood, and then holding up the spear called out in a loud voice that all might hear as follows :— "When the big streams and little streams shall dry up in these hills, then and not before shall this white man be mine enemy: what is mine is his, and by this oath you all know him to be my friend ! "

The ceremony over, we adjourned to the chief's house and ratified the oath in numerous flagons of home-brewed rice-beer. Now I luckily happen to possess a strong head and this has stood me in good stead, as one must drink with these people if one wishes to thoroughly adapt oneself to their customs. The drink is passed round in horns (generally a tame *gyâl's*) and their principle is "no heel taps," each person reversing his horn to show he has emptied it. I was much amused on one occasion at one of these drinking bouts by Sayipuia exclaming: "This is indeed a chief: why we can't even make him drunk. The Lushais carry this drinking to such an extent that it is a common thing for the rice of last year's crop to be exhausted before the new crop is ripe, owing to the vast quantities consumed in manufacturing their drink. As a rule the Lushais are not quarrelsome in their cups, but when they have had as much as they can stand they quietly lie down on the floor and sleep off their drunkenness. Instances of quarrelling do of course occur, and I remember once, when sitting in a chief's house, one of his young warriors kept coming up to where I was sitting by the chief and bothering me to give him tobacco, to look at my arms, legs, etc., till I lost patience and told him to desist. The chief, too, seeing I was getting angry, remarked: "*Amro! he vay-lall-zong-a thun-ur-in sakei-aug-bok*" — "Be quite, these foreign chiefs when angry are like tigers." I took this as a gentle hint and landed my young friend one straight between the eyes, much to his discomfiture. To my astonishment, instead of there being a row, I was applauded for what I had done, and the next day this same young fellow and I became quite friendly!

THE TEMPTATION OF ZOROASTER.

BY L. C. CASARTELLI.

[IN the long 19th *fargard* or chapter of the *Vendidad*, the first book contained in the *Avesta*, occurs this remarkable temptation of the great Eranian prophet, which reminds one of the temptation of Buddha by the fiend Mâra, poetically rendered by Sir Edwin Arnold in the sixth book of his *Light of Asia*. The present attempt at a not too literal metrical rendering is based on the Zend text (xix. 1-35), partly eked out by the Pehlevi version.][1]

Now from the North, from regions of the North,
Forth Auro-Mainyus rushed, the murderous one,
Demon of demons: then he, evil-minded
And slayer of many men, thus spake aloud:

"Hence, fiend, and slay the holy Zarathust!"
And Bût the fiend, the murderous, who deceives
The souls of men, came rushing down upon him.
But Zarathustra prayed the sacred prayer,[2]
The praises of the good Creation and the Law.
And lo! the fiend, the murderous, who deceives
The souls of men, in terror fled away,
And screamed: "O Auro-Mainyus, thou tormentest [me!
I see no sign of death upon the Holy One!"

But Zarathustra in his spirit saw
How wicked demons plotted for his death.
Then fearless and unmoved he rose, and stepped
Forth 'gainst their enmity, whilst in his hands
He bare a sling of mighty stones, which God
Had given to him; and o'er this broad, round earth,
Where runs the river with its lofty banks,
He carried them, and thus aloud proclaimed:

"Cruel Auro-Mainyus! lo! I come to smite
Thy ill-creation, thy demons, and the fiend,
The spirit of Idolatry! to combat till such time
As Saoshyant shall come, the Saviour,
The Victor, from the great Sea to the East."[3]

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[1] From Trübner's *Record*, May 1890. [2] The Ahuna-Vairya prayer. [3] The mythological Lake Kaśoya.

But evil-minded Auro-Mainyus cried:
"O smite not my creation, Zarathust!
Thou art King Pourushaspa's son, and thou
Art born of human mother: lo! renounce
The Law of Mazda, and thou shalt receive
Reward as great as Vadaghno the Chief."

But Zarathustra: "I will not renounce
The holy Law of Mazda! Sooner may
Body and soul and intellect dissolve!"

Quoth Auro-Mainyus: "By what weapon, say,
Wilt thou then smite? or how wilt thou destroy
My creatures and creation?"

Answer made
The holy Zarathust: "Sacred vessels[4]
And holy prayers, these are my trusty arms.
With these words will I smite and every way
Destroy thee, baneful-minded Auro-Mainyus!
The Holy Spirit made these sacred words,
And the Immortal Saints,[5] the strong, the wise,
Have them proclaimed!"

And thereupon he prayed
The sacred prayer. The demons yelled aloud, —
The wicked, Evil-minded Ones, — and fled, —
Fled to the lowest depths of murky hell![6]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE LIFE-INDEX: BUILDINGS.

SOME time ago I was told that a wealthy bâniâ (trader) of Ludhiânâ in the Punjab never left off building or rebuilding his house, because it was deemed to be unlucky for a man not to be constantly adding to or renewing his dwelling. This is undoubtedly a case of the Life-Index. Masson, in his *Journeys in Bilochistan, etc.* (Vol. I. p. 49), notes a similar idea. He says that the Nawâb of Tânk never left off building, as a *faqîr* had told him that his prosperity depended on his never ceasing to build. In Egypt there was a tradition in the family of Mahomet Ali, the Khedive, that the family was doomed to fall if it left off building. (Dicey's *Story of the Khedivate*, p. 68.)

Does this belief, (or some similar idea), explain why eastern rulers always endeavour to found a new capital? In Persia and in Egypt the palace of the ruler is not used after his death, but a new one is built for the new ruler, and the old one deserted. The necessity for a new palace naturally leads to the establishment of a new capital.

This tendency to move the site of the ruler's capital is exemplified in many of the Punjab States. Thus, Sirmûr is the oldest known capital of the State of that name, and several capitals were founded and abandoned before the modern capital of Nâhan was built. Delhi itself is apparently an illustration of the same custom.

The point is of some historical interest. The sudden appearance of a new capital in the ancient history of India or the East may not indicate a change of dynasty, but may merely be due to the establishment of a new capital by a new ruler. The new capital would then give its name to the State, and so we should have the frequent and bewildering appearance of new kingdoms in ancient Hindu history. It would be of interest to know how far the custom prevails.

H. A. ROSE,
Supdt. of Ethnography, Punjab.

8th Jan. 1903.

[Changes of capital in Burma were frequent, but not necessarily dynastic and not necessarily made on the accession of *every* ruler. If a dynasty lasted long enough, the capital, as I understand, was changed about every 40 years, and generally to a site but a few miles off, advantage being taken of a fresh accession to the throne to make the change. It is, of course, possible that the custom had a superstitious origin, but in practice two practical points came into consideration: a political one in connecting a new or shaky dynasty with a famous site, a medico-religious one in departing from a site that the insanitary habits of the people had practically made no longer inhabitable. There is no doubt that Mandalay would in ordinary circumstances have been succeeded by a new site on King Thibaw's death for sanitary reasons, just as the Burmans told me that the change from Amarapura to Mandalay (8 miles or so) was made after King Mindon's accession (1852 or thereabouts) fundamentally on sanitary grounds. Mandalay Hill was an old and famous Burmese shrine. This mixing up of practical and religious or superstitious customs is, of course, a very old human phenomenon.—ED.]

[4] The mortar and cup for the haoma sacrifice.

[5] The Ameshośpentas.

[6] This last verse is taken from the very end (§ 147) of the *Fargard*. It appears to have been misplaced and to belong here.

NOTES ON THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

BY SYLVAIN LÉVI.

Extracted and rendered into English, with the author's permission, from the "Journal Asiatique," July-Dec., 1896, pp. 444 to 484, and Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 5 to 42, by W. R. PHILIPPS.

(*Continued from p. 389.*)

PART II. — HISTORICAL TEXTS.

THIS second article by M. Lévi, in the *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 5 to 26, cannot be much condensed. What here follows is practically a translation of the whole of it. As before, the figures in thick type in square brackets mark the pages of the original.

[5] Chinese annals allow us to clearly follow **the vicissitudes of the Yue-tchi,** from the time when they were pushed on by the Hioung-nou about 165 B. C., until their establishment in the territory of the Ta-hia, south of the Oxus. But from the time when the Yue-tchi come into contact with India, the deplorable fatality which weighs on Indian chronology seems to extend also to Chinese evidence. **Two documents** refer to this obscure period; both have been long known, but the conclusions claimed to be drawn from these obscure texts demand a new examination.

[6] The first passage is found in the **Annals of the Second Han Dynasty.** It runs thus :—

"When the Yue-tchi were conquered by the Hioung-nou, they went among the Ta-hia, "divided their kingdom into five principalities, which were: Hieou-mi, Choang-mo, Koei-choang, "Hi-t'un, Tou-mi. About a hundred years afterwards, Kieou-tsieou-k'io, the prince of "Koei-choang, attacked and subdued the four other principalities, and constituted himself "king of a kingdom which was called Koei-choang. This prince invaded the country of the "A-si; he seized upon the territory of Kao-fou, destroyed also Po-ta and Ki-pin, and became "completely master of those countries. Kieou-tsieou-ki'o died at eighty years; his son Yen-kao-"tchin ascended the throne; he conquered T'ien-tchou [India], and appointed generals "there, who governed in the name of the Yue-tchi" (see translation by Specht: *Études sur l'Asie Centrale, J. A.*, July-Dec., 1883, 324).

The compiler Ma Toan-lin, who reproduced this account, joins it straight on to the journey of Tchang-k'ien, who visited the Yue-tchi about 125 B. C. and returned to China about 122. The interval of time indicated seems thus to be counted from the journey of Tchang-k'ien: the year 25 B. C. would consequently be the approximate date of the accession of the Kushaṇas.[1] But we must [7] attend to the ordinary methods of this much-vaunted encyclopædist, if we want to get at facts; Ma Toan-lin has joined the two extracts together, without troubling to co-ordinate them. The original text clearly indicates the submission of the Ta-hia as the starting point of the calculation; but the actual date is none the less not determined by it. Specht (*Études* 324, note 4) proposes arbitrarily to put the conquest of the Ta-hia after 24 A. D., "because the History of the first Han" dynasty "makes no mention of it." This reason is quite inadmissible: the accounts of foreign peoples, incorporated in the Annals, do not pretend to trace a complete history of all these peoples; the compiler contents himself by inserting the information obtained from time to time, by chance of circumstances. The testimony of the official history teaches us that, from the beginning of the Christian era, relations between the

[1] *Cf.* Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, II.², 372, where the opinions of earlier interpreters are collected. The difficulty of making use of Chinese documents, without going to the originals, is seen clearly in what Lassen himself has written here. He accepts without dispute Ma Toan-lin's data, but regards with suspicion the original testimony of the History of the Second Han Dynasty; he in fact confuses this dynasty with the petty Han dynasty, which reigned from 947 to 951 A. D.

Han and the western watershed of the Pamirs had entirely ceased. Earlier still, the emperor Youan-ti (48 — 33 B. C.) had given up the idea of avenging the insult paid to his ambassador by the king of Ki-pin "because the country was impassable, and communications by the Hindu Kush were "cut off." His successor, Tch'eng-ti (32 — 7 B. C.) also refused to renew relations with Ki-pin, because "these criminal tribes were separated from China by impracticable [8] passes" (see A. Wylie: *Notes on the Western Regions*, translated from the Tsien-Han-chou, book 96, part 1 : in *Journal Anthropological Inst.*, 1880, 20-73 : account of Ki-pin). Ki-pin on the north-west bordered on the Yue-tchi ; thus, from that moment, the same obstacles isolated them from China, and their destinies consequently ceased to interest the imperial court. An argument *a silentio*, applied to the chronology of that period, is therefore out of place. But, as a matter of fact, the History of the First Han Dynasty mentions the conquest of the Ta-hia by the Yue-tchi several times. The account of the Yue-tchi, translated by Specht, says expressly: "The Yue-tchi went very far away, passed "beyond Ta-wan, fought the Ta-hia in the West, and subdued them. Their chief then fixed his "residence north of the river Wei (Oxus)." And it adds almost immediately after : "The Ta-hia "had no sovereign or chief magistrate ; each city (ville), each small town (bourgade), was governed "by its magistrate. The people were weak, and afraid of war. When the Yue-tchi arrived, they "submitted to them" (*Études*, 322).

It is useless to try to distinguish two successive phases of the occupation, first submission, then complete conquest. The History of the Second Han Dynasty, which deals with the most prosperous period of the Yue-tchi, names Lan-cheu[2] as their capital; and so does the History of the First Han Dynasty. [9] We know also from the testimony of Seu-ma Ts'ien, based upon Tchang-k'ien's report, that Lan-cheu was the capital of the Ta-hia's territory. Therefore the Yue-tchi must have become masters of that territory. Lastly, the History of the Second Han Dynasty, which reproduces and expressly corrects the division of the Yue-tchi into five principalities, as indicated in the History of the First Han Dynasty, states in addition that the division was accomplished at the expense of the Ta-hia. "They went among the Ta-hia and divided their kingdom into five principalities . . . ." Thus the History of the First Han Dynasty expressly mentions the submission of the Ta-hia, and attests the annexation of their territory to the dominion of the Yue-tchi. The subjugation of the [10] Ta-hia by the Yue-tchi is again formally recalled in the account of Ki-pin : "Formerly when the Hioung-nou subjugated "the Ta Yue-tchi, these emigrated to the West, conquered the Ta-hia ; whereupon the king of "the Se [Śakas][3] went to the south and reigned over [11] Ki-pin" (see Wylie, *loc. cit.*). This event, therefore, took place [12] before the end of the First Han Dynasty, and doubtless at the epoch when frequent communications with the Si-yu (West) enabled its vicissitudes to be followed. We are even able to fix the time more closely. Seu-ma Ts'ien, who composed his historical Memoirs about a hundred years before the Christian era, inserted in them, chapter 123, a long account of Tchang-k'ien's journeys: his information regarding the Yue-tchi and Ta-hia almost literally agrees with the account in the History of the Han, and shews an identical origin ; the two historians have faithfully reproduced Tchang-k'ien's account. Seu-ma Ts'ien says: "The Ta-hia had no sove-"reign ; each city, each town elected its chief. The soldiers were weak and cowardly in battle, only "good for carrying on trade. The Yue-tchi came from the West, attacked them, defeated them, and "established their sovereignty" (see Kingsmill: *The Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkestan and the Adjacent Countries in the Second Century B. C.*, in *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., XIV. (1882), 82. Seu-ma-Ts'ien's text is almost entirely identical with the Tsien-Han-chou).

Thus the submission of the Ta-hia was an accomplished fact by the time of Tchang-k'ien's journey about 125 B. C. These data are confirmed and specified more distinctly in Tchang-k'ien's biography contained in the History of the First Han Dynasty (*Tsien-Han-chou*, book 61 ; trans. Wylie: *loc. cit.* Appendix).

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[2] See the special note, "Lan-cheu ; Pushkalāvatī," on page 422 below.

[3] See the special note, "the identity of the Se and the Śakas," on page 423 below.

When Tchang-k'ien, after his long captivity among the Hioung-nou, finally arrived among the Yue-tchi, "the widow of the king slain by the Hioung-nou [13] had succeeded him, and they had subju- "gated the Ta-hia." Tchang-k'ien's report to the emperor marks still more clearly the series of facts. Expelled from their territory by the Hioung-nou (165 B. C.), the Yue-tchi had invaded the country of the Ou-suenn, their neighbours to the west, and had slain their king Nan-teou-mi; then, continuing their march towards the west, they had attacked the king of the Se (Śakas), and the Se had fled very far away to the south, abandoning their lands to the Yue-tchi. But Nan-teou-mi's son Koenn-mouo, an orphan from the cradle, had been miraculously nourished by a wolf, and afterwards sheltered by the king of the Hioung-nou; when he became a man, he attacked the Yue-tchi, who fled away to the west, and went to settle themselves upon the territory of the Ta-hia. This involves an interval of at least twenty years between the defeat of the Ou-suenn and the submission of the Ta-hia; the first event took place a little after 165; the second was therefore about 140 B. C., and was a pretty long time before Tchang-k'ien's arrival among the Yue-tchi. If the accession of the Kushaṇa dynasty follows the submission of the Ta-hia by about a century, it must be placed about the middle of the first century B. C.

The names of the two first Kushaṇa kings mentioned in the History of the Second Han Dynasty cannot be identified with certitude. Cunningham (in *Coins of the Tochari, Kushâṇs or Yue-ti*, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1889, 268-311) has proposed [14] to identify Kieou-tsieou-kio, founder of the dynasty, with the Kujulakadphisēs or Kozolakadaphēs of the coins, who struck them first with the Greek king Hermaios, and afterwards alone, and who uses on both series the title *Kushaṇa*. Hemakadphisēs would in this case correspond to Yen-kao [tchenn]. The identity of these two names is admissible, for the character *yen* is frequently used to transcribe the Sanskrit syllable *yam*. The second Chinese document now about to be examined confirms and completes these data.

The **Compendium of the Weï**, in a curious notice of Buddhism which the *San-koe-tchi* has preserved for us, mentions the Yue-tchi. Pauthier (*Examen méthodique des faits qui concernent le Thian-tchu*, 14) found this passage reproduced in the Account of India in the *Pien-i-tien*, and translated it thus: "The first year Youan-tcheou of Aï-ti of the Han (2 years before our era), "King-lou, disciple of a learned scholar, received from the king of the Great Yue-tchi an envoy "named I-tsun-keou; he received at the same time a Buddhist book which said: 'He who "shall be established again, it is this man!'" Specht (*Note sur les Yue-tchi*, in *J. A.*, Jan.-June, 1890, 180-185) has learnedly discussed this translation; he has gone back to the primitive text, has collected the variants introduced by compilers, and has formed an eclectic text in order to arrive at the following translation: "[In Central India there was a holy man called Cha-liu-si]. In the first of the years "Youan-tcheou of Aï-ti of the Han (2 years before our era), King-lou, disciple [15] of this teacher, "received from the king of the Great Yue-tchi an envoy named I-tsun-keou, and gave him a Buddhist book which said: 'In the kingdom, he who shall be raised again (upon the throne), it is this man!'"[4] [16] Thus, according to Specht, King-lou is not [17] a Chinaman, but an Indian; the Yue-tchi's envoy does not hand over a Buddhist text; he receives one. The text is undoubtedly difficult, but Specht's modifications cannot be accepted. Omitting other objections to them, we need only dwell on two essential points. [18] King-lou is certainly a Chinaman; his name shews it; his title removes all doubt. He is styled *pouo-cheu ti-tzeu*; Pauthier translates this literally: "disciple of a learned scholar." But the title is not a vague one, as this translation seems to imply. The *pouo-cheu ti-tzeu* are the titular-students of the imperial college founded under Ou-ti, one of the First Han Dynasty in 124 B. C. The emperor Ou-ti, who had so gloriously extended the dominion of the Han, and who had sent Tchang-k'ien to explore the countries of the west, had wished to insure the establishment of a nursery of officer-students, "nominated according to their merit, and promoted regularly by means "of examination." The foundation edict assigned to them, among other employments, the office of

[4] See the special note, "King-lou and the supposed I-tsun-keou," on page 424 below.

"assistant annalists and travellers charged with the duty of going over the imperial domain" (Biot: *Essai sur l'histoire de l'instruction publique en Chine*, 104, 106, 109). It is a remarkable coincidence that, among the officers sent to India to search for Buddhist books in Ming-ti's reign (65 A.D.), there were some *pouo-cheu ti-tzeu* (see *Kao seng tchoan*, ch. I. p. 1[a], biogr. of Kāśya Mātaṅga; *T'i-fenn k'ing-t'ai-cheu*, composed by the emperor T'ai-tsoung of the T'ang, 627-650; Japanese edition, XXXI., fasc. 7, ult. pag.).

How did King-lou, a Chinese official, enter into communications with the Yue-tchi? Did he receive an envoy from the Yue-tchi king, as the *Compendium of the Wei*[5] seems to indicate? Was he intrusted with a mission to [19] the Yue-tchi, as two texts of the 7th century expressly state? The question is a secondary one, and must stand over. But the fact is certain, that King-lou received Buddhist works from the Yue-tchi, and that by word of mouth. The reading of the two encyclopædias, tardily compiled with the carelessness customary in that kind of work, cannot prevail against the original text of the *Compendium*, supported as it is besides by compilations still more numerous: the Geography of the T'angs, Ma Toan-lin, and the Pien-i-tien. There is, moreover, an independent ancient compilation, which confirms the reading in the *Compendium of the Wei*. The learned Tao-siuen (595-667), Hiouen-tsang's contemporary and a zealous defender of the Buddhist faith, reviewing the progress of religion in China, thus reports this episode:[6] "In the year Youan-tcheou, "[20] of Aï-ti (2 years before our era), King-hien was sent into the kingdom of the Great Yue-tchi; "that is why, after having learnt by heart sacred texts of the Buddha, he returned to China. Then "by degrees the observances of the Buddha were practised." The celebrated Buddhist encyclopædia *Fa-iuen-tchou-lin*, compiled by Tao-cheu in 668, reports the fact in identical terms (see *Fa-iuen-tchou-lin* (Nanjio, 1482, Japan. ed., XXXVI. 5-10), chap. 12 (= chap. 20 of the ed. of the Mings), p. 108[b]). Although the name is slightly altered, the agreement of two such important works proves that at that period the Buddhist tradition regarding King-hien's journey was quite fixed. Thus the fact remains. China received the sūtras of the Buddha for the first time two years before Christ, and this through the Yue-tchi.

By means of coins we can follow the religious history of the Yue-tchi from the foundation of the Kushaṇa dynasty. Here we may refer to Cunningham: *Coins of the Kushâns or Great Yue-ti*, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, 40-82; 98-159. The only divinities on the coins of Kujalakadphisēs and Hemakadphisēs are the Greek Hēraklēs and the Indian Śiva; Hemakadphisēs even shews a marked predilection for Śiva, who appears under different aspects, alone, armed with the triśūla or accompanied by Nandi.[7] The Buddha does not appear on [21] coins till Kanishka, and then at once begins to take a large place. The abrupt and triumphant introduction of the Buddha during this reign is a good commentary on the Buddhist legend: in the glory surrounding the name of Kanishka in Buddhist records, in the story of the miraculous circumstances of his conversion predicted by the Buddha himself, we can still see the great importance attached at the time to the

[5] We may, however, consider the expression *cheou . . . cheu*, in the Compendium of the Wei, as a passive form, and therefore translate it: "He was sent on a mission . . ." We thus re-establish, in this particular point, the agreement between the Compendium and Tao-siuen. Devéria also adopts this interpretation; but thinks it necessary in this case to consider *Ta-Yue-tchi-wang*, "the king of the Great Yue-tchi," as the real agent of the action expressed in the passive, and *I-ts'un* as the place-name governed by the verb *cheou*; he therefore translates: "King-lou was sent by the king of the Great Yue-tchi (*lit.*, received from the king of the Great Yue-tchi "a mission) to I-ts'un." Devéria thinks he recognises under this transcription the name of Udyāna or of Ujjayinī.

If we admit this explanation, the fact related still probably leads us back to the time of Kanishka. Master of a dominion which covered a part of India and of China, it was lawful for this prince, and for this prince alone, to employ a Chinese official on a mission in Indian territory.

[6] *Che-kia-fang-tchi* (Nanjio, 1470; Japan. ed., XXXV. 1, 104*b*): *Ngai-ti youan-cheou-nien, cheu King-hien wang Ta-Yue-tchi kouo. In soung Feou-t'ou king-hoan Han. Tang-cheu chao hing Feou-t'ou tchai-kiai.*

[7] The epithet *mahisvarasa*, applied to Hemakadphisēs on his coins, ought not perhaps to be translated by *mahīśvarasya* "the great lord" or by *mahīśvarasya* "the master of the earth." The predominance of Śaiva emblems, and also the epigraphic usage so much in vogue later (kings of Valabhī, Harsha, etc.), seem to recommend another interpretation: *māhēśvarasya* "the devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva)."

conversion of this barbarian. The spread of Buddhism towards the north-west had been for a long time stopped: now all at once the barrier was removed, and it could spread over a vast dominion under the patronage of a powerful sovereign; with the prospect also of ultimately reaching the Tukhāras, the Chīnas, and many other still unknown peoples. Since the memorable reign of Aśōka-Piyadasi, Buddhism had not enjoyed a triumph so full of promise. The episode of King-lou (or King-hien) shews its first result in China; sixty years later, Buddhist priests were summoned to the court of the Han by imperial order.

The dates thus taken from different Chinese documents corroborate each other. If the first [22] Kushaṇa king came to the throne about the middle of the first century B. C., we should expect to find the second of his successors about the beginning of the Christian era. Half a century leaves a normal space for the glorious reign of Kieou-tsieou-k'io, for Yen-kao-tchin's conquests, and for Kanishka's first years. From the Chinese point of view the question of the Yue-tchi results also in the same chronological conclusions. Until the middle of the first century B. C. the empire intervenes in the affairs of the peoples who border upon India; the kings of Ki-pin, more than half Indian as they are, solicit and receive investiture from the Han, though they might afterwards cut the throats of Chinese envoys. But in Youan-ti's reign (48 — 33 B. C.) China gives up the idea of avenging an outrageous affront it has just received. In vain does Ki-pin, menaced by pressing danger, confess its fault and offer reparation to Youan-ti's successor; Tch'eng-ti (32 — 7 B. C.) imitates his predecessor's prudent reserve, and doubtless abandons unfortunate Ki-pin to the invasion of the Yue-tchi, whom Kieou-tsieou-k'io leads to conquest. From that time the First Han Dynasty is in its last struggles and comes to an end in the convulsions of civil war; there is a rapid succession of feeble emperors, who lose their power, and usurpers contend for it. First the Trans-Pamirian states revolt, then the Cis-Pamirian provinces, and are separated from the empire. [23] In vain does the minister Wang-mang, a pretender to the throne, try to ingratiate himself with the western countries by rich presents (4 A. D.). The year 8 of the Christian era marks the official cessation of relations between China and Si-Yu (the West). According to the testimony of the imperial historiographer, Pan-kou, the power of China in these regions was, at the end of the First Han Dynasty, in the year 23 of the same era, reduced to nothing. If we believe the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-tsang, the inheritor of the Chinese supremacy was undoubtedly the king of the Kushaṇas, Kanishka. "The neighbouring "kingdoms were agitated by his renown, and the terror of his arms extended itself among foreign "peoples. He organized his army and extended his dominions to the east of the Tsong-ling (Bolor) "mountains. The tributary princes, established to the west of the river (Yellow), dreaded his power, "and sent him hostages" (*Mémoires*, trans. Julien, I. 42, 200).

The Yue-tchi conqueror had taken away from the Han, not only their vassals, but also their title of sovereignty; and the hostages, who formerly prostrated themselves before the Son of Heaven (*t'ien-tzeu*) at Tchang-ngan, now prostrated themselves before the Son of Heaven (*dēvaputra*) at Pushkalāvatī or at Peshawar.[8]

[24] If, as is generally done, we take Kanishka's coronation as the starting-point for the Śaka era (78 A. D.), [25] we meet with an insurmountable difficulty. Pan-tchao's victorious campaigns, pursued for thirty years (73 — 102 A. D.) without interruption, at this very time restored Si-Yu to the empire, and carried Chinese arms beyond the regions explored by T'chang-kien, as far as the confines of the Græco-Roman world.[9] By 73, the king of Khoten had made his submission; several kings of that country followed his example, and gave their eldest sons as hostages for their fidelity. Kashgar, immediately after, returned to obedience. The two passes by which the way to the south debouches into India were in the hands of the Chinese. The submission in the year 94, after a long resistance, of Kharashar and of Kou-tché secured to China also the route to the north. The Yue-tchi had not renounced their previous supremacy without a struggle. In the year 90 the king of the

[8] See the special note, "the t'ien-tzeu (dēvaputra) of the Yue-tchi," on page 426 below.

[9] De Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine* (trans. from the T'oung-tien Kan-mou), 365 *seqq.*

Yue-tchi sent an ambassador to demand a Chinese princess in marriage. Pan-tch'ao, deeming the request insolent, stopped the ambassador and sent him back. The king of the Yue-tchi raised an army of 70,000 horsemen under the orders of the viceroy Sie. Pan-tch'ao's troops were affrighted at the number, [26] and his general had much trouble to reassure them; however, he made them see that the enemy, worn out by a long march, and by the fatigues endured in crossing the Tsoung-ling mountains, was not in a condition to attack them with advantage. Sie was vanquished, and the king of the Yue-tchi did not fail to send every year the tribute imposed upon him.[10] It was not Kanishka, at the apogee of his reign and power, who consented to such a humiliation. Only a distant successor, still powerful, but enfeebled, could have submitted to it.

[In connection with the above, attention may be called to the following articles in the *Journal Asiatique:* — (1) *Nahapāna et l'ère Çaka*, by A. M. Boyer, July-Dec., 1897, pp. 120-151; (2) *Les Indo-Scythes et l'époque du règne de Kanishka, d'après les sources chinoises*, by E. Specht, *ibid.* pp. 152-193; (3) *Note additionelle sur les Indo-Scythes*, by S. Lévi, pp. 526-531; (4) *Les missions de Wang Hiuen-ts'e dans l'Inde*, by S. Lévi, Jan.-June, 1900, pp. 401-468; and (5) *L'époque de Kaniṣka*, by A. M. Boyer, *ibid.* pp. 526-579.

[In the first article named, M. Boyer gives reasons for thinking that the Saka era must be held, not to begin with the coronation of Kanishka, but from the accession of the Kshatrapa Nahapāna, whom inscriptions and coins shew to have ruled over Surāshṭra, Avanti, and part of the west coast of the Dekkan, and who seems to have been a Saka conqueror from the north-west. He places the accession in 78 A. D., the generally accepted year for the beginning of the era.

[In the second article, M. Specht combats the conclusions M. Lévi drew from Chinese sources, and in particular his view that Kanishka was master of a part of China, and that his reign began about B. C. 5. With one part of these criticisms M. Lévi has dealt in the fourth article named just above, pp. 447 ff., as will be seen in a continuation of these Notes.

[In the remaining article, M. Boyer argues that, though Kanishka did not inaugurate the Saka era, he did, as a matter of fact, begin to reign about the end of the first century of the Christian era.

[It is unfortunately not possible now to do more than thus briefly allude to the interesting articles by MM. Boyer and Specht, which bring together and discuss so much information from Chinese sources bearing on the ancient history of India. Some notes from M. Lévi's additional articles specified above, (3) and (4), will be given in Part IV.]

SPECIAL NOTES.

Lan-cheu; Pushkalāvatī.

(See page 418 above, and note 2;
original page 8, note 3, with an addition on page 42.)

The seeming variant *Kien-cheu*, in the History of the First Han Dynasty, is only due to confusion of two almost identical characters. Seu-ma T'sien and the History of the Second Han Dynasty guarantee the reading *Lan-cheu.* The word *lan* designates plants from which blue dyes are extracted; and the analogy of the name *Hoa-cheu* "(the town) of flowers," to

[10] De Mailla, 394. The original passage is found in the biography of Pan-tch'ao, *Heou-han-chou*, chap. 77, p. 4a. Father de Mailla's *Histoire* seems to furnish another important datum regarding the Yue-tchi in the time of Pan-tch'ao. "In the year 94, Pan-tch'ao, having made eight kingdoms of Si-yu tributary to China, assembled their "forces and attacked Kouang, king of Yue-chi, whom he put to death" (*Hist.* p. 397). But the original (*Heou-han-chou*, chap. 77, p. 4b) designates Kouang as king of Yen-ki (Kharashar). De Mailla, who transcribes this name *Yen-tchi*, has by some mistake in writing substituted *Yue-chi* for it in his translation. There is no doubt about the reading in the original, for Pan-tch'ao passes from there into the kingdom of Kieou-tse (Koutché), which actually borders on Yen-ki. — The biography of Pan-tch'ao notes also, on another occasion, the submission of the Yue-tchi to Pan-tch'ao. "In this time the Yue-tchi had just intermarried with the K'ang-kiu (Fergana), and "they were related. Then Tch'ao sent ambassadors with rich presents to the king of the Yue-tchi, while inviting "him to shew clearly to the king of K'ang-kiu the real truth. The king of K'ang-kiu disbanded his soldiers."

designate Kusumavatī, *i. e.* Pāṭaliputra, leads us to believe that *Lan-cheu* is not a transcript, but a translation. Lan-cheu in this case would correspond to Pushkalāvatī or Pushkarāvatī. "(the town) of the blue lotus." The importance of this city is attested by Strabo, Pliny, the Periplus, Ptolemy and Arrian; according to Tāranātha (p. 62), king Kanishka's son had established his royal residence there. A story of Aśvaghōsha (Sūtrālaṁkāra,p. 87[b]) has for hero a painter of the kingdom of Pushkalāvatī (Fou-kie-lo-wei). Beal (*Buddhist Literature in China*, 136) read Fou-kie-la, translated it by "Bactria." and pointed out this passage as a proof that the vihāras of India were at an early time decorated by artists from Bactriana, where Greek art dominated. The territory of the Ta-hia, according to Seu-ma-Ts'ien, bordered on India, and was situated south of the Oxus. The position of Pushkalāvatī fits in with these indications.

The same story is reproduced in the *Fa-iouen-chou-lin* (XXXVI., 6, p. 43[b] ; chap. 21 of the Japanese edition) from the *Tche-tou-lun* of Nāgārjuna (Nanjio, 1169); but in this version Pushkalāvatī is designated as "the capital of the Yue-tchi (*Ta Yue-tchi Fou-k e-lo tch'eng*). The *Ta-pei King* (Mahā-karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra ; Nanjio, 117 ; Japan. ed., XI., 9, p. 87[a]) designates *Fou-kia-la-po-ti* (Pushkalāvatī) as the "royal residence." The identity of Lan-cheu and Pushkalāvatī seems thus well established.

The identity of the Se and the Sakas.

(See page 418 above, and note 3 ;
original page 10, note 1.)

The identity of the Se and the Śakas, though disputed by Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, II.[2] p. 376), cannot, however, be doubted. The character *Se*, used to denote the name of this people, is regularly employed in transcribing from Sanskṛit to represent the sound *saka*, for example in *Ou-po-se*, "upāsaka," *Mi-cha-se*, "mahiśāsaka." In fact, Indian tradition, so often rashly impeached, distinguishes two races and two dynasties of Scythian invaders.

The Purāṇas class the Śaka kings and the Tukhāras or Tushāras (Tochari, Tou-ho-lo) alongside of the Yavana kings. The Vāyu P. counts 10 Śakas ; the Matsya P., 18 ; the Vishṇu P., 16 ; the Bhāgavata alters the name into Kaṅkas, and also counts 16 of them. The number of Tukhāra kings is uniformly 14. A duration of 300 years (Brahmāṇḍa) or 380 (Vāyu, Matsya) is assigned to the Śakas, and 500 (Matsya 7000 ?) to the Tushāras.

The chronological tradition of the Jainas, summed up in their *versus memoriales* (*I. A.* II. p. 362), ignores the Tukhāras, and only recognises one Śaka (Saga), who reigned four years ; this Śaka is evidently the Shāhāṇushāhi of the Śakakūla associated with the history of Kālakāchārya (*cf.* Jacobi, *Z. D. M. G.*, XXXIV. [1880], 247-318, and Leumann, *ib.* XXXVII. [1883], 493-521).

Among the Buddhists, a passage of the Saṁyuktāgama, quoted in a Chinese compilation of the 5th to 6th century (Che-kia-pou, by Seng-iou, about the year 500 ; Nanjio, 1468 ; Japanese edition, XXXV. 1, p. 71[a], end), predicts the simultaneous dominion of the *Ye-po-no* (Yavanas) to the north, of the *Che-kia* (Śakas) to the south, of the *Po-la-p'o* (Pahlavas) to the west, and of the *Teou-cha-lo* (Tushāras) to the east. The Vibhāshāśāstra (Nanjio, 1279 ; Japan. ed., XXII. 9), translated into Chinese by Saṅghabhūti in 383 A. D., in an interesting discussion mentions the language of the *Tchen-tan* (Chinese) and that of the *Teou-k'iu-le* (Tukhāra) :— "The Bhagavat knows the *Tchen-tan* language better than the men of *Tchen-tan* ; the Bhagavat knows the *Teou-k'iu-le* language better than the men of *Teou-k'iu-le*" (p. 59[a]). The Chinese version of another Buddhist text, the *Pou-sa-chen-kie-king* (Bōdhisattva-charyā-nirdēśa ; Nanjio, 1085), translated in 431 by Guṇavarman, substitutes in an analogous passage the name of the

Yue-tchi for that of the Tukhāras; he enumerates among the "parlers inférieurs" the sounds of the kingdom *To-pi-lo* (Drāviḍa), the sounds of *Siu-te*, *Yue-tchi*, *Tu-ts'in*, *Ngan-si* and *Tchen-tan* (chap. 2; Japan. ed., XV. 1, 33ᵇ).

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King-lou and the supposed I-tsun-keou.

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reappear in India under the name of the Buddha, allows us to class the Buddhist sūtras as the *second institution* of the Chinese philosopher, who had given the *Tao-te king* as his *first institution*. The *iterum institutor* and the *altera institutio* would refer to the Buddha himself considered as the metamorphose of Lao-tzeu.

The t'ien-tzeu (dēvaputra) of the Yue-tchi.

(See page 421 above, and note 8 ;
original page 23, note 2.)

The *t'ien-tzeu* of the Yue-tchi is expressly designated in a curious notice of India, incorporated in the Chinese version of the Dvādaśa-viharaṇa-sūtra (*Cheu-eul-iu-king*, Nanjio, 1374); the author of the translation, dated 392, was the śramaṇa Kālōdaka, a native of the western countries. The sūtra, a very short one, enumerates the movements of the Buddha during the twelve years of preaching. The account with which it ends has apparently escaped attention, though its date and the information contained make it of interest; a translation of the same is, therefore, given here: —

In *Ien-feou-ti* (Jambūdvīpa), there are 16 great kingdoms, 84,000 towns, 8 emperors (*kouo-wang*), "4 Sons of Heaven (*t'ien-tzeu*). To the east there is the Son of Heaven of the *Tsin* [the Eastern "Tsin, 317-420, contemporaries of the translator Kālōdaka]; the people there are very prosperous. "To the south there is the Son of Heaven of the kingdom *Tien-tchou* (India); the country pro-"duces many renowned elephants. To the west there is the Son of Heaven of *Ta-t'sin* (Roman "empire); the country produces gold, silver, precious stones in abundance. To the north-west there "is the Son of Heaven of the *Yue-tchi*; the country produces many good horses.

"In the 84,000 towns, there are 6,400 kinds of men, 10,000 kinds of languages, 56 hundreds "of thousands of myriads of groups (? kiou-tsin), 6,400 kinds of fish, 4,500 kinds of birds, 2,400 kinds "of quadrupeds, 10,000 kinds of trees, 8,000 kinds of plants, 740 various kinds of medicinal plants, "43 various kinds of perfumes, 121 kinds of gems, 7 kinds of perfect gems.

"In the sea there are 2,500 kingdoms which live upon the five sorts of grain, 330 kingdoms "which live upon fish and turtles. There are 5 kings; a king commands 500 towns. The "first king has for name (king of the) kingdom of Seu-li (Siṅhāla, Σιελα, Ceylon ?). They only "worship the Buddha there, and no heretical doctrines. The second king has name Kia-lo; the "country produces the 7 gems. The third king has name Pou-lo; the country produces 42 kinds "of perfumes and white glass (*liou-li*). The fourth king has name Che-ye; the country produces red "pepper (piment) and ordinary pepper. The fifth king has name Na-ngo; the country produces the "white pearl and glass (*liou-li*) of seven colours. In the five great kingdoms, the people of the "towns are for the most part black and small. The distance between them is 650,000 *li*. After that, "there is only the sea without inhabitants. One arrives at the precincts of the mountains of iron "at 140,000 *li*" (Japanese ed., XXIV. 8, 3*a*.)

The tradition which divides Jambūdvīpa between four sovereigns, designated respectively "the master of men," "the master of elephants," "the master of treasures," "the master of horses," — (Rémusat, *Foe-koue-ki*, notes, p. 82; introduction to the Si-yu-ki, by Tchang-houe, in Julien, *Mémoires de Hiouen Thsang*, I., lxxvi.-lxxvii.), — is evidently akin to the system of the four "Sons of Heaven."

(*To be continued.*)

THE NIMBUS AND SIGNS OF DEIFICATION ON THE COINS OF THE INDO-SKYTHIAN KINGS.

BY M. E. DROUIN.

(Translated from the "Revue Numismatique," IVme Ser., Tome V, 1901, pp. 154-166.)

[The following paper appeared in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1901, pp. 154-166; and as the subject is of considerable interest to Indian antiquarians, whilst the French journal may not be accessible to many of them, I have had the following translation made of Mons. Drouin's valuable paper. — J. BURGESS.]

MUCH has been written on the subject of the halo or nimbus which surrounds the heads of deities, kings, and certain personages on coins, vases, paintings and sculptures of the pagan period. We know the ἀνθήλιον πρόσωπον, 'face like the sun's,' of Euripides, Homer's goddesses, χάρις δ'ἀπελάμπετο πολλή, 'round whom all grace beamed.' In Virgil, Pallas is *nimbo effulgens*, and she dissipates the darkness, *dispulit umbras*, by her brightness.[1] The idea of radiance and light accompanying divinity is quite a natural one, of which the representation is to be found in the earliest Egyptian antiquities. On Assyrian cylinders is seen the shining nimbus round the head and body of divine personages receiving the homage of worshippers. In an inscription of Assurbanipal (7th century B. C.) and in the magic texts, Ishtar is spoken of 'with the flaming aureole.' In the Catacombs, the faces of the holy martyrs are likewise surrounded by a luminous circle which distinguishes them among the other figures of the wall paintings. No doubt the nimbus in Christian iconography, like so many other institutions, customs, feasts, and religious ceremonies, was only borrowed from paganism.

[155] Not only are divinities represented with the luminous aureole, or the circular nimbus: the Indo-Skythian kings claimed for themselves a celestial origin, and called themselves sons of heaven, like all the sovereigns of High Asia, — as the Sassanides later on, who were of divine race, — *minochetri min Yezdán.* Still later, the Greeks were imitated in this by the Roman emperors; they decreed to several of their kings the title of god, ΘΕΟΣ, and the Cæsars, even in their lifetime, were *divi.*

Little has been said of the nimbus in numismatics. I wish to offer some observations on the subject of this symbol as we meet it on the coins of the Indo-Skythian kings and of their successors in ancient India.

We must remember that the Indo-Skythian dynasty is that of the Great Kushans or Ta Yue-chi, and succeeded the Makedonian dynasty of Baktria and of North-Western India. About the year 25 B. C. the Ta Yue-chi invaded the country to the south of the Paropamisos mountains (Hindu Kuh) under Hermæus; their chief Kiu Tsio Kiu (according to Chinese authors) had coins struck with the bust of Hermæus under the name of Kozulo Koshana Kadphizes. Nothing special is on his coins, or on those of his successor Kadaphes, but on the beautiful gold pieces of Hvima Kadpiśa or Kadphisês II (OOHMO ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC) the shoulders of the king are surrounded by luminous rays or flames, and his bust appears to issue from clouds, like the gods of Greece, who envelope themselves with clouds to descend upon the earth. All these are the characteristics of deification or of apotheosis.

With Kanishka, the first of the Turushkas, appeared the nimbus, but only on some pieces, round the head of the king; it is much more frequent on certain gold pieces [156] of Huvishka. This sovereign is at once ornamented with the nimbus, flames and clouds. Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*, 1841, pl. xiii) has given drawings of ten copper pieces of this king in ten attitudes. One of them represents him mounted on an elephant, his head adorned with a radiated nimbus, and his bust surrounded with

[1] *Ion*, 1550; *Iliad*, XIV. 182; *Æneid*, II. 615. — J. B.

luminous rays; the reverse bears the figure of the god Lunus, MAO, on foot, with the nimbus and the aureole; on other coins Huvishka is seated on a throne, cross-legged (the attitude called *mahârâjâsana*), with a double luminous circle, or else seated with one leg hanging down (*mahârâja-lîlâ* "royal relaxation") and a double nimbus, three lobed and radiated, surrounding the head and the bust. The coinage of this sovereign presents a great variety of pieces, all interesting from an iconographic point of view.

Vâsudêva has simply the nimbus round his head, which is itself surmounted by a pointed tiara. This last type remains that of the Indo-Skythian Kushan kings, called Later Kushans, who reigned in India till about the year 300 to 319 A. D., when their place was taken by the dynasty of the Guptas, whose sovereigns (319 to 550) preserved the same divine symbol.

The coins of Kanishka and of Huvishka, further, present on the reverse an infinite variety of designs, representing for the most part Greek or Iranian divinities, such as Selena, Helios, Meiro, Nana, Ardokhsho, Mao, &c.; all have the head adorned with the nimbus. On several copper coins of Kanishka (British Museum and Wilson, pl. xii) the god of wind, OAΔO, is represented running, his head with rays, and his whole body enveloped by several concentric circles. Later, on the coins of the successors, and on those of the Guptas, it is Śiva or the Hindû goddess Lakshmî, who are represented with the same attribute.

But the most important instance to notice on the reverses **[157]** of some coins of Kanishka is the representation of Buddha Śâkyamuni with the legend BOΔΔO and BOYΔO CAKAMA. The postures (*âsana*) are interesting to study.[2] The holy personage is facing, sometimes standing, sometimes seated. On a well-preserved gold stater, in the British Museum, Buddha is seated, his right hand on his breast, making the gesture of argument (*vitarkamudrâ*), his left hand holding the bottle of ambrosia (*amṛita*); he is clothed in a mantle (*uttarâsaṅga*) which comes up to his neck and in a tunic (*antaravâsaka*) which descends to the feet. His head is surmounted by the *ushṇîsha* or cranial protuberance, characteristic of Buddha, as well as by the *ûrṇâ* or excrescence between the eyebrows, which we do not see on the medal because of the smallness of the face. We know that the *ushṇîsha* and the *ûrṇâ* are the marks of the *bôdhi*, or sacred knowledge, which belong to Buddha only, and which the other divinities have not.

The whole body is enveloped in a trilobate aureole (*prabhâmaṇḍala*) on the gold piece of the British Museum. On other examples (Wilson, *Ar. Antiq.* pl. xiii; Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* Vol. XIII. pl. viii), Buddha is represented standing, with a simple nimbus round his head, without the aureole, and with both hands joined upon his breast. This posture is called that of instruction, — (*dharmachakramudrâ*) the two hands seeming to turn the wheel of the law.

The other posture, in which the Buddha is also represented on the same coins of Kanishka, is the **[158]** seated position, cross-legged, on a sort of throne, his hands sometimes separate, sometimes joined on the breast. This seated attitude (*mahârâjâsana*, royal) has different names according as the saint is seated on the lotus (*padmâsana*), on the diamond (*vajra*), or on the lion (*siṁha*); sometimes one of his legs hangs down (*mahârâja-lîlâ*), as was seen above for Huvishka; but we have no example of it on the coins, nor have we the attribute of the lotus flower (emblem of divine birth), which probably was only introduced later, like the other attributes (*lakshana*), which serve as distinctive marks of divinity.

There is one important fact in Indian iconography, we might say, in the history of Buddhism. On none of the most ancient monuments of India, those that are supposed to be before the Christian era, such as those at Sâñchi, at Bharhut, the bas-reliefs of the caves of Orissa, the Aśôka rail, the inscriptions at Bôdh-Gayâ, do we find an image representative of Buddha. Buddhism is

[2] For a description of Buddha's costumes, see A. Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, 8°, Paris, 1900, pp. 66 ff.

only represented by symbols, such as the wheel (*chakra*), the *triśûla*, the sacred tree (*bôdhi*), the *chaitya*. the *stûpa*, &c. On the rocks and pillars which have preserved the famous edicts of Aśôka (283-223 B. C.), and which, notably at Bhabra, contain details of the Buddhist propagation, there is found neither figure nor symbols. This then is a most interesting fact, in stating which it may be that numismatics comes to the help of history, and affords it, by illustration, a fixed date. The conclusion to be drawn from the representations, which the medals (or coins) of the Indo-Skythian kings, Kushan or Turushka, offer, is that these sovereigns were Buddhists as early as the first century B. C. The Chinese annals tell us, indeed, that in the year 2 B. C. [159] the king of the Yue-chi transmitted Buddhist books to a certain King-Hien sent from China. This king, whose name the historian does not mention — though he names his capital Pushkarâvati (the Πευκελα of Ptolemy), — was very probably Kadphisês I. His coins, it is true, bear only the image of Hercules (in imitation of the pieces of Hermæus), without Buddhist symbols ; but the epithet *dharmathida* (constant in the religious law) — essentially a Buddhist epithet, proves the adoption of the Buddhist worship. Kadaphês, successor to Kadphisês I., has an analogous epithet, *sachadharmathida*, a Prâkrit form of the Sanskrit *satyadharmasthita*, " constant in the true law." Hvima Kadpiśa seems to have been a Zoroastrian, for he has his hand extended over the fire altar, and is styled merely " great king of kings, great prince, prince of the whole world" (*mahârâja sarvaloga iśvara mahiśvara*). The reign of Kanishka commences about the year 70 A. D. In spite of the presence on his coins of Greek and Iranian divinities, as mentioned above, and in spite of the title of *mazdêen* upon his coins, he is really, at least in the second part of his reign, a Buddhist sovereign ; he is celebrated in the history of the religion for his zeal and proselytism.

After Kanishka, the iconographic representation of Buddha disappeared for some time (about two centuries) either because the faithful were afraid of idolatry, or, as M. Goblet d'Alviella[3] says, that they objected to reproducing, with the appearances of life, the features of a being who had entered *Nirvâṇa* for ever. But when, in the second century, the Græco-Buddhist art of the Gandhâra school appeared, these scruples vanished under the influence of Greek art, and [160] the classical type of Buddha was created.[4] Further, the nimbus and aureole combined, as seen on the coins of Kanishka, form a three-lobed figure, which became the type of the trilobate niche of ancient Indian architecture.

Before the Indo-Skythians, the Śaka kings, who reigned in Arakhosia (*Sakastêne*), in Kophên, and in the valley of the Indus, were very probably Buddhists, having adopted the Buddhist worship at the time of their arrival in these countries, when they were driven from Transoxiana by the Yue-chi. Their coins are numerous, and, thanks to the presence of immigrant Greek artists in this part of Asia, they form a very beautiful series. But on them Buddhist forms and epithets are rarely met with. It is about 100 B. C. that King Mauas or Moa appears in monetary history, the founder of the Pañjâb branch of the Śakas : his coins and those of his successors embody Hindû types, such as the elephant, the Indian ox, river divinities, Poseidon indicating the conquest of the lower Indus and of the sea-coast. There, too, the king is seated in oriental fashion, and on some pieces of Spalahorês and of Spalirisês, the wheel, which recalls the wheel of the law (the Buddhist *dharmachakra*), with the legend *dhramika* for *dharmika*, "the faithful of the good law, *sada-dharma*," — an expression essentially Buddhist, — which is also on the coins of Spalagadamês and of Azês of the same dynasty. Upon none of their coins do the Śaka kings of the Indus put their busts; they are always represented on horseback, recalling their nomadic origin, and when the pieces are well preserved we distinguish in their figures the [161] Tartar type. The empire of the Śakas lasted till about the year 50 A. D., the time of its destruction by the Indo-Skythians.

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[3] *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce*, 8°, Paris, 1897, p. 56.

[4] On this question, see the memoir of V. A. Smith in the *J. A. S. Bengal*, 1889; A. Foucher, *L'Art bouddhique dans l'Inde*, Paris, 1895 ; *Étude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1900; A. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, Eng. trans. Lond. 1902.

Among the kings of the Makedonian dynasty, Menander passes for having been converted to Buddhism about the year 110 B. C., by a Hindû doctor named Nâgasêna. His capital was Sagala near Lâhor. We have, for proof of this conversion, the testimony of Plutarch and the famous Sanskrit work, of which two versions have been left us in Pâli under the name of *Milindapanho*, "the questions of Menander," and several Chinese versions.

Among the coins of this king, only one is known with the wheel of the law (*dharmachakra*), which, as we have seen, is the symbol of Buddhism, and the legend *dhramika*, the meaning of which has been explained above. The rest of the coinage represents Greek divinities only, principally Pallas with different attributes. We may, therefore, conclude that it was only at the end of his reign that Menander was a convert or at least a protector of Buddhism, in consequence of his intercourse with Nâgasêna.

Another peculiarity, which has not yet been adduced, and which might serve to support this conversion, is the epithet of ΣΤΗΡΑΣ, which the same sovereign bears on a unique coin in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Mr. Rapson proposed to see in this epithet, which is found later, on two coins of Hermæus, under the form ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ, the Greek transcription of the Sanskrit *sthavirasya*, which has the meaning of "religious apostle." This appellation would prove that the last Greek king of Baktriana, who was conquered by Kadphisês, had been a partisan like Menander, or at least, a protector of Buddhism.[5]

[162] Let us not leave this question of Buddhism in numismatics without mentioning a very curious coin, the importance of which has not yet been pointed out: we speak of a bronze square piece struck by Agathoklês, one of the first kings of Baktriana (about 160 B. C.), which has no legend in Greek. It bears on one side the *stûpa* or tumulus, with the legend *Agathuklaya* in Kharôshṭhî characters, and on the other the sacred tree (*bôdhi-druma*) in a trellis (*sûchi*), with an inscription in the same letters. This inscription has been read in different ways by P. Gardner, Cunningham, and M. Sylvain Lévi, but Dr. Bühler has given the true reading, *hitajasama*, "he who has a good renown," a translation of the Greek ἀγαθοκλῆς. These two objects, the *stûpa* and the *bôdhi*-tree, are essentially Buddhist symbols. They had not hitherto been authenticated at so ancient a date. The square form (which is, with that of the coin of Pantaleôn, the predecessor of Agathoklês, the most ancient known, and which was borrowed from the unstamped ingots of India), the legend in Kharôshṭhî on both sides of the piece, the employment of Brâhmî writing, and the two Buddhist emblems, show that these two sovereigns had already penetrated to Kâbul, where Buddhism was flourishing, and these pieces were destined to circulate.

In the same way we find the religious epithets: [163] *dhramika*, on the coins of Helioklês, Arkhebios, Straton I., Zoïlos, Theophilos, Gondopharês; and *apratihatachakra*, "invincible by the wheel," on a coin of the satrap Rañjabala, which proves Buddhist influence.

In representing on these coins Greek or Iranian divinities, and later the Buddha with luminous rays round his body or his head, — Kanishka only followed the designs given by his Śaka or Makedonian predecessors. In fact, we see with rays round their heads — Artemis on the reverses of Mauês and Demetrios: Apollo on those of Apollodotos and Mauês: Jupiter on the reverses of Azês, of Arkhebios, of Hermaios, of Helioklês and of Plato: Hercules on the reverse of Euthydemos;

[5] See *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, by J. Charles Rodgers, Part IV., Calcutta, 1896, p. 16. — Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 132. Mr. Rapson explains that the Greek word would be the transcription of a Prâkrit form, *sthêrassa* representing the Sanskrit genitive *sthavirasya*, an epithet applied to a fervent Buddhist king. M. Boyer has taken up the question in the *Journal Asiatique* (June 1900, p. 530) in connection with the determination of the epoch of the reign of Kanishka. He remarks that the Sanskrit letter *sth* becomes *th* in Prâkrit, that the same Sanskrit word *sthavira* is represented in the Prâkrit of the Aśôka inscriptions by *thaira*, and in the inscription at Bharhut much later by *thêra*. Consequently, in admitting that the Greek η renders the syllable *avi*, which is not impossible, from the absence of *v* in Greek, the Greek legend ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ would be a transcription, not of the Prâkrit but of the Sanskrit *sthavirasya*.

the sun-god on those of Plato, of Philoxenês, &c. All the Baktrian kings of course knew only Hellenic divinities ; they are the same as those of the coins of the Seleukides, except the type of Apollo on the Omphalos, which is, as we know, the figure adopted by all the Arsakides, and which is entirely wanting on the Indo-Baktrian coinage. In the first century A. D., Roman money penetrated into India, the bust of Kadaphês is proof of this, but the type of head with the aureole was already fixed on the Indo-Skythian coinage.

The conclusion from the preceding is that the nimbus and the aureole, which surround the Greek and Iranian divinities on the coins of Kanishka, are of Hellenic origin : that the same applies to the *prabhâmaṇḍala* of Buddha, since there exists no figured representation of this saint before Kanishka.

There remains to be ascertained whether the title "sons of the gods," and the luminous emblems, that is to say, the apotheosis and the assimilation of the king to the divinity, have the same origin.

[164] With the exception of the anonymous king known under the appellation of *Sôtêr megas*, who belongs to the end of the Græco-Baktrian empire, and who is, perhaps, contemporaneous with the first Indo-Skythians, we do not find in the whole Baktrian series a single head with nimbus or rays. In the vast series of coins of the Seleukides, Antiokhos IV. Epiphanês (195-164 B. C.) is the only one who has the head surrounded with rays and the divine epithet of ΘΕΟΣ ; but this royal image was evidently unknown in the north of India, and notably by Hvima Kadpiśa ; the last could not have borrowed the idea of the flaming aureole, which he was the first to figure on his coins ; this, then, is a point which seems well proven.

There remains the expression "sons of the gods," peculiar to the Indo-Skythian kings.

In Greek numismatics the idea of divinity applied to kings is found among the first Lagides, successors to the Pharaohs, who, from very ancient times, were sons of god (*ra mes*), and gods themselves (*nuter*) during their lifetime as after their death. On the coins struck by Ptolemy II. Philadelphos (284-247 B. C.), with the legend ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ (*nuterti sonti*, in the decree of Canopus), the Ptolemys are already deified. In the later Egyptian documents, for example in the decree of Rosetta, Ptolemy V. is "born of the gods Philopator (*mer atef tu*), priest of Alexander, born of the gods Soter, of the gods Adelphes, &c." It is possible that this pretension to divinity has been borrowed from Egypt by the Seleukides. Seleukos I. Nikator (312-281 B. C.) indeed took the title of *Theos* in his formularies, but this epithet appears only under Antiokhos IV. Epiphanês (175-164) among the coins of his successors. Arsakês, the founder of the Parthian dynasty, on a coin of consecration, [165] struck by his son Tiridatos I. (264-211 B. C.) is already spoken of as ΘΕΟΣ in imitation of Seleukos, but this was a posthumous homage and a sort of divinisation. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, besides, that Arsakês, first of all monarchs obtained the honours of apotheosis and was placed in the rank of the stars by a consecration in accordance with the rites of the country, *astris ritus sui consecratione permistus est omnium primus*.[6] On the coins of Baktriana, the earliest mention of this divine epithet is found on two consecration coins, the one struck by Agathoklês, the other by Antimakhos, in the name of Euthydemos ΘΕΟΥ, and on the coins of Antimakhos himself, on which he takes the divine title.

It is necessary to come down nearly two centuries to find again the same expression on the coins of Goudopharês and of Arsakês Theos (about the year 50 A. D.). It could not then serve as a type any more than that of ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ which we find in the formulary of Agathoklês with the signification of *dêvaputra*, "sons of the gods," which forms the basis of the Indo-Skythian titles.

[6] See my article *Une drachme arscidae inédite*, in the *Gazette Numismatique*, Bruxelles, 1899. M. W. Wroth thinks that this coin in the name of Arsakes Θεός, could not have been struck till later, between 191 and 171 B. C. (*Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 192). The Latin expresson *omnium primus* seems to indicate, that, before Arsakês, no prince had the honours of apotheosis ; this is an error of the Latin historian.

As Sir A. Cunningham, in 1873, was the first to infer, this Sanskrit title is no other than that of "sons of heaven" adopted by the Tartar princes of Upper Asia, — *Tien-Tzeu* in Chinese. *Tengrikvatu. shen-yu* among the Hiung-nu, and borne in India by the Yue-chi.[7] It is then really of Anaryan origin and is the expression of the high ancestral lineage which the Tartar sovereigns assumed. Further, having under their disposal a material and [166] artistic object like the Greek coin, these sons of the gods found it quite natural to furnish themselves with the nimbus and the aureole, which were the appanage of divinity, in order to give a form to the celestial essence from which they emanated.

Thus we are enabled to explain by two influences — Hellenic and Anaryan — the luminous emblems, nimbus, aureole, flames and clouds, which are the attributes of the Indo-Skythian kings.

Summing up the result of the foregoing considerations: — 1st, the nimbus was unknown in the ancient artistic school of India, no figured representation of Buddha existing before the first century of our era: 2nd, it is only about the year 70 A. D. that the figure of Buddha, with the luminous circle, appeared on the coins of Kanishka: 3rd, the Indo-Skythian kings are themselves represented on their coins with the nimbus, aureole, clouds or flames, to indicate their celestial origin: 4th, the idea of the royal nimbus was borrowed from Hellenic divinities, but only in so far as it is a manifestation and iconographical expression of a monarchical principle brought from Upper Asia: hence the double origin which we have stated.

GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(Continued from p. 342.)

(5) Custom and Belief.

QUAINT **superstitions** about every human action and object in nature are preserved among the imaginative peasantry and handed down in simple faith from sire to son.

One will not start on a **journey** if he meets as he gets out a beggar, a Buddhist priest, a person carrying firewood or his implements of labour, or if a lizard chirps, a dog sneezes or flaps his ears; nor will he turn back after once setting out, and if he has forgotten anything it is sent after him. That the object of his journey may be prosperous he starts with the right foot foremost at an auspicious moment, generally at dawn when the cock crows; his hopes are at their highest if he sees on the way a milch-cow, cattle, a pregnant woman, or one with a pitcher of water, flowers or fruits. For fear of goblins, lonely travellers avoid at dawn, noon and night junctions of roads, the shade of large trees, deserted places, river-banks and the sea-shore. Thieves do not set out when there is a halo round the moon (*handa madala*), as they will be arrested.

The day's **luck or ill-luck** depend on what one sees the first thing in the morning; if anything unusual be done on a Monday, it will continue the whole week.

It is considered unlucky to lie down when the sun is setting; to sleep with the head towards the west or with the hands between the thighs; to clasp one's hands across the head or to eat with the head resting on a hand; to strike the plate with the fingers after taking a meal; to give into another's hands worthless things like *chunam* or charcoal without keeping them on something; and for a female to have hair on her person. But it is thought auspicious to eat facing eastwards, to gaze at the full moon and then at the face of a kind relative or a wealthy friend; to have a girl as the eldest in the family; to have a cavity between the upper front teeth; and, if a male, to have a hairy body.

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[7] See *Journal Asiatique*, Avril, 1899, p. 309.

If a person yawns loudly, the crops of seven of his fields will be destroyed; if he bathes on a Tuesday it is bad for his sons, if on a Friday for himself; if he laughs immoderately he will soon have an occasion to cry; if he allows another's leg to be put over him he will be stunted in his growth; if he passes under another's arm, he will cause the latter to get a boil under the armpit which can be averted by his returning the same way; if he eats standing or tramples a jack-fruit with one foot only he will get elephantiasis; if the second toe of a female be longer than the big one, she will master her husband; if he gazes at the halo round the moon and finds its reflexion round his shadow (*bambara chayāva*), his end is near; if the left eye of a male throbs, it portends grief, the right pleasure — of a female it is the reverse; if the eyebrows of a woman meet, she will outlive her husband, if of a man he will be a widower; if a male eats burnt rice, he will grow his beard on one side only; if the tongue frequently touches where a tooth has fallen, the new one will come at an angle; if an upper tooth be extracted, it will cause blindness; if a child cuts its upper front teeth first, it portends evil to its parents, and if a grave be dug and then closed up to dig a second, or if a coffin be larger than a corpse, there will be another funeral in the family.

A sneeze from the right nostril signifies that good is being spoken of the person, from the left ill; when an infant does so, a stander-by says "*Āyibōvan*," "long life to you." A child whimpers in its sleep when angels come and tell it that its father is dead, because it has never seen him; but incredulously smiles when told its mother is dead, as she has given it milk a little while ago; some attribute the cries to Buddha who frightens the babe with the miseries of this world.

Lightning strikes the graves of cruel men. Everyone's future is stamped on his head. A person who dangles his legs when seated digs his mother's grave. As one with a hairy whorl (*suliya*) on his back will meet with a watery death, he avoids the sea and rivers. Flowers on the nails signify illness, the itching sensation in one's palm that he will get money, and a child's yawn that it is capable of taking a larger quantity of food. One does not raise his forefinger when eating, as thereby he chides his handful of rice. It is bad to scrape the perspiration from one's body, as extreme exhaustion will ensue, and the only cure is to drink the collected sweat. A string of corals shows by its decrease of colour that the wearer is ill. To prevent pimples and eruptions a *chank* is rubbed on the skin when the face is washed. When a person gets a hiccough he holds up his breath and repeats seven times, "*Ikkayi māyi Gālu giyā ikkā hitiyā man āvā*," "Hiccough and I went to Galle, he stayed back and I returned." If one has moles on his body, stones equal in number to them are tied to a piece of rag and thrown where three roads meet; the person that picks up the packet and unties it gets the moles and the other becomes free.

A cloth is spread on a chair or table in a room of a patient suffering with **small-pox** or a kindred disease, and a lamp with seven wicks placed on it. Pork is not brought into the house, and the clothes of the patient are not removed by the *dhobī* till he is well. Cloth dyed in turmeric and margosa leaves are used in the room, and a cocoanut palm leaf is placed before the house as a taboo; a small-pox patient is sometimes kept only with the attendants (*sāttukārayō*) in a separate hut, and before he is bathed after his recovery an infusion of margosa leaves is rubbed on his head and some protective verses recited; when the disease has gone its round, a thank-offering to the Seven Ammas takes place.

Dreams that prognosticate a good future are kept secret, but bad ones are published far and wide; when these are dreamt, it is also advisable to go to a lime-tree early in the morning, repeat the dream and ask it to take to itself all the bad effects. If a person dreams of a dead relative, he gives food to a beggar the next morning.

Every person has, in a more or less degree, on certain days the evil mouth and the evil eye. To avoid **the evil eye** (*eswaha*) black pots with white chunam marks and hideous figures are placed before houses; children are marked between the eyes with a black streak, *chanks* are tied round the forehead of cattle, bunches of fruit are concealed with a covering made of palm-leaves and festive processions are preceded by mummeries. No one ever takes his meal in the presence of a stranger as it will disagree with him, unless the looker-on is given a share of it. The number of children in a

family is never mentioned; nor the beauty of another spoken of in his presence: if this be done, the one concerned spits out loud to counteract the evil. The ceremony of raising the bridal pair to the marriage platform is fraught with much ill to the relations who do so; if a person takes up any high office which he is not worthy to fill, evil will befall him, and serious consequences will follow should he read any ironically laudatory verses written by a person possessed of **the evil mouth** (*katavaha*); when anything clever or smart is said by anyone, the listener opens his mouth and closes it with his hand. These ill-effects are dispelled by various means: either a packet made of some sand trodden by an evil visitor is taken three times round the head and thrown into a *chatty* of live-coals (*gini kabala*), or a receptacle containing the ashes of the upper part of a cocoanut shell, some burnt incense, and a few clods of earth from the neighbouring gardens is buried in the compound. When the evil influence on a family, a village, or on an occupation as fishing or agriculture, is great, a ceremony called **Garâ Yakuma** is performed by men of the Oli caste: a platform is erected on a field or by the sea-shore, and on it the dancers, sometimes naked, but generally dressed in hideous garments, go through a series of antics from evening to morn.

The principle of life (*kalâva*) that is in man rises with the new moon and travels every month from the left foot to the head and down again on the right side; its movement is reversed in a woman, where it goes up the right side and comes down the left; it resides every day in a particular place, an injury to which causes death. The course it takes is the big toe, sole of the foot, calf, knee-cap, *yoni* or *lingam*, stomach, pap, armpit, neck, throat, lip, cheek, eye, part of the head and down the other part of the head, eye, cheek, &c.

Death comes from different directions on different days: from the north on Sunday, north-west on Monday, west on Tuesday, south-west on Wednesday, south on Thursday, south-east on Friday, south-west on Saturday, and east on Sunday.

The south-east is known as the "**fire Quarter**" (*gini kona*) and no houses are built abutting on that side for fear of their destruction by fire.

The presence of bats (*wawlô*) in a house indicate that it will be deserted. Medicinal virtues are ascribed to the flesh of monkeys (*vandurô*). The slender loris' (*unahapuluvâ*) face denotes ill-luck, and its eye-balls are used for a love-potion. The lion's (*sinhayâ*) fat corrodes any vessel except one of gold; its roar makes one deaf, and it does so three times:— one when it starts, the second on its way, and the last as it jumps on the victim; it kills elephants to eat their brains.

A cheetah (*kottiyâ*) is the *avatâr* of the small-pox deity; it likes the warmth of a blaze and comes near the farmer's (*gamarâla*) watch-hut in the field, calls him by name and devours him; it also frequents where peacocks abound; it does not eat the victim that falls with the right side uppermost; small-pox patients are carried away by this animal who is attracted to them by their offensive smell; when it gets a sore mouth by eating the wild herb, *mîmanadandu*, it swallows lumps of clay to allay its hunger; the skin and claws are used as amulets; the tigress has no connexion with her mate after once giving birth to her young owing to the severe travail. A cat (*balalâ*) becomes excited by eating the root of the *Acalypha indica* (*kuppa mêniya*) and its bite makes one lean; its caterwauling is unlucky.

The grey mungoose (*mugatiyâ*) bites a plant that has not been identified (*visa-kumbha*) before and after its fight with a cobra as an antidote; when it finds it difficult to combat with a snake, it retires to the jungle and brings on its back the king of the tribe, a white animal, who easily destroys the victim. A jackal's horn (*narianga*) is very rare, and it gives everything that its possessor wishes for; when buried under a threshing floor it gives a hundred-fold. If a dog (*ballâ*) yelps or scratches away the earth, it presages illness or death; if it walks on the roof, a house is deserted; and if it sleeps under one's bed, it is a sign of the occupant's speedy death. A bear (*valahâ*) throws sand on the eyes of its victim before pouncing on him, and it does not attack persons carrying a piece of the rock-bine (*gal-pahura*). When a mouse (*miyyâ*) bites one, the wound is burnt with a piece of gold; it boasts after drinking toddy that it can break up the cat into seven pieces. The porcupine

(*ittêvâ*) shoots its quills to a distance to keep off its antagonists. The hare (*hâvâ*) gives birth to its young on full-moon days, one of whom has a moon on its forehead, and dies the first day it sees that planet or invariably becomes a prey to the rat-snake.

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family is never mentioned; nor the beauty of another spoken of in his presence: if this be done, the one concerned spits out loud to counteract the evil. The ceremony of raising the bridal pair to the marriage platform is fraught with much ill to the relations who do so; if a person takes up any high office which he is not worthy to fill, evil will befall him, and serious consequences will follow should he read any ironically laudatory verses written by a person possessed of **the evil mouth** (*katavaha*); when anything clever or smart is said by anyone, the listener opens his mouth and closes it with his hand. These ill-effects are dispelled by various means: either a packet made of some sand trodden by an evil visitor is taken three times round the head and thrown into a *chatty* of live-coals (*gini kabala*), or a receptacle containing the ashes of the upper part of a cocoanut shell, some burnt incense, and a few clods of earth from the neighbouring gardens is buried in the compound. When the evil influence on a family, a village, or on an occupation as fishing or agriculture, is great, a ceremony called **Garâ Yakuma** is performed by men of the Oli caste: a platform is erected on a field or by the sea-shore, and on it the dancers, sometimes naked, but generally dressed in hideous garments, go through a series of antics from evening to morn.

The principle of life (*kalâva*) that is in man rises with the new moon and travels every month from the left foot to the head and down again on the right side; its movement is reversed in a woman, where it goes up the right side and comes down the left; it resides every day in a particular place, an injury to which causes death. The course it takes is the big toe, sole of the foot, calf, knee-cap, *yoni* or *lingam*, stomach, pap, armpit, neck, throat, lip, cheek, eye, part of the head and down the other part of the head, eye, cheek, &c.

Death comes from different directions on different days: from the north on Sunday, north-west on Monday, west on Tuesday, south-west on Wednesday, south on Thursday, south-east on Friday, south-west on Saturday, and east on Sunday.

The south-east is known as the "**fire Quarter**" (*gini kona*) and no houses are built abutting on that side for fear of their destruction by fire.

The presence of bats (*wawlô*) in a house indicate that it will be deserted. Medicinal virtues are ascribed to the flesh of monkeys (*vandurô*). The slender loris' (*unahapuluvâ*) face denotes ill-luck, and its eye-balls are used for a love-potion. The lion's (*sinhayâ*) fat corrodes any vessel except one of gold; its roar makes one deaf, and it does so three times:— one when it starts, the second on its way, and the last as it jumps on the victim; it kills elephants to eat their brains.

A cheetah (*kottiyâ*) is the *avatâr* of the small-pox deity; it likes the warmth of a blaze and comes near the farmer's (*gamarâla*) watch-hut in the field, calls him by name and devours him; it also frequents where peacocks abound; it does not eat the victim that falls with the right side uppermost; small-pox patients are carried away by this animal who is attracted to them by their offensive smell; when it gets a sore mouth by eating the wild herb, *mîmanadandu*, it swallows lumps of clay to allay its hunger; the skin and claws are used as amulets; the tigress has no connexion with her mate after once giving birth to her young owing to the severe travail. A cat (*balalâ*) becomes excited by eating the root of the *Acalypha indica* (*kuppa mêniya*) and its bite makes one lean; its caterwauling is unlucky.

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facing each other, with a fourth suspended over them, and as they get heated they throw their poison into a pot placed to receive it. A lizard (*hûnâ*) can tell the future, and so the direction of its chirp is observed: from the east, it denotes pleasant news; south, sickness or death; north, profit; and west, the arrival of a friend; and if this little saurian or the deadly skink (*hikanalâ*) falls on the right side of a person, he will gain riches; on the left, great evil will ensue. The blood-sucker (*katussâ*) means by the upward motion of its head that girls be unearthed, and by the downward that boys, its inveterate enemies, be buried. The chameleon (*yak-katussâ*) is the incarnation of women who have died in parturition. Marine turtles (*kesbêvô*) are held sacred and not killed. The cry of frogs (*gembô*) is a sign that rain is impending; their urine is poisonous; if a frog that infests a house be removed to any great distance it will come back — a mark may be made on it to test the truth; a person is made lean by the *Polypedactus maculatus* (*gas gemaliyâ* or *etagêmbâ*) jumping on him.

A python (*pimburâ*) swallows a whole deer and then goes between the trunks of two trees growing near each other to crush the bones of its prey. Cobras (*nayi*) are held sacred and never killed; some have the wishing gem (*nâga mânikkaya*) in their throats which they keep out to entice insects, and if this be taken from them they kill themselves; they frequent sandal-wood trees, are fond of the sweet-smelling flowers of the wild pine, and are attracted by music: their bite is fatal on Sundays, and to keep them off, the snake-charmers carry the root of the *Martynia diandra* (*nâgadarana*). Of the seven varieties of Ceylon vipers (*polangu*), the bite of the *nidi polangâ* causes a deep sleep and that of the *lê polanga* discharges of blood; the female viper expires when its skin is distended with offspring and the young make their escape out of the decomposed body. The green whip-snake (*ehetullâ*) attacks the eyes of those who approach it, and the shadow of the brown whip-snake (*henakandayâ*) makes one lame and paralytic; a rat-snake (*gerandiyâ*) seldom bites, but if it does, it is fatal to trample cow-dung. The *Tropidonotus stolichus* (*ahârakukkâ*) lives in groups of seven, and when one is killed the others come in search of it; and the *Dipsas forstenii* (*mâpilâ*) reaches its victim on the floor by several of them linking together and hanging from the roof. The legendary *kobô* snake loses a joint of its tail every time it expends its poison, till one is left, when it gets wings and a head like that of a toad; with the last bite the victim and itself both die. A snake-doctor generally finds out what kind of reptile had bitten a person by a queer method: if the informer touches his breast with the right hand, it is a viper; if the head, a *mâpilâ*; if the stomach, a frog; if the right shoulder with the left hand, a *Bungarus cœruleus* (*karawalâ*); if he be excited, it is a skink; and if the messenger be a weeping female carrying a child, it is a cobra.

Worms (*panuvô*) attack flowers in November, and are subject to charms; retribution follows on one ruthlessly destroying the clay nest of a mason-wasp (*kumbalâ*); winged termites (*meru*), which issue in swarms in the rainy season, prognosticate a good supply of fish; spiders (*makunô*) are former fishermen who are continuing their old vocation; snails (*golubellô*) used to spit at others, and the *Mantis religiosa* (*darakettiyâ*) was guilty of robbing firewood; bugs infest a house when misfortune is impending; leeches (*kûdellô*) are engaged in measuring the ground, and crickets (*reheyyô*) stridulate till they burst. It is lucky to have ants carrying their eggs about a house, but if middle-sized black ants (*geri*) do so, the head of the house will die within a short interval; when a person is in a bad temper, it is sarcastically said that a red ant (*dimiyâ*) has broken wind on him; the *kanwêyâ*, a small red myriapod, causes death by entering the ear. Every new-born child has a louse on its head, which is never killed, but thrown away or put on to another's head. As the finger is taken round a *bimûrâ*, a burrowing insect, it dances to the couplet "*Bim ûra, bim ûrâ; tôt natâpiya mât natannan*" (*bimûrâ bimûrâ*, you better dance and I too shall do so).

The presence of fire-flies (*kanâmediriyâ*) in a house indicate that it will be broken into or deserted; if they alight on a person, a private loss will ensue, and whatever be wished for, as they are picked up, will be obtained; they had formerly refused to give a light to one in wont of it; their bite requires "the mud of the sea and the stars of the sky" to effect a cure — an occult way of expressing salt and the gum of the eye. Butterflies (*samanalayô*) go on a pilgrimage from November

to February to Adam's Peak, against which they dash themselves and die. Centipedes (*pattêyô*) run away when their name is mentioned and kill themselves when surrounded by a fire; they are as much affected as the person they bite. The black beetle (*kuruminiyâ*) is a departed spirit sent by Yama, king of the dead, to find out how many there are in a family; if it comes down on three taps from an *ikle* broom, its intentions are evil; it is either killed or wrapped in a piece of white cloth and kept in a corner.

If one approaches the mythical *damba* tree without a charm, he is killed by evil spirits; a twig of the unknown *kalunika* floats against the current and cuts in two the strongest metal, and the fabulous *kapruka* gives everything one wishes for. Bo-trees are sacred to Buddha and never cut down; the *margosa* (*kohomba*) is consecrated to Pattini and her seven attendants; and the fruits of the *Sterculia fœtida* (*telambu*) are never eaten, as this tree is haunted by **Navaratna Wâlli,** the patroness of the Rodiya caste. A nut of the cocoanut-tree never falls on one except he has incurred divine displeasure; it is lucky to possess a double cocoanut-tree, but bad for one's male children to have a king cocoanut-tree near a house, and when a child is born or a person dies, a cocoanut blossom is hung over to keep away the devils.

The flowering of the *Corypha umbraculifera* (*tala*) is inauspicious to a village, and to remove the evil influence a *garâyakuma* is performed. In drawing toddy from the *Caryota urens* (*kitul*), a knife which has already been used is preferred to another. One who plants an areca-tree becomes subject to nervousness, and the woman who chews with betel the slice containing the scar becomes a widow. Before a betel is chewed its apex and sometimes the ribs are removed, either as poison may have been injected, or as a cobra brought this leaf from the lower world with the stalk in its mouth; the petiole also is broken off, as it is beneath one's dignity to eat it.

There are rites and ceremonies before ploughing and sowing rice; for making a threshing-floor; before the threshing takes place; after the first crop of corn is threshed; after the paddy is collected and at the measuring of the grain. In a field things are given strange names; no sad news is told, and a shade over the head is not permitted. When the daily supply of rice is being given out, if the winnowing fan (*kulla*) or the measure (*hunduva*) drops, it denotes that extra mouths will have to be fed; and if a person talks while the grain is put into the pot it will not swell. Paddy is not pounded in a house where one has died, as the spirit is attracted by the noise. Twilight seen on the tops of trees is the light by which the female elf *Râkshi* dries her paddy.

A bite of the *Habenaria macrostachya* (*nagâ meru alê*) inflames one's passion; the *Trichosanthes cucumerina* (*dummella*) and the *Zehenaria umbellata* (*kekiri*) are rendered bitter if named before eating; the Alocasia yams (*habarala*) give a rasping sensation in the throat whenever it is mentioned within the eater's hearing; if a married female eats a plantain which is attached to another, she will get twins; when one is hurt by a nettle, Cassia leaves (*tôra*) are rubbed on the injured place with the words "*tôra kola vîsa neta kahambiliyâva visa eta*" (Cassia leaves are stingless, but prickly is the nettle); and to get a good crop yams are planted in the afternoon and fruit-bearing trees in the forenoon. The Cassia grows on a fertile soil, and where the *Maxitixia tetrandra* (*diya taliya*) and the *Terminalia tomentosa* (*kumbuk*) flourish, a copious supply of water can be obtained; persons taken for execution were formerly decorated with the hibiscus (*wadamal*), and flowers of different colours are used for devil ceremonies.

It is auspicious to have growing near houses the iron-wood (*nâ*), the *Mimusops hexandra* (*palu*), the *Mimusops elengi* (*mûnamal*), champak (*sapu*), the pomegranate (*delum*), the margosa, the areca, the cocoanut, the palmyrah (*talgaha*), the jack (*herali*), the shoeflower, the *Wrightia zeylanica* (*idda*), the nutmeg (*sâdikkâ*), and the *Vitis vinifera* (*midi*). But the following are unlucky: the cotton tree (*imbul*), the *Myristica horsfieldia* (*ruk*), the mango (*amba*), the *Aegle marmelos* (*beli*), the *Cassia fistula* (*ehela*), the tamarind (*siyambalâ*), the satinwood (*buruta*), the *Acacia catechu* (*rat kihiri*), the *Murraya exotica* (*ettêriya*) and the soapberry plant (*penela*).[16]

(To be continued.)

[16] I am largely indebted for the information about plants to *J. R. A. S.* (Ceylon), 1891, Vol. XII. No. 42, p. 135.

SUBHASHITAMALIKA.

Translated from German Poets.

BY PROFESSOR C. CAPPELLER, PH.D., JENA.

(Continued from p. 409.)

Transitoriness.

69

Siehe, wir hassen, wir streiten, es trennt uns Neigung und Meinung;
Aber es bleichet indess dir sich die Locke wie mir.

SCHILLER.

सदा विद्विष्वहे पश्य वाग्भिश्च विवदावहे ।
जीर्यन्ति चोभयोः केशाः कलहे वर्तमानयोः ॥

sadâ vidvishvahê paśya vâgbhiś cha vivadâvahe ।
jîryanti chôbhayôḥ kêśâḥ kalahê vartamânayôḥ ॥

70

'S ist nicht allein der Wangen Pracht, die mit den Jahren flieht,
Nein, das ists was mich traurig macht, dass auch das Herz verblüht.

GEIBEL.

न शोचामि तथा गण्डौ नश्यच्छ्रीकौ शनैः शनैः ।
यथा हृदयमन्तःस्थं म्लानं ग्लानं जडीकृतम् ॥

na śôchâmi tathâ gaṇḍau naśyachchhrîkau śanaiḥ śanaiḥ ।
yathâ hṛidayam antaḥstham mlânam glânam jaḍîkṛitam ॥

71

Was vergangen, kehrt nicht wieder;
Aber ging es leuchtend nieder,
Leuchtets lange noch zurück.

K. FÖRSTER.

यद्विनाशपथं यातं गतं तदनिवृत्तये ।
वर्तते तु चिरं दृष्टावस्तमेति यदुज्ज्वलम् ॥

yad vinâśapatham yâtam gatam tad anivṛittayê ।
vartatê tu chiram dṛishṭâv astam êti yad ujjvalam ॥

72

Was glänzt, ist für den Augenblick geboren;
Das Echte bleibt der Nachwelt unverloren.

GOETHE.

यच्छोभि तत्क्षणेनैव जायते चान्तरेति च ।
अन्तःसारं तु यज्जात्यं कल्पान्तेऽपि न नश्यति ॥

yach chhôbhi tat kshaṇênaiva jâyatê chântarêti cha ।
antaḥsâram tu yaj jâtyam kalpântê 'pi na naśyati ॥

73

Was du von der Minute ausgeschlagen,
Bringt keine Ewigkeit zurück.

SCHILLER.

आनीतं यन्मुहूर्तेन प्रत्याख्यातं त्वया च यत् ।
न तत्कल्पसहस्रेषु प्रतिलब्धासि कर्हिचित् ॥

ânîtam yan muhûrtêna pratyâkhyâtam tvayâ cha yat ।
na tat kalpasahasrêshu pratilabdhâsi karhichit ॥

Cf. M. Bh. XII. 3814.

Youth and Age.

74

In den Ocean schifft mit tausend Masten der Jüngling;
Still, auf gerettetem Boot, treibt in den Hafen der Greis. SCHILLER.

पोतैः पवनविक्षिप्तैः समुद्रं प्लवते युवा ।
भङ्गावशिष्टया वृद्धस्तीरमिच्छति नौकया ॥

pôtaiḥ pavanavikshiptaiḥ samudraṁ plavatê yuvâ ।
bhaṅgâvaśishṭayâ vṛiddhas tîram ichchhati naukayâ ॥

75

Wie gross war diese Welt gestaltet,
So lang die Knospe sie noch barg;
Wie wenig, ach, hat sich entfaltet,
Dies wenige wie klein und karg! SCHILLER.

पल्लवेन पिनद्धं यत्पुरासीत्सुमहाकृति ।
तस्यैवाल्पकमुद्भिन्नं कृच्छ्राच्चापि तदल्पकम् ॥

pallavêna pinaddhaṁ yat purâsît sumahâkṛiti ।
tasyaivâlpakam udbhinnaṁ kṛichchhrâch châpi tad alpakam ॥

76

Weil sie zu leichtlich glaubt, irrt muntre Jugend oft;
Das Alter quält sich gern, weil es zu wenig hofft. CRONEGK.

विश्रम्भातिप्रसङ्गेन भ्रान्तिं गच्छति यौवनम् ।
आशातन्तुविशीर्णत्वाज्जरा दुःखेन पीड्यते ॥

viśrambhâtiprasaṅgêna bhrântiṁ gachchhati yauvanam ।
âśâtantuviśîrṇatvâj jarâ duḥkhêna pîḍyatê ॥

77

Früh in blühender Jugend lern, o Jüngling,
Lebensglück. Sie entfliehn, die holden Jahre!
Wie die Welle die Welle, treibt die eine
Stunde die andre.

Keine kehret zurück, bis einst dein Haupthaar
Schneeweiss glänzet, der Purpur deiner Lippen
Ist entwichen, nur eine Schönheit blieb dir,
Männliche Tugend. BALDE.

पुत्र द्राग्यौवनस्थो भज सुखजननं धर्ममार्गं प्रयत्ना-
दब्धावूर्मिर्यथोर्मिं प्रणुदति सततं रे मुहूर्तो मुहूर्तम् ।
यच्चातीतं व्यतीतं विकृतिमललितां यावदभ्येति कायः
केशा जीर्यन्ति शुष्यत्यधरकिसलयं शिष्यते पुण्यमेकम् ॥

putra drâg yauvanasthô bhaja sukhajananaṁ dharmamârgaṁ prayatnâd
abdhâv ûrmir yathôrmiṁ praṇudati satataṁ rê muhûrtô muhûrtam ।
yach châtîtaṁ vyatîtaṁ vikṛitim alalitâṁ yâvad abhyêti kâyaḥ
kêśâ jîryanti śushyaty adharakisalayaṁ śishyatê puṇyam êkam ॥

Cf. M. Bh. V. 1249.

78

Am Ende deiner Bahn ist gut Zufriedenheit :
Doch wer am Anfang ist zufrieden, kommt nicht weit. RÜCKERT.

नास्ति वै जीवनस्यान्ते मनस्तोषसमं सुखम् ।
आदौ तु योऽस्ति संतुष्टो न स दूरं गमिष्यति ॥

nâsti vai jîvanasyânte manastôshasamaṁ sukham ।
âdau tu yô 'sti saṁtushṭô na sa dûraṁ gamishyati ॥

Life and Death.

79

Heilig sei dir der Tag ; doch schätze das Leben nicht höher.
Als ein anderes Gut, denn alle Güter sind trüglich. GOETHE.

मुहूर्तो बहुमन्तव्यो मा तु भावय जीवनम् ।
उत्तमं सर्ववित्तानां सर्वं वित्तं हि भङ्गुरम् ॥

muhûrtô bahumantavyô mâ tu bhâvaya jîvanam ।
uttamaṁ sarvavittânâṁ sarvaṁ vittaṁ hi bhaṅguram ॥

80

Des Todes rührendes Bild steht
Nicht als Schrecken dem Weisen und nicht als Ende dem Frommen.
Jenen drängt es ins Leben zurück und lehret ihn handeln,
Diesem stärkt es, zum künftigen Heil, in Trübsal die Hoffnung ;
Beiden wird zum Leben der Tod. GOETHE.

मूर्खद्विष्टो मनसि विदुषः सज्जते नो करालो
नो भावस्योपरतिरिव च श्रद्दधानस्य मृत्युः ।
आ प्राणान्तादितरमनिशं कर्मणे तेजयित्वा
प्रश्वास्यान्यं विपदि मरणं कल्पते जीवनाय ॥

mûrkhadvishṭô manasi vidushaḥ sajjatê nô karâlô
nô bhâvasyôparatir iva cha śraddadhânasya mṛityuḥ ।
â prâṇântâd itaram aniśaṁ karmaṇê têjayitvâ
praśvâsyânyaṁ vipadi maraṇaṁ kalpatê jîvanâya ॥

81

Wenn die Blätter fallen in des Jahres Kreise,
Wenn zum Grabe wallen entnervte Greise,
Da gehorcht die Natur
Ruhig nur
Ihrem alten Gesetze,
Da ist nichts was den Menschen entsetze. SCHILLER.

पतनं म्लानपत्त्राणां मरणं च गतायुषाम् ।
विहितं विधिनेत्येतन्न प्राज्ञेभ्यो भयंकरम् ॥

patanaṁ mlānapattrâṇâṁ maraṇaṁ cha gatâyushâm ।
vihitaṁ vidhinêty êtan na prâjñêbhyô bhayaṁkaram ॥

Cf. Bhâg. Pur. VII. 2, 49 ; *Subhâshitârṇ.* 176.

82

Und so lang du das nicht hast,
Dieses Stirb und Werde,
Bist du nur ein trüber Gast
Auf der dunkeln Erde. GOETHE.

यावज्ज्ञातं त्वया नैतन्मरणात्प्रतिजीवनम् ।
भूमौ तिमिरभूतायां भवस्यन्ध इवातिथिः ॥

yâvaj jñâtaṁ tvayâ naitan maraṇât pratijîvanam ।
bhûmau timirabhûtâyâṁ bhavasy andha ivâtithiḥ ॥

Fortune and Adversity.

83

O Menschenherz, was ist dein Glück?
Ein unbewusst geborner,
Und kaum gegrüsst, verlorner,
Unwiederholter Augenblick. LENAU.

सखे हृदय पृच्छामि किंभूतं सुखमस्ति ते ।
अज्ञातजातनिर्नष्टः स्वागतापगतः क्षणः ॥

sakhê hṛidaya pṛichchhâmi kiṁbhûtaṁ sukham asti tê ।
ajñâtajâtanirnashṭaḥ svâgatâpagataḥ kshaṇaḥ ॥

84

Willst du in die Ferne schweifen?
Sieh, das Gute liegt so nah!
Lerne nur das Glück ergreifen,
Und das Glück ist immer da. GOETHE.

अलं दूरप्रवासेन हस्तप्राप्ये हिते सति ।
श्रीः केशेषु ग्रहीतव्या श्रीश्च संनिहिता सदा ॥

alaṁ dûrapravâsêna hastaprâpyê hitê sati ।
śrîḥ kêśêshu grahîtavyâ śrîś cha saṁnihitâ sadâ ॥

85

Alles in der Welt lässt sich ertragen,
Nur nicht eine Reihe von schönen Tagen. GOETHE.

सर्वं खलु मनुष्येण सह्यं लोके ब्रवीम्यहम् ।
न तु सह्या विमेघानां सुदिनानां परंपरा ॥

sarvaṁ khalu manushyêṇa sahyaṁ lôkê bravîmy aham ।
na tu sahyâ vimêghânâṁ sudinânâṁ paraṁparâ ॥

86

Ein jeder Wechsel schreckt den Glücklichen;
Wo kein Gewinn zu hoffen, droht Verlust. SCHILLER.

विपर्ययेण सर्वेण भीतिं याति सुखी जनः ।
वृद्धिर्यत्र न लभ्येत क्षय एवावशिष्यते ॥

viparyayêṇa sarvêṇa bhîtiṁ yâti sukhî janaḥ ।
vṛiddhir yatra na labhyêta kshaya êvâvaśishyatê ।

87

Zeigt sich der Glückliche mir, ich vergesse die Götter des Himmels ;
Aber sie stehen vor mir, wenn ich den Leidenden seh.

SCHILLER.

सुखिनं यदि पश्यामि विस्मरामि दिवौकसः ।
ते पुरो मे स्थिताः साक्षाद्वीक्षमाणस्य दुःखिनम् ॥

sukhinaṁ yadi paṡyâmi vismarâmi divaukasaḥ ।
tê purô mê sthitâḥ sâkshâd vîkshamâṇasya duḥkhinam ॥

Fate.

88

Musst nicht widerstehn dem Schicksal
Aber musst es auch nicht fliehen :
Wirst du ihm entgegengehen,
Wirds dich freundlich nach sich ziehen.

GOETHE.

प्रतीकारो विधेर्नास्ति न चाप्यस्ति पलायनम् ।
अनुकूलतरं दैवं क्षमया प्रतिगृह्णतः ॥

pratîkâro vidhêr nâsti na châpy asti palâyanam ।
anukûlataraṁ daivaṁ kshamayâ pratigṛihṇataḥ ॥

89

Kannst dem Schicksal widerstehn,
Aber manchmal giebt es Schläge ;
Wills nicht aus dem Wege gehn,
Ei so geh du aus dem Wege.

GOETHE.

दैवं तात प्रतीकुर्वंस्ताडनानि सहिष्यसे ।
प्रतिकूलस्य दैवस्य मार्गो देयो मनस्विना ॥

daivaṁ tâta pratîkurvaṁs tâḍanâni sahishyasê ।
pratikûlasya daivasya mârgô dêyô manasvinâ ॥

90

Es fürchte die Götter
Das Menschengeschlecht !
Sie halten die Herrschaft
In ewigen Händen,
Und können sie brauchen
Wies ihnen gefällt.
Der fürchte sie doppelt,
Den je sie erheben !

GOETHE.

सततममरमन्योरुद्विजन्तां मनुष्या
द्विरपि तु स बिभीयादुच्चसंस्थो नरो यः ।
अचलमुचितहस्तैरीश्वरत्वं दधाना
यदभिरुचितमेषां साधयन्त्येव देवाः ॥

satatam amaramanyôr udvijantâṁ manushyâ
dvir api tu sa bibhîyâd uchchasaṁsthô narô yaḥ ।
achalam uchitahastair îṡvaratvaṁ dadhânâ
yad abhiruchitam êshâṁ sâdhayanty êva dêvâḥ ॥

91

Mit den Göttern
Soll sich nicht messen
Irgend ein Mensch.
Hebt er sich aufwärts und berührt
Mit dem Scheitel die Sterne,
Nirgends haften dann
Die unsicheren Sohlen,
Und mit ihm spielen
Wolken und Winde.

GOETHE.

न खलु न खलु स्पर्धा कार्या सुरैः सह जन्तुना
नभसि तुलयन्नात्मानं चेत्स्पृशत्यपि तारकाः ।
क्वचन चलनान्यासज्जन्ते न पादतलान्यतो
जलदपवनाः क्रीडां कुर्वन्त्यनेन निरर्गलम् ॥

na khalu na khalu spardhâ kâryâ suraiḥ saha jantunâ
nabhasi tulayann âtmânaṁ chêt spṛiśaty api târakâḥ ।
kvachana chalanâny âsajjantê na pâdatalâny atô
jaladapavanâḥ krîḍâṁ kurvanty anêna nirargalam ॥

Guilt.

92

Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht;
Der Uebel grösstes aber ist die Schuld.

SCHILLER.

जीवनं को हि मन्येत धनानां धनमुत्तमम् ।
कष्टानां तु महाकष्टमघं विद्धि स्वयंकृतम् ॥

jîvanaṁ kô hi manyêta dhanânâṁ dhanam uttamam ।
kashṭânâṁ tu mahâkashṭam aghaṁ viddhi svayaṁkṛitam ॥

93

Wer nie sein Brot mit Thränen ass,
Wer nie die kummervollen Nächte
Auf seinem Bette weinend sass,
Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Mächte.
Ihr führt ins Leben uns hinein
Und lasst den Armen schuldig werden;
Dann überlasst ihr ihn der Pein,
Denn alle Schuld rächt sich auf Erden.

GOETHE.

यो नाशान्नं कदाचिन्नयनजलगलो नापि दुःशर्वरीषु
भ्रष्टस्वप्नो मुमोच स्वशयनममरा नो स जानाति युष्मान् ।
ये नीत्वा जीवलोकं तदनु बहुविधं कारयित्वाघमन्ते
क्रूराणां यातनानामुपनयथ वशं मर्त्यकीटं वराकम् ॥

yô nâśânnaṁ kadâchin nayanajalagalô nâpi duḥśarvarîshu
bhrashṭasvapnô mumôcha svaśayanam amarâ no sa jânâti yushmân ।
yê nîtvâ jîvalôkaṁ tadanu bahuvidhaṁ kârayitvâgham antê
krûrâṇâṁ yâtanânâm upanayatha vaśaṁ martyakîṭaṁ varâkam ॥

94

Das eben ist der Fluch der bösen That,
Dass sie fortzeugend immer Böses muss gebären. SCHILLER.

एतं महत्तमं मन्ये दोषं दुष्टस्य कर्मणः ।
संरोपयदिवात्मानं प्रसूते यदघान्तरम् ॥

êtaṁ mahattamaṁ manyê dôshaṁ dushṭasya karmaṇaḥ ।
saṁrôpayad ivâtmânaṁ prasûtê yad aghântaram ॥

95

Es freut sich die Gottheit der reuigen Sünder :
Unsterbliche heben verlorene Kinder
Mit feurigen Armen zum Himmel empor. GOETHE.

आगस्कृतो दण्डशतार्हणस्य
तुष्यन्ति देवाश्चरतोऽनुतापम् ।
विमुक्तदोषं च दिवं प्रसन्ना-
स्तेजस्विभिर्बाहुभिरुद्वहन्ति ॥

âgaskṛitô daṇḍaśatârhaṇasya
tushyanti dêvâs charatô 'nutâpam ।
vimuktadôshaṁ cha divaṁ prasannâs
têjasvibhir bâhubhir udvahanti ॥

Cf. Manu XI. 230.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 275.)

E

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTE ON LAW OF SUCCESSION IN THE NATIVE STATE OF PERAK.

THE law of succession in the State of Perak was that on the death of the Sultan the Raja Muda became Sultan, and the Raja Bandahara (Treasurer) became Raja Muda, and one of the new Sultan's sons became Raja Bandahara. Thus, supposing at some particular time, the succession stood as in column I. below, then after successive deaths it would stand as in columns II. and III.

	I.	II.	III.
Sultan	A.	A's Brother.	A's Son
Raja Muda ...	A's Brother.	A's Son.	A's Nephew.
R. Bandahara...	A's Son.	A's Nephew.	A's Grandson.

The Malay Rajas came of a different race from the native Malays. They are believed to have come from India and a considerable number of Sanskrit words are found embedded in the language, and noticeably certain words relating to Royalty. Some of those words, I believe, are much closer to classical Sanskrit than similar words in the modern Indian Languages. Takhta was one, I believe, and Singasara another. (See Marsden's *Grammar and Dictionary.*)

The above note, by Mr. C. J. Irving, C.M.G., Straits Settlements Civil Service (Retd.), is of interest in connection with the question of succession in the State of Manipur, described in Sir Richard Temple's Note in Vol. XX., p. 422, of the *Indian Antiquary* (for 1891). The principle of succession appears to be that the heir-presumptive is the heir-apparent, and that having once become heir-apparent he must succeed in his turn, the right to succeed reverting to the next heir-apparent, whoever he may be.

It is remarkable that the custom in Perak should, apparently, be of Sanskrit or Indian origin. In the Punjab State of Maler Kotla it is, or rather was, followed by an Afghân family which has a quasi-religious standing owing to the fact that its founder was a celebrated Sûfî saint. (*Cf.* the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII. p. 328.)

H. A. ROSE,
Superintendent of Ethnography, Punjab.

26th March 1903.

CORNAC.

HERE is an early instance of this old Anglo-Indianism. Yule's earliest instance is 1727.

1694-5. The Queen was delivered of a Daughter and fearing her husband should hate her because it was not a son, she changed it for one the wife of a **Cornaca** had then brought forth. **Cornacas** are the men that govern the elephants. Some said the child [afterwards the Emperor Akbar], thought to be changed, was got on the queen by the **Cornaca**. — *Stevens, Translation of Faria-y Sousa, Portuguese Asia,* Vol. II. p. 67.

NOTES ON DRAVIDIAN PHILOLOGY.

BY STEN KONOW, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY.

THE Dravidian verb is not rich in tenses. It possesses a present tense which is commonly also used as a future, a past, and usually also a future.

Tuḷu and Gôṇḍî differ from the rest of the Dravidian languages in having developed a more complicated system of conjugational forms. Bishop Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, Second Edition, London, 1875, p. 340, remarked about those two languages :—

"Tuḷu has a perfect tense, as well as an imperfect or indefinite past. It has conditional and potential moods, as well as a subjunctive. Tamil has but one verbal participle, which is properly a participle of the past tense, whilst Tuḷu has also a present and a future participle. All these moods, tenses, and participles have regularly formed negatives . . . .

"Gônd has all the moods, tenses, and participles of Tuḷu, and in addition some of its own. It has an inceptive mood. Its imperfect branches into two distinct tenses, an imperfect properly so called (I was going) and a past indefinite (I went). It has also a desiderative form of the indicative — that is, a tense which, when preceded by the future, is a subjunctive, but which when standing alone implies a wish.

"On comparing the complicated conjugational system of the Gônd with the extreme and almost naked simplicity of the Tamil, I conclude that we have here a proof, not of the superiority of the Gônd mind to the Tamilian, but simply of the greater antiquity of Tamilian literary culture. The development of the conjugational system of Tamil seems to have been arrested at a very early period (as in the parallel, but still more remarkable, instance of the Chinese) by the invention of writing, by which the verbal forms existing at the time were fossilised, whilst the uncultured Gônds, and their still ruder neighbours the Kôls, went on age after age, as before, compounding with their verbs auxiliary words of time and relation, and fusing them into conjugational forms by rapid and careless pronunciation, without allowing any record of the various steps of the process to survive."

Bishop Caldwell further suggested that these features of the conjugational system of Gôṇḍî might, to some extent, be due to the influence of Santâlî. It would be of considerable interest if such an influence could be proved to have been at work, and I have therefore thought it worth while to take a closer view of the various facts connected with Gôṇḍî conjugation. I should have wished to extend my investigations to Tuḷu, but I am hindered from doing so because I have not here sufficient materials for dealing with that language.

It has often been stated that Gôṇḍî differs from other Dravidian languages in the formation of the passive. In reality, however, Gôṇḍî in this respect closely agrees with the other dialects of the family. Messrs. Driberg and Harrison state that Gôṇḍî has a regular passive formed by adding the verb *âyânâ*, to be, to become, to the conjunctive participle; thus, *jîsî âyâtônâ*, I am struck. Such forms are, however, also used in other Dravidian languages. Thus Bishop Caldwell gives *mugind' âyiṟṟu*, it is finished; *kôvil kaṭṭi âyiṟṟu*, the temple is built, from Tamil, and remarks that *pôyiṟṟu*, it has gone, may generally be used in such phrases instead of *âyiṟṟu*, it has become. Similarly we find *jîsî hattân*, having struck I went, I am struck, in Gôṇḍî.

In Tamil, however, the auxiliary verb is, in such phrases, always used in the third person singular neuter, while all persons and numbers are said to be used in Gôṇḍî. I am not able to check this statement. I have examined the specimens prepared for the use of the Linguistic Survey in the various dialects of Gôṇḍî, and I have not found any such forms. It therefore seems probable that they are simply literal translations of Aryan phrases, and do not in reality belong to the language. At all events, there cannot here be any question of influence exercised by Santâlî.

It has further been stated that Gôṇḍî differs from other Dravidian languages in possessing a potential mood and an inceptive. Thus, *kîâ paṟitônâ*, I can do; *kiālātōnā*, I begin to do. In *kîâ*

paṛitônâ, I can do, *kîâ* is simply the verbal noun, and the whole phrase exactly corresponds to forms such as *nênu pâḍa galanu*, I can sing, in Telugu. *Kîâlâtônâ*, I begin to do, is apparently formed from the infinitive *kîâ-lê*, to do, by adding *âtênâ*, I become, or, I have become. We can therefore compare Telugu phrases such as *ataḍu â pani chêyaḍânaku ârambhiñchinâḍu*, he has begun to do this work. In such forms, Gôṇḍî will be seen to agree with the usage of other Dravidian languages.

We shall now turn to an examination of the various tenses of the indicative mood in Gôṇḍî. Bishop Caldwell has drawn attention to the fact that while Tamil has only three tenses, it has a present, an imperfect, an indefinite past, a perfect, a future, and a conditional. The table which follows will show how all these tenses are formed from *kîânâ*, to make : —

	Present.	Imperfect.	Indefinite.	Perfect.	Future.	Conditional.
Sing. 1 ...	*kîâtônâ* ...	*kîndân* ...	*kîênâ* ...	*kîtân* ...	*kîâkâ(n)* ...	*kîâkâ(n)*
2 ...	*kîâtônî* ...	*kîndî* ...	*kîênî* ...	*kîtî* ...	*kîâkî* ...	*kîâkî*
3 masc. ...	*kîâtôr* ...	*kîndur* ...	*kîêr* ...	*kîtur* ...	*kîânur* ...	*kîr*
3 fem. & n....	*kîâtâ* ...	*kînd(u)* ...	*kîvâr* ...	*kît(u)* ...	*kîâr* ...	*kî*
Plur. 1 ..	*kîâtôram* ..	*kîndôm* ...	*kîêram* ...	*kîtôm* ...	*kîâkôm* ...	*kîâkôm*
2 ...	*kîâtôrîṭ* ...	*kîndîṛ* ...	*kîêrîṭ* ...	*kîtîṛ* ...	*kîâkîṛ* ...	*kîâkîṛ*
3 masc. ...	*kîâtôrk* ...	*kîndurk* ..	*kîêrk* ...	*kîturk* ...	*kîânurk* ...	*kîrk*
3 fem. & n....	*kîâtâṅg* ...	*kînduṅg* ...	*kîvâṅg* ...	*kîtuṅg* ...	*kîânuṅg* ...	*kîṅg*

It will be seen that the so-called conditional only differs from the future in the third person. It seems necessary to infer that only the third person contains the original suffix of the conditional, and it is perhaps allowed to compare the Kanarese suffix *re*. Forms such as *kî*, *kîrk*, and *kîng* are apparently due to analogy. I am not, however, able to judge about these forms, because they seem to be very rarely used, and scarcely occur in the materials at my disposal.

If we compare the other tenses in the table, it will be seen that they can be divided into two classes. The first comprises the present and the indefinite, the second the imperfect, the perfect, and the future.

The two classes use different suffixes in order to distinguish the person of the subject. Bishop Caldwell has already drawn attention to this fact and also pointed out how it should be explained. He says, *l. c.* p. 282 :—

" The personal terminations of the first and second persons singular in Gônd require a little consideration. In both persons the initial *n* of the isolated pronoun[1] seems to hold its ground in some of the tenses in a manner which is not observed in any other dialect — *e.g.*, *âyâtônâ*, I am becoming, *âyâtônî*, thou art becoming. In some other tenses (*e.g.*, imperfect *ândân*, I became,

[1] Compare Tamil *nân*, I ; *nî*, thou. — S. K.

perfect *âttân,* I have become), the termination of the first person resembles that in use in most of the other dialects. In the second person (*ândî, âttî*), the *n*, whatever its origin, disappears altogether, and is replaced by the ordinary Davidian *i*. I prefer, therefore, to regard the *n* of the first and second persons, in these tenses, as the *n* of the pronoun of the third person singular, *ôn*, he, forming, when added to the root, a participial noun. *Âyât-ôn-â* would then mean, I am one who becomes; *âyât-ôn-î*, thou art one who becomes. If this view is correct, nothing can be observed in these forms differing in reality from those in the other dialects."

It is evident that Bishop Caldwell has here found the true explanation of such forms, and, at the same time, of the apparent richness of various tenses in Gôṇḍî. Forms such as *kîâtônâ,* I do; *kîênâ,* I wish to do, &c., are simply nouns of agency used as verbs.

Similar forms are frequently used in other Dravidian forms of speech.

It is a well-known fact that nouns of agency or composite nouns are freely formed in the Dravidian languages by adding the terminations or the full forms of the demonstrative pronouns to the bases of nouns, adjectives, and relative participles.

In Tamil we find words such as *mupp-an*, an elder, from *muppu*, age; *Tamiṛ-an*, a Tamilian, from *Tamiṛ*, Tamil; *malei-yin-an*, a mountaineer, from *maleî*, mountain; *paṭṭinatt-an*, a citizen, from *paṭṭanam*, city; *vill-an, vill-in-an, vill-ôn, vill-avan*, a bowman, from *vil*, bow; *ôdinan*, one who read, from *ôdina*, who read.

It will be seen that the pronominal suffix is sometimes added to the base (thus, *vill-an*, a bowman), and sometimes to the oblique base (thus, *paṭṭin-att-an*, a citizen). They are sometimes even added to the genitive; thus, *kôn-in-an*, he who is the king's.

Similar forms occur in all Dravidian languages. Compare Kanarese *mâḍuv-avanu*, one who does, from *mâḍuva*, who is doing; *mâḍid-avanu*, one who did, from *mâḍida*, who has done; Telugu *mag-aṇḍu*, a husband; *chinna-vâṇḍu*, a boy, &c.

Like ordinary nouns, such composite nouns are frequently used as verbs, and the personal terminations of ordinary verbs are then added. This is especially the case in Telugu, the old dialects of Tamil and Kanarese, and the minor languages such as Kuru*kh*, Malto, and Gôṇḍî. Thus we find Tamil *kôn-en*, I am king; *kôn-em*, we are kings; Telugu *sêvakuḍa-nu*, I am a servant; *tammuḍa-vu*, thou art a brother; *brâhmanulamu*, we are Brâhmans; Kuru*hk urban*, I am a master; *urbaro*, you are masters; Malto *ên niṅgadi-n*, I am your daughter; Kui *ânu neggânu*, I am good; *êañju kueñju*, he is a Kui, and so forth.

Such composite nouns are very frequently formed from the relative participles. Compare Tamil *śeygiṛavan*, he who does; *śeydavan*, he who did; *śeybavan*, he who will do; Kanarese *mâḍuvavanu*, he who does; *mâḍidavanu*, he who did; Telugu *chêstunnavâḍu*, he who does; *chêsinavâḍu*, he who did; *chêsêvâḍu*, he who does, or, will do. In poetical Tamil such forms are often used as ordinary tenses. Thus, *naḍandanan*, he walked; *naḍandanam*, we walked, &c. This is quite common in Telugu. Thus, *nênu âyana iṇṭ-lô lekka vrâsêvâḍa-nu* (or *vrâsê-vâṇṇi*), I am an accountant in his house; *nîvu yêmi pani chêsê-vâḍa-vu*, what work do you do?; and so forth.

It will be seen from the instances given above that such composite nouns are sometimes formed by adding the full demonstrative pronoun, and sometimes by simply adding the termination. Compare Tamil *vill-an* and *vill-avan*, a bowman. It seems probable that forms such as *vill-an* represent a more ancient stage of development than *vill-avan*. It will therefore be seen that, for instance, Telugu *chêsinâḍu*, he did, is essentially the same form as *chêsina-vâḍu*, one who did. Bishop Caldwell justly remarked that a form such as *naḍandadu*, it walked, literally means 'a thing

which walked.' In the same way *śeygiṟân*, he does, seems to be identical with *śeygiṟavan*, one who does, a doer. Compare *villân* and *villavan*, a bowman. We shall have to return to this question below.

We are now in a position to better understand Gôṇḍî forms such as *kîâtônâ*, I do.

Gôṇḍî has, to a great extent, imitated the neighbouring Aryan languages in using a relative pronoun. The interrogative *bôr*, feminine, and neuter *bad*, has been adopted for that purpose. Besides, however, we frequently also find relative clauses expressed in the usual Dravidian way by means of relative participles. Thus, I have noted *kalle kiyê mânvâl*, theft doing man, a man who usually commits theft, from Bhandara. Gôṇḍî possesses at least three such relative participles. Thus, from *kîânâ*, to do, we find a present participle *kîâtâ*, a past *kîtâ*, and an indefinite *kîê*. Compare Telugu *chêstunna*, doing; *chêsina*, who did, and *chêsê*, who usually does, who will do, &c. These participles are the bases of different tenses which are all inflected in exactly the same way. Thus, *kîâtônâ*, I do; *kîtônâ*, I did; *kîênâ*, I might do, I will do. In addition to *kîtônâ*, I did, we also find *kîsîtônâ*, formed from the conjunctive participle *kîsî*, having done.

The personal terminations added in all these tenses are as follows: —

Sing.		Plu.	
1	*ônâ.*	1	*ôr-am, êr-am.*
2	*ônî.*	2	*ôr-îṭ, êr-îṭ.*
3 masc.	*ôr, êr.*	3 masc.	*ôrk, êrk.*
3 fem. and n.	*â, vâr.*	3 fem. and n.	*âṅg, vâṅg.*

It will be seen that the terminations of the third persons plural are simply formed from the corresponding third persons singular, by adding the usual plural suffixes. I am not, however, able to satisfactorily explain the suffix *vâr* of the third person singular, feminine and neuter of the indefinite tense. The same termination is also used in the future.

The terminations of the first and second persons plural are clearly formed from the third person singular, masculine, by adding the suffixes *am* in the first, and *îṭ* in the second person. *Am* is identical with the suffix *ôm* added in other tenses, and *îṭ* is the ordinary suffix *î* of the second person, with the addition of the plural suffix *ṭ*. Compare *kîm-ṭ*, do ye; *kîm*, do; *immâ*, thou; *immâṭ*, you.

It might seem curious that the first and second persons plural should be formed from the third person singular. A comparison of *kîâtôr-am*, we do; *kîêr-am*, we will do, with *kîâtôr*, he does; *kîêr*, he will do, is, however, sufficient to show that this is in reality the case. The explanation is that such forms as *kîâtôr*, *kîêr*, &c., are originally plurals, and they are still often used as such.

The demonstrative pronoun in Gôṇḍî is now *ôr*, plural *ôr* and *ôrk*. The form *ôr*, however, corresponds to Tamil *avar* or *ôr*, they, which is very commonly used as an honorific singular. The old Gôṇḍî singular must have been *ôn*, and the third person singular masculine of the present tense of *kîânâ* must originally have been *kîâtôn*, a doer, or, he does. The existence of such a form must necessarily be inferred from the first and second persons singular, *kîât-ôn-â*, I do; *kîât-ôn-î*, thou doest, which are regularly formed from *kîâtôn* by adding the personal suffixes of the first and second persons singular, respectively.

The same personal suffixes are in Gôṇḍî also added to the interrogative pronoun when it is used as the predicate. Thus we find *immâ bôn-î* (not *bôr*) *ândî*, who art thou?; *amôṭ bôr-am ândôm*, who are we?; &c.

It will thus be seen that the richly developed system of conjugational forms in Gôṇḍî is only apparent, and that the language in this respect well agrees with other Dravidian forms of speech, especially Telugu.

On the other hand, there are several compound tenses, as is also the case in other connected languages. Thus, the imperfect *kîndân*, I was doing, is formed from the participle *kîê*, by adding *ândân*, I was. Another form of the same tense is *kîê mattônâ*, I was doing. The pluperfect *kîsî mâttônâ*, I had done, literally means 'having done I was,' and so forth.

We have thus seen that the formation of tenses in Gôṇḍî is essentially the same as in other Dravidian languages, and that there cannot, therefore, in that respect be any question about an influence exercised by Santâlî.

It has often been stated that the negative verb in Gôṇḍî is formed by inserting *hille* or *halle* between the pronoun and the verb. This use of *hille* or *halle* does not, however, appear to be more than a tendency, and I have over and over again found forms such as *sêvôr*, he did not give, without the addition of any separate negative particle. It will thus be seen that Gôṇḍî in all such essential points agrees with other Dravidian languages, and there is no philological reason for separating it as a northern group of Dravidian languages, as has sometimes been done.

It has already been pointed out in the preceding pages that the third person singular of most Dravidian tenses in form does not differ from a composite noun or noun of agency. Thus Gôṇḍî *kîtur*, he did, seems to be formed from *kîtu*, corresponding to Tamil *śeydu*, having done, by adding the suffix of the demonstrative pronoun. Compare Tamil *śeydân*, he did. The other persons of ordinary tenses are not, however, formed in the same way as in the case of the Gôṇḍî present by adding the personal suffixes to the base of the third person, but by substituting the suffixes of the first and second persons for that of the third. Thus Gôṇḍî *kîtân*, I did; *kîtî*, thou didst. The forms of those suffixes vary in the different Dravidian languages. The reason for this state of affairs seems to be that the full forms of the personal pronouns have been changed in various ways, and the suffixes have not always undergone the same changes. Thus the pronoun 'thou' in Telugu is *nîvu*, but the pronominal suffix of the same person is simply *vu* or *vi*, where all traces of the original pronominal base have disappeared. On the other hand in Gôṇḍî 'thou' is *immâ*; but the corresponding suffix of the second person is *î*, probably the oldest form of the Dravidian pronoun for 'thou.' It is quite natural that the same suffix can, under such circumstances, come to be used for more than one person. Compare Telugu *chêsinâ-nu*, I did; *chêse-nu*, he, she, it, or they, did, where the same suffix *nu* is apparently used for the first as well as for the third persons. Prof. A. Ludwig has mentioned several similar instances from Telugu, Tamil, and Kanarese, and has drawn the conclusion that the personal terminations of the Dravidian verb are not originally personal pronouns, but that there is only, at the utmost, an intended assimilation of the sound of the termination of the verbal tenses to the sound of the personal pronouns. See his paper *Über die Verbalflexion der Dravidasprachen. Sitzungsberichte* der königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Classe für Philosophie, Geschichte und Philologie, 1900, No. VI.

Professor Ludwig is certainly right in assuming an assimilation in sound between verb and pronoun. Compare Telugu *nênu chêsinânu*, I did; *nîvu chêsinâvu*, thou didst; *vâḍu chêsinâḍu*, he did; Tamil *nân śeydân*, I did; *nî śeydâ-y*, thou didst; *avan śeydân*, he did; Kui *êañju giteñju*, he did. If we compare Telugu *vâḍu chêsinâḍu*, Tamil *avan śeydân*, Kui *êañju giteñju*, it is evident that the third person singular masculine of the verb has in all cases undergone the same phonetical changes as the corresponding pronoun. In such cases as Telugu *nîvu chêsinâvu*, thou didst, where the base of the pronoun is *nî*, and the corresponding verbal suffix only is a secondary termination, it is evident that the assimilation in sound has been intended.

There are, on the other hand, many cases in which the verbal forms have not been changed in the same way as the pronouns. A good instance is furnished by Gôṇḍî. Compare *nannâ kîâtôn-â*, I do; *nannâ kîtâ(-n)*, I did; *immâ kitî*, thou didst; *mammâṭ kîtôm*, we did; *immâṭ kîtîr*, you did. It will be seen that the Gôṇḍî pronouns have undergone great changes, while the corresponding suffixes have retained an older form.

It is well known that the personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and the reflexive pronoun in Dravidian languages, are formed in the same way. The suffix of the singular is usually *n*, and that of the plural *m*. Compare the following table : —

	I.	We.	Thou.	You.	Self.	Selves.
Tamil ...	*nân, yân* ...	*nâm* ...	*nî* ...	*nîr* ...	*tân* ...	*tâm*
Malayâḷam ...	*ñân* ..	*nâm* ...	*nî* ..	*niṅṅaḷ* ..	*tân* ...	*taṅṅaḷ*
Kanarese ..	*ân, yân, nânu.*	*âm, nâvu* ...	*nî, nînu* ...	*nîm, nîvu* ...	*tânu* ...	*tâmu*
Kurukh ...	*ên*	*êm, nâm* ...	*nîn* ...	*nîm* ...	*tân* ...	*tâm*
Tuḷu ...	*yân* ...	*nama, yeṅkulu*	*î* ...	*îr* ...	......	......
Kui ...	*ânu* ...	*âmu* ...	*înu* ..	*îru* ...	*tânu* ...	*târu*
Gôṇḍî ...	*nannâ* ...	*mammâṭ* ...	*immâ* ...	*immâṭ* ...	......	......
Telugu ...	*ênu, nênu* ...	*êmu, mêmu*...	*nîvu, îvu* ...	*îru, mîru* ..	*tânu* ...	*tâmu*

It will be seen from the table that the usual termination of the plural *r* has replaced the old *m* in many cases. That is exactly what has taken place in the Gôṇḍî pronominal suffix of the second person plural. Compare *kît-îṛ*, you did. The change of *r* to *ṛ* is very common in Gôṇḍî in plural forms; thus, *kîâtôṛ-am* and *kîâtôr-am*, we do.

The table seems to point to the conclusion that the oldest form for 'I' is *ân* or *ên*, and that for 'thou' is *în, î*, or *nî*. The final *n* in *ân* and *în* is certainly a suffix, and is perhaps originally identical with the suffix *n* of the demonstrative pronoun. The personal suffixes *â* or *ân*, for 'I,' and *î*, for which we often find *în*, for 'thou' in Gôṇḍî, are therefore apparently the old personal pronouns, while the pronouns now in actual use in the language have been considerably changed.

The case is similar in the plural. The pronominal suffix of the first person is *am* or *ôm*. For *ôm* we often find *âm* which directly corresponds to the forms for 'we' usual in Old-Kanarese and Kui. The suffix of the second person plural has already been mentioned. It may be added that the suffix *m* in all modern Dravidian languages has been confined to the first person plural. In old Tamil, however, we occasionally find this suffix used for all persons of the plural. Thus, *śeydum*, we, you, or they, did. Similarly we find forms such as *mâḍugum*, we, you, or they, do, in old-Kanarese. In such forms there is no distinction of person, and even the distinction of number does not seem to have been necessary in the old Dravidian dialects. Thus Malayâḷam no more adds the personal terminations to verbs, but uses the uninflected participles instead; thus, *cheyyunnu*, I do, &c.; *cheydu*, I did, &c., for all persons and numbers. The corresponding *śeydu* is used for all the persons of the singular in old Tamil, while *m* is added in the plural. The oldest Malayâḷam texts make use of personal terminations like Tamil. It is not, however, probable that they have ever been so commonly used in that dialect as in most modern Dravidian forms of speech. There are even indications that a similar

simplified conjugation by means of uninflected participles has been used over a much wider area than the present state of affairs might lead us to infer. Thus we find similar forms occasionally used in Gôṇḍî. Compare *tindi*, I eat, &c.; *tiñji*, I ate, &c., for all persons and numbers.

The common Dravidian principle is, however, to add personal terminations, and the state of affairs in Gôṇḍî, where the personal pronouns have changed their old forms while the personal terminations of verbs closely agree with the oldest forms of the same pronouns in other dialects, proves that those terminations are, in reality, what they have usually been supposed to be, pronominal suffixes. The case of Telugu, where some of the personal terminations have dropped the whole base of the original pronoun but have become assimilated to them in sound, shows how clearly they have continued to be felt as pronominal.

On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the pronominal suffixes were not originally necessary. This explains why they are so frequently dropped in everyday language. Thus we very commonly find the terminations of the first and third persons singular dropped in vulgar Telugu, and so forth.

The forms which are used as verbal tenses in Dravidian languages are, as is well known, participles, or are formed from participles. Thus the present tense seems to be formed from a participle which is identical with the base, by adding the verb substantive, and the past is formed from the so-called conjunctive participle. This use of participles as the base of all tenses, is a characteristic feature of Dravidian languages; and it seems allowed to infer that the corresponding tendency in modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars is due to Dravidian influence. The Aryan population of India must have assimilated a large Dravidian element. This process is still going on at the present day; and we see how small tribes are gradually Aryanised and abandon their native speech for that of their Aryan neighbours.

The modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars do not appear to contain many traces of the old Dravidian admixture. Most of their characteristics can apparently be traced back to tendencies in Sanskrit, and they are therefore generally considered to be quite independent of the Dravidian languages. It may therefore be of interest to examine the facts in which a Dravidian influence might be expected to have taken place.

There is of course no doubt regarding the existence of a Dravidian element in the Aryan population of Northern India. We are not, however, here concerned with the anthropological side of the question. It will be sufficient to look out for philological traces of the Dravidas in the language of the Aryans. Such traces might be expected to be found in vocabulary, in pronunciation, and in grammar, especially in syntax.

With regard to vocabulary, it has long been recognised that Sanskrit dictionaries contain many words which cannot be derived from Indo-European bases, and which can only be explained as borrowed from the Dravidians. I do not intend to enter upon this side of the question. A long list of supposed loanwords in Sanskrit will be found in the introduction to the Revd. F. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary.

It has long ago been proposed to explain the existence of cerebral letters in Indo-Aryan languages by the supposition of Dravidian influence. It is highly probable that such an influence can have been at work. It is, however, possible that the cerebrals have been independently developed in the speech of the Aryan Indians, just as we find cerebrals developed from *rt*, &c., in Norwegian and Swedish. Compare *fot*, from *fort*, quickly, in vulgar dialects. There is, on the other hand, one point in the pronunciation of all Indo-Aryan dialects where it seems to be necessary to think of Dravidian influence, and this influence can here be traced back to the oldest times.

The Indo-European family of languages possesses an *r*, as well as an *l*. The same is the case in Sanskrit, but both sounds are there distributed in a way which is quite different and apparently quite lawless. The sister-language of the oldest Indo-Aryan dialects, the old Iranian form of speech, has changed every *l* into *r*. The same has apparently once been the case in all Aryan dialects. In India itself we can see how the use of *l* is gradually spreading. In the oldest Vedic texts it is a comparatively rare sound. It is more frequently used in later Vedic books, and still more so in post-Vedic literature. There must be a reason for this increasing tendency to change *r* into *l*, and the only satisfactory explanation seems to be that it is due to Dravidian influence. Bishop Caldwell has pointed out that *r* and *l* in Dravidian languages are constantly interchanged, usually so that an *l* is substituted for an *r*.

There are no traces of Dravidian influence in other points of the pronunciation of the oldest Indo-Aryan language. The common softening of hard single consonants after vowels in the Prakrits seems to correspond to the similar change in Dravidian. The double pronunciation of the palatals in modern Marâṭhî is probably due to the influence of Telugu, and so on. But we have no right to assume that such tendencies have been at work in the oldest stage of Indo-Aryan languages.

The Dravidian languages have, on the other hand, very early exercised an important influence on Aryan grammar. I do not think that this influence has been a direct one, of one language on another. It seems to have taken place in such a way that the Dravidians who were, in the course of time, absorbed by the Aryans and adopted their speech, did not abandon their linguistic tendencies, but were, on the contrary, to a certain extent able to recast the Aryan grammar after Dravidian principles. The most important point in this connection is the increasing use in Aryan languages of participles instead of ordinary tenses.

It is a well-known fact that the verb in the Vedic dialects possesses a rich system of various tenses, just as is the case in other Indo-European languages. It is also well known how the various tenses early began to be disused and were gradually replaced by participles. According to Prof. Whitney, the number of verbal forms in Nala and the Bhagavadgîtâ is only one-tenth of that in the Rigveda. In later Sanskrit literature the same tendency was carried still further, and almost every tense was replaced by a participle. The same state of affairs prevails in modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. They have, broadly speaking, only traces of the old tenses, but have instead developed new ones from the old participles. At the same time, the verb of subordinate sentences is commonly replaced by conjunctive participles.

This double tendency, to use conjunctive participles in subordinate sentences and to substitute participles for all finite tenses, is distinctly Dravidian, and not Indo-European. When we remember that the Aryan population of India has absorbed an important Dravidian element, it seems necessary to conclude that the said grammatical tendency is due to the influence of that element.

It is perhaps allowed to go a little farther. The present tense is in modern dialects very commonly conjugated in person. We have seen that the same is the case in Dravidian. It seems probable that we have here, again, to do with the influence of the Dravidian element. It is of no importance for this question, whether the personal terminations of the modern Aryan dialects are originally pronominal suffixes or borrowed from the verb substantive. The present tense in Dravidian languages is apparently formed by adding the verb substantive to a present participle. Compare Telugu *chêst-unnânu*, I do, *lit.* I am doing; Tamil *śey-giṟên*, I do; and so on. The Tamil suffix of the present is *kiṟên*, and should be compared with *kiri*, I am, in the Kaikâḍî dialect of Berar. The personal terminations are, however, also used in other tenses, just as is the case in some Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and it is of no importance for the present question how we explain the Dravidian present.

It has been mentioned above that the Dravidian tenses can also be considered as nouns of agency. And we have seen that in Gôṇḍî several tenses are formed by adding the pronominal suffixes to the ordinary noun of agency. Compare *kîâtônâ*, I do, where the pronominal suffix is added to the old noun of agency *kîâtôn*, a doer. Similar forms have also been adduced from Telugu, and it is clear that we have here to do with a deeply-rooted tendency in the Dravidian languages.

It is now of interest that an exactly analogous form is already met with in Sanskrit. in the so-called periphrastic future. This form begins to be used in the Brâhmaṇas, but is then very unfrequent (about thirty instances). In the later literature it is more common.

It is formed exactly in the same way as Gôṇḍî tenses such as *kîâtôn* '. The verb substantive is added to the noun of agency in the first and second persons, where Gôṇḍî uses the pronominal suffixes, while the noun of agency is used alone in the third person. It is difficult to explain this tense from the principles prevailing in Sanskrit. On the other hand, it is easily understood when we remember how the present participle and the noun of agency formed from it is commonly used with a future sense in Dravidian languages.

There is still another form in Sanskrit which seems to be due to Dravidian influence, *viz.*, the participle ending in *tavat*. Such forms are very rare in the old literature, but later on they become quite usual. There is nothing corresponding in other Indo-European languages, but similar forms are quite common in Dravidian. Compare, for instance, Tamil *śeydavan*, Sanskrit *kṛitavân*, one who has done. The suffix *vat* is, of course, Aryan, but the close analogy between forms such as *śeydavan* and *kṛitavân* is too striking to be accidental.

There are still two points in which the Aryan vernaculars of India seem to have adopted Dravidian principles, *viz.*, in the fixed order of words and in the different treatment of the object of transitive verbs, according as it is a rational or an irrational being.

The order of words in old Sanskrit was free. In modern vernaculars, on the other hand, it follows fixed rules. It seems probable that this state of affairs is due to the influence of other linguistic families. It is not, however, possible to decide whether this influence has been exercised by the Dravidian element in the Aryan population, and I must therefore be contented to draw attention to the fact that, for instance the position of the governed before the governing word, and the necessity of putting the verb at the end of the sentence, is in full agreement with Dravidian principles.

The use of a double form for the objective case in Indo-Aryan vernaculars is, on the other hand, certainly Dravidian. The common rule in Hindî is that the suffix *kô* is added to nouns denoting rational beings, while the base alone is used as the objective case of other nouns. This distinction between nouns denoting rational beings and such as signify irrationals is a peculiarity of the Dravidian languages. It is true that the use of the base in order to denote the object in Telugu is restricted to nouns denoting things without life. But this seems to be a new departure of Telugu, where it is perhaps due to Kolarian influence. In Tamil and Malayâḷam, on the other hand, the practice is exactly the same as in Hindî.

Some of the characteristic points mentioned in the preceding pages have already been drawn attention to by Bishop Caldwell. He says (*l.c.* Introd. p. 59) :—

"The principal particulars in which the grammar of the North-Indian idioms agrees with that of the Dravidian languages are as follows : — (1) the inflexion of nouns by means of separate post-fixed particles added to the oblique form of the noun ; (2) the inflexion of the plural by annexing to the unvarying sign of plurality the same suffixes of case as those by which the singular is inflected ; (3) the use in several of the northern idioms of two pronouns of the first person plural, the one

including, the other excluding, the party addressed; (4) the use of post-positions, instead of prepositions; (5) the formation of verbal tenses by means of participles; (6) the situation of the relative sentence before the indicative; (7) the situation of the governing word after the word governed. In the particulars above mentioned, the grammar of the North-Indian idioms undoubtedly resembles that of the Dravidian family: but the argument founded upon this general agreement is to a considerable extent neutralised by the circumstance that those idioms accord in the same particulars, and to the same extent, with several other families of the Scythian[2] group."

I think Bishop Caldwell was quite right in not concluding that all such points of agreement are due to Dravidian influence on the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. And, more especially, it may reasonably be doubted whether the use of two different forms of the plural of the personal pronoun of the first person is an originally Dravidian feature. We do not find it in Kanarese, Gôṇḍî, Brâhûî, and several minor dialects. And the other dialects use quite different sets of forms. Compare the table which follows :—

	Tamil.	Malayâḷam.	Kurukh.	Kui.	Telugu.
We, exclusive ...	*naṅgaḷ* ...	*naññaḷ* ...	*ēm*	*âmu*	*mēmu*
We, inclusive ...	*nâm, yâm* ...	*nâm*	*nâm*	*âju*	*manamu*

The table shows that the inclusive plural *yâm, nâm*, in Tamil and Malayâḷam, corresponds to the exclusive plural *âmu* in Kui and *mēmu* (old *ēmu*) in Telugu. The two different forms of the pronoun must therefore have been independently developed in the various languages of the Dravidian family. This seems to point to the conclusion that the old language from which all the Dravidian forms of speech have been derived, did not originally possess more than one form for 'we.' It almost seems as if the tendency to distinguish between a 'we' which includes, and another which excludes, the party addressed, has been introduced into the Dravidian languages from without. It may be due to the influence of the Kol languages; and it would not be safe to attach any importance to this point.

I hope, however, to have shown that there remain several features in which we are apparently obliged to assume an influence on the Aryan vernaculars exercised by the Dravidian family. I therefore fully agree with Bishop Caldwell when he says (*l. c.* p. 57) :—

"As the præ-Aryan tribes, who were probably more numerous than the Aryans, were not annihilated, but only reduced to a dependent position, and eventually, in most instances, incorporated in the Aryan community, it would seem almost necessarily to follow that they would modify, whilst they adopted, the language of their conquerors, and that this modification would consist, partly in the addition of new words, and partly also in the introduction of a new spirit and tendency."

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[2] The name Scythian should not any more be used to denote a family of languages. It was introduced by the eminent Danish philologist Rask as a general denomination of almost all those languages of Europe and Asia which do not belong to the Indo-European or Semitic families. We now know that those languages belong to widely different families, and that they cannot be classed together. Moreover, the few Scythian words which have been preserved by Greek writers are distinctly Iranian, *i. e.* they belong to the Indo-European family. — S. K.

DIGAMBARA JAINA ICONOGRAPHY.

BY JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D.

RESEARCH during the last half century has perhaps been less directed to the study of Jainism than to any other branch of Indian study. Still, much has been done even here by such scholars as Weber, Bühler, Jacobi, Leumann, Hoernle, and others, whose investigations have been directed more especially to the literature of the Śvêtâmbara sect.

Whilst engaged in the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the libraries of Râjputâna, Dr. Bühler learnt much respecting both the sects. Of the Digambara Jainas, — who are largely found in Maisûr and Kannaḍa, though also very numerous in the North-Western Provinces, Eastern Râjputâna, and the Pañjâb, — we know less than of the Śvêtâmbaras who are so numerous in Gujarât and Western Râjputâna and all over Northern and Central India. In Râjputâna, Dr. Bühler found the Digambara laymen divided into three *jâtis* — Khandarwâl, Agrawâl, and Bahirwâl, — who eat with each other, but marry only within their own *jât* or class. Both sects agreed in their esteem for the *Dvâdaśâṅgî* or twelve *Aṅgas*, and some of the *Aṅgas* at least are common to both; whether all are so, he was unable to ascertain, for the Digambaras declare that many of the Śvêtâmbara works are spurious and that of some they possess different versions.

The Digambaras divide their literature into four 'Vêdas,' *viz.*:— (1) The *Prathamânuyôga*, comprising all their works on *Itihâsa* or legends and history, among which are the twenty-four *Purâṇas* giving the legends of the Tîrthakaras; (2) The *Karaṇânuyôga*, embracing works on cosmogony; (3) The *Dravyânuyôga*, treating of their doctrine and philosophy; and (4) the *Charaṇânuyôga*, treating of the *âchâra* customs, worship, &c.[1]

The Jaypur Khandarwâls, Dr. Bühler found subdivided into **Vîśpanthîs** and **Thêra-panthîs**, — a division common, perhaps, to the whole Digambara community, as indicated in 1820 by Col. Colin Mackenzie's Jaina pandit.[2] The Viśpanthîs worship standing, and present lemons, fruits, flowers, and sweetmeats of various sorts; but the Thêrâpanthîs sit down whilst worshipping, and offer no flowers or green fruits, but present sacred rice (*akshata*), sandal, cloves, nutmeg, cardamoms, dates, almonds, dry cocoanuts, sweetmeats, &c. They are much more scrupulous than the Viśpanthîs, decry their conduct. and refuse respect to their priests; they object to bathing themselves or the images, and worship with water, cocoanut-water, or *pañchâmṛita*. Their disuse of flowers and green fruits is based on their teaching that all plants, trees, &c., are endued with life.

From Mysore I learn that the following classification into eleven grades of Jainas is made; it must however be, to a large extent, theoretical: —

1. The lowest grade consists of those who simply confess their belief in Jainism without the performance of any of its ceremonies.
2. Those who perform some of the Jaina ceremonies but neglect others.
3. Those who observe all the religious ceremonies.
4. Śrâvakas who observe all the other Jaina precepts but are guilty of adultery.
5. Śrâvakas who may be dishonest while observant of all other Jaina principles.
6. Those who may abet crimes but do not commit them personally.
7. Śrâvakas who carefully examine all they eat, lest there should be any insects in it.

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[1] *Bombay Administration Report* for 1875-76; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 28.

[2] *Orient. Mag. and Calcutta Review*, Vol. I. pp. 77 f., or *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXI, p. 66.

8. Those who abstain from eating any green fruits or vegetables, but only such as are dried.

9. The Śrâvaka of the ninth class is the Brahmachârî, who wears white clothes and leads a celibate life.

10. The Śrâvaka who does not leave his house, but otherwise follows the practices of the eleventh class.

11. The highest grade of all is that of the Śrâvaka who leaves his house, family, and all possessions, and — provided with a *kamaṇḍalu* or water-vessel, a *pichchha* or broom made of peacock's feathers and used for removing insects out of his way, and a *kashâya-vastra* or reddish coloured cloth — avoids all crimes, relinquishes ambitions, maintains honesty, and possesses implicit faith in his priest.

The **Vidyâsthânas** or seats of learning of the Digambaras mentioned by Dr. Bühler are,— (1) Jaypur, (2) Dehli, (3) Gwâliar, (4) Ajmîr, (5) Nâgar in Râjputâna, (6) Râmpur-Bhânpur near Indur, (7) Karaṅgi, and (8) Surat. To these the Maisûr Jainas add Kollâpura, Jina-Kâñchîpuram, perhaps Chittanûr in South Arkat district, and Penukonda in Anantapur district. These, with Dehli, are known as *Chatuḥ-siṁhâsana.* There are *maṭhas* at these four places. They also claim to have a seat at Shôlâpur.

The **Digambaras** profess to differ from the Śvêtâmbaras on the following points: —

1. Their statues of the Tîrthakaras are always represented as nude (*nirvastra*) ; whereas the Śvêtâmbaras represent theirs as clothed and decorate them with crowns and ornaments.

2. As stated by Col. Colin Mackenzie (*Asiat. Res.* Vol. IX. pp. 247 f.), the Digambaras observe sixteen ceremonials — *shôḍaśakarman*, which are enumerated as : — (1) *Garbhâdhâna* or consummation of marriage ; (2) *Puṁsavana,* — the rite in the third month of pregnancy, for male progeny ; (3) *Sîmantakaraṇa*, defined by Mackenzie as adorning a married woman's head with flowers when she is six months gone with child, or in the seventh month : the Brahmanical *Sîmantônnayana,* — the parting or dividing of the hair is observed by women in the fourth, sixth or eighth month ; (4) *Jâtakarman* or horoscope and birth ceremony ; (5) *Nâmakaraṇa,*— the naming of a new-born child ; (6) *Annaprâśana,* — when, at six months of age, or over, a child is first fed with other sustenance than milk ; (7) *Chaulakarman* or *Chûḍôpanayana,* — the ceremony of tonsure ; (8) *Upanayana* or initiation between five and nine years of age, when the sacred thread is assumed. Of the next five, I have failed to obtain any explanation, and must leave them for further investigation by those who have opportunity. They are : — (9) *Prâjâpatya* ; (10) *Saumya* ; (11) *Âgnêya* ; (12) *Vaiśvadêva* ; and (13) *Gôdâna,* — the giving of a cow in charity (?). Mackenzie gives *Śâstrâbhyâsa,* — the ceremony observed by young boys at the age of 5 years 5 months and 5 days, when they begin to read the sacred books : possibly this is one of these rites under a different name. The remaining three are : — (14) *Samâvartana*, the return of a student on the completion of his studies under a teacher ; (15) *Vivâha* or marriage ; and (16) *Antyakarman* or *Prêtakarman,* — the funeral rites. These rites, it may be observed, agree generally with the twelve *saṁskâras* or *karmans* of the Brâhmaṇs ; but among them the *nishkramaṇa* ceremony does not seem to be included, whilst they enumerate others.[3]

3. The Digambaras bathe their images with abundance of water, but the Śvêtâmbaras use very little.

4. The Śvêtâmbaras are extremely careful of all animal life, whilst the Digambaras are only moderately so.

[3] *Conf. Asiat. Researches,* Vol. IX. pp. 247 f.

5. The Digambaras bathe and worship their images during the night, but the Svêtâmbaras do not even light lamps in their temples, much less do they bathe or worship the images, lest in so doing they might thereby kill, or indirectly cause the death of, any living thing, for to do so during the night they regard as a great sin.

6. The Digambaras wash their images with the *pañchâmṛita*; but the others do not.

7. The Digambaras make their prayers after the usual Hindu fashion; the members of the other sect close their mouths or tie a cloth over their lips.

8. The Digambaras paint on their foreheads their caste-marks, but the Svêtâmbaras do not.

Yakshas and Yakshiṇîs.

Among the Digambara Jainas in the Kanarese districts in Southern India, there appear to be differences in the iconography, especially of the attendant Yakshas and goddesses (Yakshiṇîs) compared with that of the Svêtâmbaras as detailed by Hemachandra.

Through the kindness of Mr. Alexander Rea, of the Archæological Survey in Southern India, I have obtained the following details regarding these *dii minores*, with careful representations of them which are reproduced on the accompanying plates and form a fresh addition to our knowledge of Digambara iconography.[4]

The **Yakshas** and **Yakshiṇîs** as well as the Jinas have each a *lâñchhana* or *chihna*: they are as follows: —

1. **Ṛishabha** (Pl. i. 1) has for Yaksha **Gômukha,** with the head of an ox, four-armed, and having a bull as his *lâñchhana* or cognizance; and for Yakshiṇî **Chakrêśvarî,** with sixteen arms, and Garuḍa as cognizance. The Svêtâmbaras call Ṛishabha's second son Bahubali, the Digambaras call him Gômaṭêśvara-Svâmi, and worship him equally with the Tîrthakaras (Plate i, fig. 1).

2. **Ajita** has **Mahâyaksha,** eight-armed, with weapons, and an elephant as cognizance; and **Rôhiṇî** as Yakshiṇî, four-armed, with a seat or stool as emblem (fig. 2). With the Svetâmbaras the Yakshiṇî is **Ajitabalâ.**

3. **Sambhava's** Yaksha is Trimukha, — six-armed, with weapons, and a peacock as symbol; his Yakshiṇî is Prajñaptî, — also six-armed, and having the *haṁsa* or duck for *lâñchhana* (fig. 3). Svetâmbaras Duritârî is the Yakshiṇî.

4. **Abhinandana** has Yakshêśvara, — four-armed, with an elephant as cognizance; and Vajraśṛiṅkhalâ as Yakshiṇî, — four-armed, and also with the *haṁsa* as her characteristic.

5. **Sumati** (Pl. i. 5), who is represented with a wheel or circle as *chihna*, instead of the red goose or the curlew, as with the Svêtâmbaras; has Tumbura, four-armed and holding up two snakes, with Garuḍa as his cognizance; and Purushadattâ as Yakshiṇî, — four-armed, with elephant as symbol.

6. **Padmaprabha** (Pl. i. 6)[5] has a lotus-bud as characteristic; Kusuma as Yaksha, — four-handed and having a bull as sign, and Manôvêgâ or Manôguptî, also four-handed with sword and shield, and a horse as cognizance; with the Svetâmbaras, it is Syâmâ.

7. **Supârśva's** image (Pl. ii. 7) differs from other Tîrthakaras in having five snake-hoods over his head and under the usual triple crown. His Yaksha is Varanandi with *triśûla* and rod, having a lion as his characteristic; and the Sâsanadêvî is Kâlî, four-armed, with *triśûla*, and bell (?), her *chihna* or cognizance being the Nandi or bull. The Svetâmbaras name them Mâtaṅga and Sântâ.

[4] Plates i.-iv. The figures of the Jinas themselves, being all alike, are omitted to economise space.

[5] Erratum on the plate: *for* Sumatinâtha *read* Padmaprabha.

8. **Chandraprabha** has Śyâma or Vijaya as Yaksha, four-armed, with the *haṁsa* as attribute, and Jvâlâmâlinî as Yakshiṇî, with eight arms bearing weapons and two snakes, and flames issuing from her *mukuṭa*: her *lâñchhana* is the bull. The other sect call her Bhṛikuṭî.

9. **Pushpadanta**, among the Digambaras, has a crab (*karkaṭa*) as cognizance, instead of the *makara*. His attendant Yaksha is Ajita, — four-armed, with rosary, spear, and fruit, having a tortoise as *lâñchhana*; and Mahâkalî (or Ajitâ) as Yakshiṇî, four-armed, with rod and a fruit (?), but without cognizance: the Śvêtâmbaras name her Sutârakâ.

10. **Sitala** has a tree (*Srî-vṛiksha*) instead of the *śrîvatsa* figure as his *lâñchhana*. Brahmêśvara is his Yaksha, with four heads and eight arms — six holding symbols, and with the lotus-bud for cognizance; and Mânavî (Śvet. Aśokâ) is his Yakshiṇî — four-armed, holding rosary and fish, but without characteristic.

11. **Śrêyâṁsa** has a deer as *lâñchhana* in place of the Śvêtâmbara rhinoceros; **Îśvara**, — four-armed, with *triśûla* and rod, and the Nandi is his Yaksha; and Gaurî — also four-armed, holding a *lotah* and rod, with the Nandi at her foot. Each of these attendants has a crescent attached to the outer side of the crown. The Śvêtâmbaras name them Yakshaṭ and **Mânavî**.

12. **Vâsupûjya** has for his own attribute a bullock, instead of a cow-buffalo as with the Śvêtâmbaras. His Yaksha is Kumâra, with three heads and six hands holding a spear, a noose, &c., and the front left hand open with the palm presented, and with the peacock as attribute; Gândhârî (Śvêt. Chaṇḍâ) is his Yakshiṇî with four hands, holding a rod and two objects like mirrors, with a snake as her cognizance.

13. **Vimala** has Shaṇmukha or Kârttikêya for Yaksha (Pl. ii. 13), with six pairs of hands, — six holding small round objects, two in his lap, the front right hand, as in almost every case, in the *Varadahasta-mudrâ*, and the left as usual closed. He ought of course to have only six heads, but here the draftsman has (perhaps by mistake) given him seven. His attribute is a cock. The Yakshiṇî is Vairâṭyâ or Vairôṭî, with four hands, holding two snakes, and with a spear placed in the lap and passing behind the hand in the *varada* attitude: her cognizance is a serpent.

14. **Ananta** has Pâtâla as Yaksha (Pl. iii. 14), — three-headed and with six hands, — four holding objects and two weapons passing behind the two front hands which are in the usual *mudrâs*: his attribute is a crocodile. The Yakshiṇî is Anantamati, with four hands, holding dart and crook, and with the *haṁsa* as cognizance; the Śvêtâmbara Yakshiṇî is Aṅkaśâ.

15. **Dharma** has Kiṁnara as attendant, with three faces and six hands, with rosary, spear, rod, *mâlâ*, &c., — his attribute is a fish. The Yakshiṇî is Mânasî, — four-handed, with *aṅkuśa*, spear, hook, &c., and a lion as *lâñchhana*. Śvêtâmbara — Kandarpâ.

16. **Sânti** has a tortoise for his symbol, instead of the antelope as with the Śvêtâmbaras. His attendants are Kiṁpurusha, — figured as a man with four hands, two holding symbols and the other two in the usual attitude; his *lâñchhana* is a bull. The Yakshiṇî is Mahâmânasî, also four-armed, — holding a dart in the upper right hand: her attribute is a peacock. The Śvêtâmbaras name them Garuḍa and Nirvânî.

17. **Kunthu** is attended by Gândharva, — four-armed, with two snakes, spear and crook and a deer as attribute, with Vijayâ or Jayâ as Yakshiṇî, a sword and two discuses (?), with a peacock as *lâñchhana*. The Śvêtâmbara Yakshiṇî is named Balâ.

18. **Ara** is represented as having a deer for his attribute: with the other sect it is the Nandyâvarta diagram. His Yaksha is Kêndra having six heads and as many pairs of hands, — one pair lying in his lap, and his attribute is a peacock. The female attendant is Ajitâ, — four-handed, holding up two snakes and another object, with the *haṁsa* as symbol. With the Śvêtâmbaras these are Yaksheṭ and Dhanâ.

19. **Malli** has as symbol a *kalaśa* or water-pot. His Yaksha is Kubêra, with four heads and eight arms, holding sword, dart, &c., with an elephant as cognizance; and Aparâjitâ is

the Yakshiṇî, with four hands holding a sword and a shield, and she again has the *haṁsa* as cognizance: with the 'Svêtâmbaras she is called Dharaṇapriyâ.

20. Munisuvrata has for attendants, — Varuṇa, with seven heads and four hands, but without cognizance; and Bahurûpiṇî, with four arms, holding sword and shield and with a serpent as her *lâñchhana* or cognizance: 'Svêtâmbara — Naradattâ.

21. Nimi or **Nami** has a lotus-bud (*nîlôtpala*) as symbol; Bhṛikuṭi, his Yaksha, has four heads and as many pairs of hands holding weapons, and the bull as *lâñchhana*; and Châmuṇḍî, his Yakshiṇî, has four hands having rosary, rod and sword, and the crocodile as cognizance (Pl. iii. 21). Svêtâmbara — Gandhârî.

22. Nêmi has Sarvâhṇa, with a turret or small temple for symbol (Pl. iv. 22): he has three heads and as many pairs of hands; the Yakshiṇî is Kûshmâṇḍinî, — four-armed, with two children in her lap, and a lion as cognizance. She is the only attendant who has not the front right hand in the *varadahasta* attitude. The 'Svêtâmbaras name two as Gomedha and Ambikâ.

23. Pârśva is represented (Pl. iv. 23) with seven snake-hoods over his head, and has Dharaṇêndra or Pârśvayaksha as his Yaksha, — four-handed, with a snake in each upper hand and a tortoise as symbol; and Padmâvatî is the Yakshiṇî, also with four hands, and the *haṁsa* cognizance. Both attendants have five snake-hoods (*śêsha-phaṇâ*) over their heads.

24. Vardhamâna is attended by Mâtaṁga as Yaksha (Pl. iv. 24), whose two upper (or back) hands are applied to the sides of his *mukuṭa* or crown, and his *lâñchhana* is an elephant; the Yakshiṇî is Siddhâyinî (or Siddhâyikâ), with only two hands, and her cognizance is the *haṁsa.*

All the figures of Tîrthakaras have a triple umbrella or tiara over their heads, and are identically alike (Pl. i. 1, 6), — with the exception of the snake-crests over Supârśva and Pârśvanâtha (Pl. ii. 1, and iv. 23), — all being naked, and the right hand laid over the left in the lap with the palm upwards. All the Yakshas and Yakshiṇîs have similar high tapering head-dresses; the Yakshas are naked to the navel; the Yakshiṇîs are more fully clad; and all sit in the *lalita-mudrâ*, or with one foot down (the right of the Yaksha and the left of the female) and the other tucked up in front; all hold the front right hand up before the breast open, with the palm outwards (*varadahasta*); the corresponding left is also held up closed, except in the last pair, where the hands are open and the fingers hang down. Siddhâyinî alone has only two hands.

It may be noted that eighteen out of the twenty-four Yakshas are the same with the Digambara and 'Svêtâmbara sects; and the 4th, 7th, 8th, 11th, 18th and 22nd may only be different names for the same attendants.[6] In the case of the Yakshiṇîs, however, the agreements are few, and whilst the Digambara series embraces most of the sixteen Vidyâdêvîs, the 'Svêtâmbara list of Yakshiṇîs includes only about half-a-dozen of them, and about the same number in each series of Yakshiṇîs have the same names. According to the 'Svêtâmbaras, the names of the Vidyâdêvîs, as given by Hêmachandra (*Abhidhana-chintâmaṇi*, ṡll. 239-40) are: — (1) Rôhiṇî, (2) Prajñaptî, (3) Vajraśṛiṅkhalâ, (4) Kuliśâṅkuśâ, (5) Chakrêśvarî, (6) Naradattâ, (7) Kâlî, (8) Mahâkâlî, (9) Gaurî, (10) Gandhârî or Gândhârî, (11) Sarvâstramahâjvâlâ, (12) Mânavî, (13) Vairôṭyâ, (14) Achchhuptâ, (15) Mânasî, and (16) Mahâmânasikâ.

Brahmanical divinities.

The Jaina pantheon, however, whether Digambara or 'Svêtâmbara, includes many of the favourite Brâhmaṇical divinities, among which **Sarasvatî** (Pl. iv.) is prominent; she is regarded as a *Sâśanadêvî* or messenger of all the Tîrthakaras, and is frequently figured in temples and private houses. **Brahmayaksha,** though the special attendant of Sîtala the tenth Jina, is also represented separately as mounted on horseback, with four hands, holding whip, sword, and shield.

[6] *Conf. Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 276.

Indra is as prominent in Jaina as in Bauddha mythology, if not more so; and with his consort **Indrâṇî** is frequently figured on the lower jambs of doorways of temples, whilst larger figures of Yakshas and Yakshiṇîs are represented as guards at the entries of the shrines. The Navagraha or 'nine planets' are frequently represented at the foot of the *âsanas* of Jaina images; and Dikpâlas or Dikpatis, Khêtarapâlas, Lôkapâlas, Yôginîs, Jñâtidêvatâs, Hanumân, Bhairava, &c., all have representations about their great temples.

Ôṁkâra, Hrîṁkâra, &c.

In Svêtâmbara temples, as well as in those of the other sect, certain symbolical figures are employed, of which two of the more frequent in Śvêtâmbara shrines are represented on Plate iv.

The syllable *ôṁ*, as is well known, is regarded by Brâhmaṇs as symbolical of their Triad, and is analysed into — *a* (Vishṇu) + *u* (Śiva) + *ṁ* (Brahmâ); the Jainas separate it into five elements, viz. — *a* + *â* + *s* (or *a*) + *u* + *ṁ*, which form the initials of their five sacred orders, (1) *Arhat*, (2) *Âchârya*, (3) *Siddha*, *Aśarîra* or *Apunarbhava*, (4) *Upâdhyâya*, and (5) *Muni*.[7] This symbol is often represented in coloured marbles, inserted in panels on the inner walls of the temple *maṇḍapas*, and is known as **Ôṁkâra.** The figure (Pl. iv.) is not very like the modern written form of the syllable *ôṁ*: it consists of a small circular piece of black marble, representing the *anusvâra*, under which is a crescent of yellow stone, and the letter *â* (or *ô*) is represented by a broad vertical line turning to the left below, of black marble, with two horizontal bars, the upper red and the lower yellow, joining the vertical from the left.[8] In a vertical line, upon these elements, are placed five small figures of seated Jinas, usually made of rock-crystal, to represent the five grades of attainment. Thus on the curve at the foot of the vertical stroke is the *Muni*; on the lower or yellow horizontal bar is the *Upâdhyâya*; on the red bar is the *Siddha*; on the yellow lunule is the *Âchârya*; and on the black *anusvâra* is the highest or *Arhat.*

The **Hrîṁkâra** is a similar conventionalized representation of the syllable *hrîṁ* in coloured stones (Pl. iv., last fig.). The *anusvâra* is black; the lunule under it is white; the upper horizontal bar is red; the upright vowel stroke on the right side is blue, and the rest of the symbol is yellow. On this is represented the twenty-four Jinas by very small figures: the two black ones, Munisuvrata and Nêmi, are placed in the black *anusvâra*; the two white, Chandraprabha and Pushpadanta, on the white crescent; the two red-complexioned Jinas, Padmaprabha and Vasupûjya, on the red, upper horizontal bar; the blue, Malli and Pârśva, are placed on the blue vowel stroke — one opposite the end of the red upper bar, and the other opposite the lower return line of the *h*. The rest of the Jinas were all golden or yellow coloured, and their figures are disposed thus; six on the upper horizontal line of the letter *h*, one at the turn downwards, six on the lower return horizontal, one on the down-turned point of it, one on the vertical stroke of the *rî*, and one on the horizontal part of the same. Thus the twenty-four Tîrthakaras are represented by the colours of the materials to which they are respectively affixed.

The **Siddhachakra** is a square brass plate, found in the shrines. It has a sort of spout in front, to allow water to run off; the centre is carved as a *patera* — flower-shaped, with a centre and eight petals. In the centre and on four of the alternate petals are small images as in the Ôṁkâra; the centre is occupied by the *Arhat*; the back petal by the *Siddha* image; the right hand by the *Âchârya*; the left by the *Sâdhu* or *Muni*; and the front, next to the spout, by the *Upâdhyâya.* The other four places in the circle are filled thus: on the left of the Siddha is *Tapas* (ascetic practice), on the right *Darśana* (worship), on the left of the Upâdhyâya is *Charitra* (conduct), and on the right *Jñâna* (knowledge).

The **Pañchatîrtha** is a plate of metal or stone with five images upon it, as on the Ôṁkâra; and the **Chauvîsvaṭa** is a slab, usually of marble, carved with representations of the twenty-four Tîrthakaras.

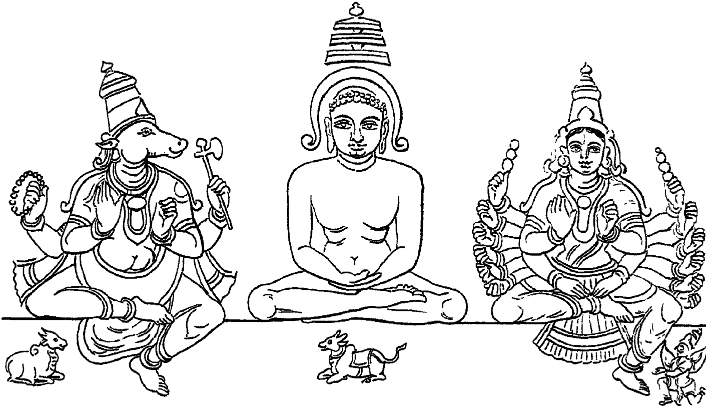
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[7] *Conf. Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 279.

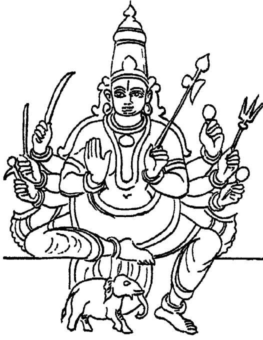
[8] In the two figures on Plate iv., the colours are represented as in heraldry.

Digambara Jain Yakshas and Yakshinis.

Plate i.



Gomukha. 1.—Rishabhanatha. Chakresvari.



2.—Mahayaksha.



Rohini.



3.—Trimukha.



Prajnapti.



4.—Yakshesvara.



Vajrasrinkhala.



5.—Tumbura.

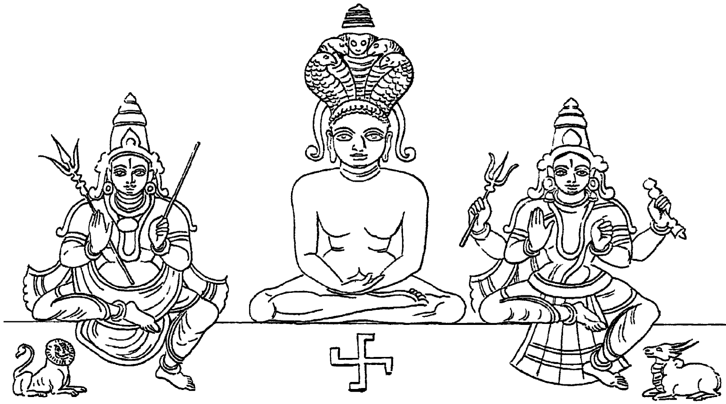


Purushadatta.



Digambara Jain Yakshas and Yakshinis.

Plate ii.



Varanandi. 7.—Suparsvanatha. Kali.



8.—Syama or Vijaya.



Jvalamalini.



9.—Ajita.



Mahakali.



10.—Brahmesvara.



Manavi.



11.—Isvara.



Gauri.



12.—Kumara.



Gandhari.



13.—Shanmukha.



Vairoti.

Digambara Jain Yakshas and Yakshinis.

Plate iii.



14.—Patala.



Anantamati.



15.—Kimnara.



Manasi.



16.—Kimpurusha.



Mahamanasi.



17.—Gandharva.



Vijaya.



18.—Kendra.



Ajita.



19.—Kubera.



Aparajita.



20.—Varuna.



Bahurupini.



21.—Bhrikuti.



Chamundi.

Digambara Jain Yakshas and Yakshinis.

Plate iv.



22.—Sarvahna.



Kushmandini.



24 — Matamga.



Siddhayini.



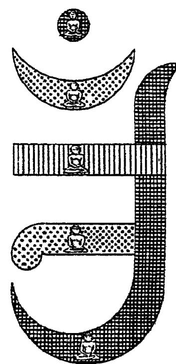
Dharanendra.



23.—Parsvanatha.



Padmavati.



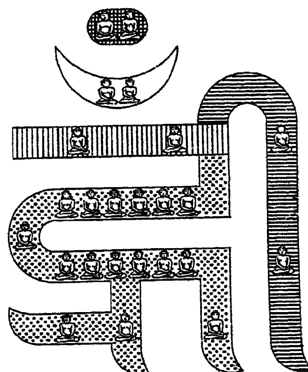
Omkara.



Sarasvati.



Brahmayaksha.



Hrimkara.

FROM DRAWINGS SUPPLIED BY A. REA, M.R.A.S

W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIITH CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from p. 375.)

DUNGAREE.

Fol. 86. The Sick party is carried downe to yͤ Riuer Side in a hammaker, or course piece of **Dungaree** Cloth.

See Yule, *s. v.* Dungaree, a coarse cotton cloth. [*N. and E.* p. 22 has for 3rd June 1680: "**Dungarees** and Markett Clouts every 16 patch pay 1 fanam."]

DURIAN.

Fol. 150. They have Severall Sorts of very good ffruit in the Countrey (Queda) . . . . . **Duryans.**

Fol. 175. This Countrey [Acheen] affordeth Severall Excellent good fruites Namely **Duryans.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Durian. [A large fruit with an offensive odour reported from all time by travellers to Indo-China.]

EAGLE WOOD.

Fol. 146. never faileth to returne yͤ full Value (of what he received) in **Agala wood** . . . . they have the retalliation put to theire choice whether **Agala** or Elephants.

See Yule, *s. v.* Eagle-wood. The quotation in the text is a good one. *Vide ante,* Vol. XXVIII. p. 196; Vol. XXIX. p. 335.

ELACHES.

Fol. 158. ffrom Bengala . . . . . **Elaches.**

A silk cloth. See Yule, *s. v.* Piece-goods. See, also, Yule, *s. v.* Alleja: probably the same stuff is meant, the term in the text representing the vernacular *alâcha.*

ENNORE.

Fol. 27. One of these Mallabars (an inhabitant of **Enore**) about 11 English miles Northward of ffort S'ͭ Georg's.

Not in Yule. [*N. and E.* p. 17 for 10th May 1680: "The Agent, &c., went to take the air at **Enoor.**"]

EUROPE.

Fol. 49. when laid wᵗʰ **Europe** tarre prove most Serviceable.

See Yule, *s. v.* Europe, for European. [The quotation is earlier than any of Yule's. *N. and E.* p. 6 quotes Streynsham Master's Commission to Joan Pereira de Faria as Envoy to the King of Burma and Pegu, 23rd February 1680, and has "Ballast for our **Europe** ships."]

FAKEER.

Fol. 13. His retinue were as followeth . . . . . 6000 naked **ffackeers.**

Fol. 14. As for yͤ before mentioned people called **ffackeers**, they are pilgrims but very Strange Ones.

Fol. 40. Sent yͤ **ffackeere** out of dores . . . . The **ffackeere** Sat wᵗʰout yͤ Street dore.

See Yule, *s. v.* Fakeer. [The writer uses it in the sense of a *Hindu* ascetic.]

FANAM.

Fol. 53. ffort S'ᵗ Georg's . . . **ffanam** of gold at 00*lb* 00*s* 03*d* . . . . . . Pullicatt . . . 24 **fanams** make one Pagod or 00 08 06 . . . . Golcondah . . . The **fanam** 00 01 00 . . . . . Porto Novo & Trincombar . . . Theire **ffanam** is worth 00 00 04.

See Yule, *s. v.* fanam. [A small gold and also silver coin in S. India. The text is valuable for values.]

FIRINGHEE.

Fol. 11. A Story of a **franguee.**

Fol. 64. The Arackan Kinge Sends a parcell of Gylyars vizᵗ Gallys, well manned wᵗʰ Arackaners and **ffranguees.**

Fol. 83. I judge and am well Satisfied in it, yᵗ there are noe lesse then 20000 **ffrangues:** of all Sorts in ye Kingdom of Bengala, and above ½ of them inhabit near Hugly Riuer.

See Yule, *s. v.* Firinghee. [The above quotations are valuable, as the Portuguese or Portuguese half-breeds are meant by the term.] See also *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 508.

FIRMAUN.

Fol. 65. Emir Jemla: hath now yᵉ Goverment of Bengala Orixa and Pattana firmly by **Phyrmand** Setled Vpon him.

Fol. 66. Emir Jemla's Son Succeeded not his ffather (accordinge to **Phyrmane**).

Fol. 69. for here [Dacca] they are neare yᵉ Prince and Court Vnder whom all our ffactories in Bengala and Pattana hold their **Phirmane.**

Fol. 71. before they got their **Phyrmane** renewed and signed . . . . . . gaue in his **Phyrmane** to be renewed.

Fol. 72. they request their **Phyrmane** . . . . wold have a Considerable reward in ready Cash before he wold renew theire Old **Phyrmane.**

Fol. 73. what His ancestors freely gave by **Phyrmane** . . . . . And hath giuen yᵉ English and Dutch large **Phyrmanes.**

Fol. 102. yᵉ wᶜʰ was noe Sooner demanded but as readily granted wᵗʰ **Phyrmanes** in yᵉ Persian Languadge yᵗ yᵉ English Nation Shold hold that Priviledge soe longe as they pleased to liue and Settle in their Dominions, and many Other rewards Liberally bestowed Vpon the Doctor [Gabriel Bowden=Boughton] (One beinge [Emir Jemla] very rare amonge yᵉ Mahometants).

Fol. 132. [Elephants] now adays none are Shipped off by any Merchant that hath not yᵉ Kinge of Syam's **Phyrmane** granted him, if soe they are custome free.

Fol. 133. yᵉ most important of wᶜʰ is whether wee have yᵉ Kinge of Syams **Phyrmane** to trade there or noe.

See Yule, *s. v.* Firmaun. [The quotations are valuable as showing the use of the word for Royal Letters Patent or Charters.]

FORT ST GEORGE.

Fol. 2. The begininge of my residence, or first Part of my Arrival (in India Orientalis) was att **ffort S'ᵗ Georg** s an English Garrison Vpon yᵉ Coast of Choromandel.

Fol. 3. men Women and Children that liue under **S'ᵗ Georg's** flagge [at Madras].

Fol. 31. **Our ffort (and towne) of S'ᵗ Georg's,** hath been often Molested, by Some of yᵉ Inland Natiue fforces.

Fol. 32. Anno Dom: 1672 I stroke downe to Pettipolee in a journey I tooke Overland ffrom **S't Georg's** to Metchlipatam.

Not in Yule. [It means the town and fort of Madras. Madras is still in official documents "Fort St George."]

GALLE, POINT DE.

Fol. 39. Such as they in **Point de Gala** or Queda doe bringe them on board On.

Fol. 77. They are bought [from Ceylone] from ye Dutch . . . . in **Gala.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Galle, Point de. [The quotations are valuable for the history of this obscure word.]

GALLEVAT.

Fol. 64. the Arackan Kinge Sends a parcell of **Gylyars vizt Gallys** well fitted and manned wth Arackaners and ffrangues.

Fol. 92. ye Natiues much dreadinge to dwell there beinge timerous of the Arackaners wth theire **Gylyars.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Gallevat. [The text is exceedingly interesting for the history of the word and proves its identity with the galley and also with the Bengali form *jalia.* See *ante*, Vol. XXIX. p. 408.]

GANGES.

Fol. 61. ffirst for ye great **Riuer of Ganges** : and ye many large and faire arms thereof.

Fol. 64. Hee fled to a Small Villadge Seated upon the banks of **Ganges.**

Fol. 68. ye water of ye Riuer [of Dacca] beinge an arme of the **Ganges** is Extraordinary good.

Fol. 73. up ye **Riuer of Ganges** as high as Dacca.

Fol. 74. This Kingdome of Bengala . . . is replenished with many faire and pleasant Riuers, the most famous and much admired of wch is ye great **Riuer Ganges.**

Fol. 75. the great rains . . . . as high as South Tartaria, wch is mountanious and raineth there for a quarter of a yeare togeather and rusheth downe ye **Ganges** and arms thereof.

Fol. 76. But most of the trouble might Easily have been avoided if our **Ganges** Pilot had been any way ingenuous.

Fol. 86. many of them [Orixas] resort to the Creeks and Rivolets at or about ye Entrance into ye **Ganges.**

Fol. 87. theire Souls Shall Enter into the bodies of good creatures (in Paradise) that dye with theire bodies well filled wth ye holy water of the **Ganges** : or any of ye arms thereof, or yt dye upon the banks thereof, for they accompt ye mudde to be Sanctified as well as ye Water.

Fol. 87. **The Riuer Ganges** (and it's branches) is held in soe great adoration by these jgnorant heathens, that they make many Sacrifices thereto.

Fol. 91. certain it is yt this is ye great **Riuer Ganges** yt Alexander ye great Sailed downe in time of his great conquests in Asia &c :

Fol. 92. fformerly, yea not many years agoe, ye Inhabitants on ye Northerne parts of Bengala ; trained up their Children . . . . . . Sent them upon travaile to discover ye great **Ganges** : to find out the garden of Eden : (by order of theire Kings).

Fol. 93. yᵉ water and mudde of yᵉ Ganges Sent from them [Brachmans] wᵗʰ theire Choppe or Seale Vpon it is accompted Sacred: Even soe farre as Persia . . . . wee had Severall Mortavan Jarrs on board, some full of water Others of Mudde of yᵉ **Riuer Ganges**, sent as pʳsents to yᵉ great Merchants of yᵉ Banjan Cast (in this Kingdome [Bengala]).

Not in Yule. [The quotations give the several uses of the word in the 17th century, *viz.*, for the Hugli River, any large mouth of the Ganges in the Gangetic Delta, the Ganges Proper.]

GANTON.

Fol. 152. [In Queda] Theire Weights and measures are . . . yᵉ **Gantange**: One **Gantange** contᵉ Exactly 2 Achin Bamboos.

See Yule, *s. v.* Ganton.

GANZA.

Fol. 84. [Gong] made of fine **Gans** of Pegu: vizᵗ a very good Sort of bell mettle.

Fol. 158. ffrom Pegu . . . . **Gans.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Ganza: bell-metal.

GARCE.

Fol. 56. they transport [from the Coast of Gingalee] above 10000: Gorse of graine yearly.

See Yule, *s. v.* Garce. [A large grain measure in the Madras Presidency: anything up to 4 tons and more. See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 408, article on "Tomb." *N. and E.* has, p. 40 for 2nd Dec. 1689: "Upon application from Lingapa for a **garse** of wheat upon payment, it is resolved to supply it gratis."]

GENTILE — GENTOOE.

Fol. 3. The Natiue inhabitans [of ffort Sᵗ Georg's] are for yᵉ most part **Gentiles (commonly called Gentues).**

Fol. 18. **The Gentues** accompt themselves a very antient people . . . . They **are indeed yᵉ Antient Gentiles** and as I jmagine of the Seed of those who revolted from Moses, forgettinge God to worship a Molten Calfe. . . . . There is another Sort of these Idolaters who are accompted to be of a higher Cast (then yᵉ **Gentues** be).

Fol. 24. gaue me some white and yellow flowers she tooke from her haire of her head that was beautifully adorned after yᵉ **Gentue fashion.**

Fol. 26. but those Naturall Mallabars yᵗ inhabit Vpon yᵉ Mallabar Coast . . . . . of noe **gentile** Occupations, neither are they admitted into yᵉ Society of yᵉ Banjans or **Gentues** Either in theire houses or Pagods.

Fol. 69. yᵉ richest of **Gentues** and Banjan Merchants, of wᶜʰ this Part of yᵉ Kingdome hath great numbers.

Fol. 70. he sent for most rich Merchants of **Gentues** and Banjans.

See Yule, *s. v.* Gentoo. [The quotations are valuable for showing that Gentile meant a Gentoo and Gentoo a low-caste Hindu. *N. and E.* p. 38 for 20th Nov. 1680, has "the Mutineers threaten to kill the **Gentue Oxmen** if they bring goods or provisions into the Town, whereupon the merchants undertake to obtain supplies by means of the **left handed Oxmen.**" Here again we seem to have Gentue as a low-caste (Pariah) Hindu in contradistinction to the left-handed or artizan castes. The curious sectarian division in Hinduism known as the right and left hand castes of South India should certainly have found a place in Yule, as these terms are constantly mentioned in old books. They include a great number of castes following some the Vaishṇava and some the Śaiva faith in their

Sâkti or Female developments. Roughly the right-hand castes are agriculturists and the left-hand are artizans: hucksters and small traders are found sprinkled about both classes.]

GHURRY.

Fol. 83. And when Sinketh againe he Striketh 1: Vizt One **gree** and soe Onward 2: vizt 2 **gree** . . . . . then 3 vizt 3 **gree** . . . . one Sleepeth while ye Other waketh and tendeth ye **Gree.**

See Yule, *Supp.*, *s.v.* Ghurry. [Originally *ghaṛî* was a water-clock, then the gong on which the time was struck, then the unit of time itself, *i. e.*, an hour of 24 minutes or one-sixtieth of a whole day, then the European hour of 60 minutes, then the clock or watch indicating European time. Here it means the Indian hour of 24 minutes or also the water-clock and its gong.]

GINGERLY.

Fol. 3. ye **Coast of Gingalee.**

Fol. 47. Many English Merchants and Others have yearely Ships and Vessels built here [Narsapore], beinge ye onely Commodious Port on this or ye next Coast adjoyneinge thereto vizt **Gingalee.**

Fol. 56. The Coast called **Gingalee** is Certainly ye most pleasant and Commodious Sea Coast that India affordeth, pleasant in many respects, beinge a most delicate champion [flat plains] land . . . . It beginneth at Point or Cape Goodawaree, the Entrance or South Side of ye bay Corango ye Cape lyeth in Lattd (?) and reacheth or Extendeth it Selfe Soe farre as to ye Pagod Jno Gernaet.

Fol. 134. yett butter and Oyle from **Gingalee** or Bengala.

See Yule, *s. v.* Gingerly with very inadequate note. [The text shows clearly that the term meant the Coast between the "Coromandel" and "Orissa" Coasts, *i. e.*, between the Godavari estuary and Juggernaut Pagoda. It was also more commonly known to mariners as the Golcondah Coast. The above are the only quotations known to me illustrating this term. See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 345.]

GINGHAM.

Fol. 101. ffrom Hugly and Ballasore . . . . **Ginghams.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Gingham: an Indian cotton cloth. [*N. and E.* p. 18 for 13th April 1880, has "ginghams": and p. 24 for 19th June 1880 "ginghams, **white**: ginghams **browne.**" See *ante* Vol. XXIX. p. 339.]

GOA.

Fol. 144. A Portuguees Shipp bound from **Goa to** Macau In China.

See Yule, *s. v.* Goa.

GODAVERY.

Fol. 2. It [the Choromandel Coast] Extendeth it Selfe to point **Goodaware** on ye South Side of ye bay Corango.

Fol. 56. Point or Cape **Goodawaree** the Entrance or South Side of ye bay Corango.

See Yule, *s. v.* Godavery. See also *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 351 f. p. 392.

GOLCONDAH.

Fol. 50. I shall Speake Something of the Metropolitan Citty, **Golcondah** . . . . The ffaire and Beautifull Citty **Golcondah** is an inland one and the Metropolitan of ye Kingdome . . . . ye Whole is called ye Kingdome of **Golcondah.**

Fol. 51. This Kingdome . . . . hath ye Enjoyment of ye most plenty of rich Diamonds in ye Vniverse, about 100 miles from **Golcondah** ye Earth doth most abound therewith.

Fol. 57. As for theire Idolatrous way of worship, they Enjoy it as fully as in any Other place in yͤ Empire of the Grand Mogoll (or territories of **Golcondah**).

Not in Yule, but should have been, as the diamonds did *not* come from Golcondah, as above correctly explained.

GOMBROON.

Fol. 93. att our arrivall in **Gombroone.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Gombroon: the old name for Bandar 'Abbâs in the Persian Gulf.

GONG.

Fol. 84. They Strike not with or Vpon a bell (for the Mahometans Vse none) but it is a round flatt of one foot and a halfe or two foot Over, (Some are very much larger) . . . . . it is hunge up by a Stringe through a hole on one Side thereof, Soe as to take it's free Swinge and is called a **Gonge**: they Strike thereon with a Small Mallat of wood and yieldeth a most Excellent Sound and Echo.

Fol. 134. beats yͤ **Gunge** for all people (that please) to buy our goods, before wᶜʰ they dare not buy any.

Fol. 153. to See yͤ **Gunge** beaten round the Citty, wᵗʰ a lowd and Severe Proclamation.

Fol. 158. from China . . . . **Gungs.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Gong.

GOOZERAT.

Fol. 62. Hee Sent . . . . . his youngest Son Morat Bakche into **Guzaratt.**

Fol. 94. rupees . . . Coyned in yͤ Mint at Dacca: & are of yͤ Same Value of those in **Guzaratt** or Golcondah.

See Yule, *s. v.* Goozerat, but his quotations stop at 1554.

GRAM.

Fol. 56. Very delicate good Land [Gingalee Coast] affordinge yͤ greatest plenty of Graine vizᵗ . . . . . Severall Sorts of **gramme.**

Fol. 61. [Bengala] affordinge great plenty of . . . . **gramme.**

Fol. 163. if wee have a quantitie of course goods On board vizᵗ: . . . . . **gramme.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Gram, whose earliest quotation is 1702.

GUALA.

Fol. 43. they are called **Gualas** and will carry one 40 miles pʳ diem wᵗʰ noe great difficulty.

Not in Yule. [The word in the text does not mean the well-known *gwalla* (*gavâlâ*) or cow keeper of Indian domestic economy, but the *kâvalan,* or dooly-bearer, of the old days in Madras.]

GUDDORAH.

Fol. 35. This towne [Metchlipatam] is famous alsoe for a bridge . . . . . wᶜʰ bridge reacheth from yͤ great gate of Metchlipatam over to **Guddorah** wᶜʰ is one English mile in length and of a Considerable breadth, and is called by the Name of **Guddorah** bridge.

Fol. 39. Most Eminent Men that inhabit Metchlipatam and **Guddorah** are Mahometans.

Fol. 42. a more memorable fight Sʳ Edward Winter had wᵗʰ above 300 of them [Resbutes] Vpon **Guddorah** bridge when he and his Trumpeter cleared yͤ way and drove Severall of them Over yͤ bridge to yͤ Great Astonishment of all yͤ Natiues and ffame of that worthy Knight.

Not in Yule: but see Yule's quotation from Fryer, 1673, *s. v.* Patna, where the place turns up as **Gundore.** It is practically part of the town of Masulipatam. Sir Edward Winter's exploit is pictured on his monument in Battersea Church.

(*To be continued.*)

SUBHASHITAMALIKA.

Translated from German Poets.

BY PROFESSOR C. CAPPELLER, Ph.D., JENA.

(Concluded from p. 444.)

Error and Truth.

96

O glücklich wer noch hoffen kann
Aus diesem Meer des Irrthums aufzutauchen!
Was man nicht hat, das eben brauchte man,
Und was man hat, kann man nicht brauchen. GOETHE.

धन्यो यमाशा न जहाति देहिनं
प्रतारणे मोहजलस्य वारिधेः ।
तत्त्वेन यद्ध्यर्थकरं न वेद्मि त-
ज्जानामि यत्तस्य न लभ्यते फलम् ॥

dhanyô yam âśâ na jahâti dêhinaṁ
pratâraṇê môhajalasya vâridhêḥ ।
tattvêna yad dhy arthakaraṁ na vêdmi taj
jânâmi yat tasya na labhyatê phalam ॥

97

Gefährlich ists den Leu zu wecken,
Verderblich ist des Tigers Zahn;
Jedoch das schrecklichste der Schrecken
Das ist der Mensch in seinem Wahn. SCHILLER.

सुप्तस्य सिंहस्य भयाय बोधनं
विपत्तये व्याघ्रमुखं विदारितम् ।
महाभयानां तु भयं महत्तमं
नरो मतिभ्रान्तिमदेन मोहितः ॥

suptasya siṁhasya bhayâya bôdhanaṁ
vipattayê vyâghramukhaṁ vidâritam ।
mahâbhayânâṁ tu bhayaṁ mahattamaṁ
narô matibhrântimadêna môhitaḥ ॥

98

Schädliche Wahrheit, ich ziehe sie vor dem nützlichen Irrthum.
Wahrheit heilet den Schmerz, den sie vielleicht uns erregt. GOETHE.

वरं नाशकरं सत्यं मोहादर्थकरादपि ।
सत्याज्जातं हि यद्दुःखं तत्प्रायः शाम्यति स्वयम् ॥

varaṁ nâśakaraṁ satyaṁ môhâd arthakarâd api ।
satyâj jâtaṁ hi yad duḥkhaṁ tat prâyaḥ śâmyati svayam ॥

99

Wenn ich kennte den Weg des Herrn,
Ich ging ihn wahrhaftig gar zu gern;
Führte man mich in der Wahrheit Haus,
Bei Gott, ich ging nicht wieder heraus.

GOETHE.

सत्पथं यदि जानीयां प्रपद्येय सुखेन तम् ।
न च सत्यगृहं प्राप्य निर्गच्छेयं कदाचन ॥

satpathaṁ yadi jânîyâṁ prapadyêya sukhêna tam ।
na cha satyagṛihaṁ prâpya nirgachchhêyaṁ kadâchana ॥

100

Irrthum verlässt uns nie, doch ziehet ein höher Bedürfniss
Immer den strebenden Geist leise zur Wahrheit hinan.

GOETHE.

मोहान्धकारसंवीतमीहा काचिन्महत्तरा ।
उत्पतन्तं मनोहंसं सत्यं प्रत्युपकर्षति ॥

môhândhakârasaṁvîtam îhâ kâchin mahattarâ ।
utpatantaṁ manôhaṁsaṁ satyaṁ praty upakarshati ॥

Inner Life.

101

Zierlich Denken und süss Erinnern
Ist das Leben im tiefsten Innern.

GOETHE.

भावानां वर्तमानानां चिन्तनं च सुपेशलम् ।
स्मृतिसौख्यं च वृत्तानां तदन्तर्हृदि जीवनम् ॥

bhâvânâṁ vartamânânâṁ chintanaṁ cha supêśalam ।
smṛitisaukhyaṁ cha vṛittânâṁ tad antarhṛidi jîvanam ॥

102

Das Spiel des Lebens sieht sich heitrer an,
Wenn man den sichern Schatz im Herzen trägt.

SCHILLER.

संसारोऽयमसारोऽपि रम्यवत्प्रतिभाति मे ।
बिभ्रतस्तमहर्तव्यमन्तरात्मनि शेवधिम् ॥

saṁsârô 'yam asârô 'pi ramyavat pratibhâti mê ।
bibhratas tam ahartavyam antarâtmani śêvadhim ॥

103

Ich besass es doch einmal,
Was so köstlich ist;
Dass man doch zu seiner Qual
Nimmer es vergisst!

GOETHE.

ममाप्यासीदसौ पूर्वं निधीनां परमो निधिः ।
तस्य यन्नास्ति विस्मर्तुं संतापः परिजायते ॥

mamâpy âsîd asau pûrvaṁ nidhînâṁ paramô nidhiḥ ।
tasya yan nâsti vismartuṁ saṁtâpaḥ parijâyatê ॥

104

Ist die Zeit auch hingeflogen,
Die Erinnrung weichet nie;
Als ein lichter Regenbogen
Steht auf trüben Wolken sie.

UHLAND.

श्याममेघावलीलीनमिन्द्रायुधमिवोज्ज्वलम् ।
विषयाणामतीतानां स्मरणं चेतसि स्थितम् ॥

śyâmamêghâvalîlînam indrâyudham ivôjjvalam ।
vishayâṇâm atîtânâṁ smaraṇaṁ chêtasi sthitam ॥

105

Ihr glücklichen Augen,
Was je ihr gesehn:
Es sei wie es wolle,
Es war doch so schön.

GOETHE.

हे सखायौ विरौम्येष चक्षुषी सफलीकृते ।
प्रियं स्यादप्रियं वा स्यात्प्रागभूद्भवतोः सुखम् ॥

he śakhâyau viraumy êsha chakshushî saphalîkṛitê ।
priyaṁ syâd apriyaṁ vâ syât prâg abhûd bhavatôḥ sukham ॥

Tranquillity.

106

Die Ruh ist doch das beste
Auf dieser Erdenwelt.
Was bleibt uns denn auf Erden,
Wird uns die Ruh vergällt?
Die Rose welkt in Schauern,
Die uns der Frühling giebt;
Wer hasst, ist zu bedauern,
Und mehr noch fast wer liebt.

FONTANE.

शान्तिं मन्ये धनमनुपमं जीविते मानुषाणां
नाशे तस्याः सकलभुवने शिष्यते नः किमन्यत् ।
पुष्पं वातैरभिहतमिव म्लायमानं वसन्ते
यो द्वेषस्थः स सुखविकलः किं पुनर्यः सकामः ॥

śântiṁ manyê dhanam anupamaṁ jîvitê mânushâṇâṁ
nâśê tasyâḥ sakalabhuvanê śishyatê naḥ kim anyat ।
pushpaṁ vâtair abhihatam iva mlâyamânaṁ vasantê
yô dvêshasthaḥ sa sukhavikalaḥ kiṁ punar yaḥ sakâmaḥ ॥

107

Die Menschen die nach Ruhe suchen, die finden Ruhe nimmermehr,
Weil sie die Ruhe, die sie suchen, beständig jagen vor sich her.

W. MÜLLER.

ये शान्तिं मृगयन्ते तां न ते विन्दन्ति कर्हिचित् ।
यस्माद्यां मृगयन्ते तां प्रणुदन्ति पदे पदे ॥

yê śântiṁ mṛigayantê tâṁ na tê vindanti karhichit ।
yasmâd yâṁ mṛigayantê tâṁ praṇudanti padê padê ॥

108

Der du von dem Himmel bist,
Allen Schmerz und Leiden stillest,
Den, der doppelt elend ist,
Doppelt mit Erquickung füllest,
Ach ich bin des Treibens müde,
Was soll all der Schmerz und Lust ?
Süsser, heilger Friede,
Komm, ach komm in meine Brust !

GOETHE.

दिव्योद्भवे सकलदुःखविनाशयित्रि
द्विस्तापितं द्विरपि या शिशिरीकरोषि ।
शान्ते प्रिये विश मनो मम दूयमानं
संसारचक्रपरिवृत्तिसुखासुखेन ॥

divyôdbhavê sakaladuḥkhavinâśayitri
dvis tâpitaṁ dvir api yâ śiśirîkarôshi ।
śântê priyê viśa manô mama dûyamânaṁ
saṁsârachakraparivṛittisukhâsukhêna ॥

Cf. Bhartṛi. III. 39.

109

Ueber allen Gipfeln ist Ruh,
In allen Wipfeln spürest du
Keinen Hauch;
Die Vöglein schweigen im Walde.
Warte nur, balde
Ruhest du auch.

GOETHE.

अग्रे गिरीणां वितता प्रसन्नता
शाखासु मन्दोऽप्यनिलो न वेपते ।
कृतं च मौनं विपिने पतत्रिभि-
र्मनः शनैस्त्वामपि शान्तिरेष्यति ॥

agrê giriṇâṁ vitatâ prasannatâ
śâkhâsu mandô 'py anilô na vêpatê ।
kṛitaṁ cha maunaṁ vipinê patatribhir
manaḥ śanais tvâm api śântir êshyati ॥

Various Objects.

110

Edel sei der Mensch,
Hülfreich und gut!
Denn das allein unterscheidet ihn
Von allen Wesen, die wir kennen.

GOETHE.

उदारात्मा मनुष्यः स्यात्परेषां चोपकारकः ।
तावतैव हि सर्वेभ्यः प्राणिभ्यो व्यतिरिच्यते ॥

udârâtmâ manushyaḥ syât parêshâṁ chôpakârakaḥ ।
tâvataiva hi sarvêbhyaḥ prâṇibhyô vyatirichyatê ॥

Cf. Bhâg. Pur. X. 22, 35.

111

Die Stätte, die ein guter Mensch betrat,
Die ist geweiht für alle Zeiten.

GOETHE.

सज्जनस्य सकृत्पूतं पादस्पर्शेन यत्स्थलम् ।
अन्येषां सर्वकालेषु तत्सुखायोपजायते ॥

sajjanasya sakṛit pûtaṁ pâdasparśêna yat sthalam ।
anyêshâṁ sarvakâlêshu tat sukhâyôpajâyatê ॥

112

Was schauderst du zurück vor Gift? wie selten stirbt ein Mensch daran!
Und lachst der Wollust sehnlich zu, die stündlich mordet was sie kann.

W. MÜLLER.

किं बिभेषि विषात्तात हन्यन्ते येन पञ्चषाः ।
व्यसनानि तु पुष्णासि मारयन्ति सहस्रशः ॥

kiṁ bibhêshi vishât tâta hanyantê yêna pañchashâḥ ।
vyasanâni tu pushṇâsi mârayanti sahasraśaḥ ॥

113

Wenn gestrauchelt ist ein Mann,
Mag er wieder sich erheben;
Dem gefallnen Weibe kann
Nichts die Reinheit wiedergeben.

RÜCKERT.

स्खलितः पुनरुत्थातुं गन्तुं चोत्सहते पुमान् ।
पतितां तु स्त्रियं कश्चिन्नोत्थापयितुमस्त्यलम् ॥

skhalitaḥ punar utthâtuṁ gantuṁ chôtsahatê pumân ।
patitâṁ tu striyaṁ kaśchin nôtthâpayitum asty alam ॥

Cf. Châṇ. 99.

114

Mann mit zugeknöpften Taschen,
Dir thut niemand was zu lieb:
Hand wird nur von Hand gewaschen;
Wenn du nehmen willst, so gieb!

GOETHE.

हे कदर्य तवादातुर्न कश्चित्कुरुते प्रियम् ।
लिप्समानः स्वयं देहि फलेन फलमादिश ॥

hê kadarya tavâdâtur na kaśchit kurutê priyam ।
lipsamânaḥ svayaṁ dêhi phalêna phalam âdiśa ॥

115

Von des Lebens Gütern allen
Ist der Ruhm das Höchste doch;
Wenn der Leib in Staub zerfallen,
Lebt der grosse Name noch. SCHILLER.

सर्वेष्विह धनेष्वाहुर्यशो धनमनुत्तमम् ।
भस्मीभूते शरीरेऽपि पुण्या कीर्तिर्न नश्यति ॥

sarvêshv iha dhanêshv âhur yaśô dhanam anuttamam ।
bhasmîbhûtê śarîrê 'pi puṇyâ kîrtir na naśyati ॥

Cf. Kathâs. XXII. 26 ; *Kâm. Nît.* 6.

116

Es soll der Dichter mit dem König gehen,
Denn beide wandeln auf der Menschheit Höhen. SCHILLER.

कवी रसिककाव्यस्य राज्ञा संगममर्हति ।
व्रजितौ यदुभावस्य लोकस्यैवावतंसताम् ॥

kavî rasikakâvyasya râjñâ saṁgamam arhati ।
vrajitau yad ubhâv asya lôkasyêvâvataṁsatâm ॥

Cf. Subhâshitâvali 160.

117

Ueber ein Ding wird viel geplaudert,
Viel berathen und lange gezaudert,
Und endlich giebt ein böses Muss
Der Sache widrig den Beschluss. GOETHE.

चिरं वस्तुनि कस्मिंश्चिद्वाङ्मन्त्राभ्यां विलम्ब्यते ।
इतिकर्तव्यता यावत्कुरुते नात्र निश्चयम् ॥

chiraṁ vastuni kasmiṁśchid vâṅmantrâbhyâṁ vilambyatê ।
itikartavyatâ yâvat kurutê nâtra niśchayam ॥

Cf. M. Bh. V. 112.

118

Wäre nicht das Auge sonnenhaft,
Die Sonne könnt' es nicht erblicken ;
Läg' nicht in uns des Gottes eigne Kraft,
Wie könnt' uns Göttliches entzücken ? GOETHE.

भवेन्न चेदक्षि निसर्गसौरं
किं सूर्यमालोकितुमुत्सहेत ।
भवेत दिव्यो यदि नो ममात्मा
दिव्येषु मे ऽर्थेषु कथं रतिः स्यात् ॥

bhavên na chêd akshi nisargasauraṁ
kiṁ sûryam âlokitum utsahêta ।
bhavêta divyô yadi nô mamâtmâ
divyêshu mê 'rthêshu kathaṁ ratiḥ syât ॥

119

Ein jeglicher versucht sein Glück,
Doch schmal nur ist die Bahn zum Rennen:
Der Wagen rollt, die Achsen brennen;
Der Held dringt kühn voran; der Schwächling bleibt zurück,
Der Stolze fällt mit lächerlichem Falle,
Der Kluge überholt sie alle.

SCHILLER.

चर्याभूमिः परिमितपदा यत्र धावन्ति सर्वे
चक्राणां च प्रसरणजुषामौष्ण्यमक्षा भजन्ते ।
शूरस्याविर्भवति जवनं मन्दता चाबलस्य
प्रौढाचारः पतति धरणीं लक्षमाप्नोति दक्षः ॥

charyâbhûmiḥ parimitapadâ yatra dhâvanti sarvê
chakrâṇâṁ cha prasaraṇajushâm aushṇyam akshâ bhajantê ।
śûrasyâvir bhavati javanaṁ mandatâ châbalasya
prauḍhâchâraḥ patati dharaṇîṁ laksham âpnôti dakshaḥ ॥

120

Wie in den Lüften der Sturmwind saust,
Man weiss nicht von wannen er kommt und braust,
Wie der Quell aus verborgenen Tiefen,
So des Sängers Lied aus dem Innern schallt
Und wecket der dunkeln Gefühle Gewalt,
Die im Herzen wunderbar schliefen.

SCHILLER.

अज्ञातस्वनजन्मभूमिरनिलः प्रोद्वाति दिग्भ्यो यथा
गूढान्निःसरति क्षरन्स्फुटजलैरुत्सो यथा गह्वरात् ।
गीतं रम्यमिदंप्रकारमुरसो गातुर्बहिः प्रोच्चर-
द्भावानां स्वपतां मनःसु नितरां धत्ते समुज्जृम्भणम् ॥

ajñâtasvanajanmabhûmir anilaḥ prôdvâti digbhyô yathâ
gûḍhân niḥsarati ksharan sphuṭajalair utsô yathâ gahvarât ।
gîtaṁ ramyam idaṁprakâram urasô gâtur bahiḥ prôchcharad
bhâvânâṁ svapatâṁ manaḥsu nitarâṁ dhattê samujjṛimbhaṇam ॥

Cf. Śak. v. 99.

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MISCELLANEA.

OBITUARY NOTICE OF SIR JAMES MACNABB CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E.[1]

A LARGE circle of friends, both in Europe and in India, will have heard, with more than ordinary sorrow, of the death of **Sir James Macnabb Campbell, K.C.I.E.**, on the 26th May last, at his residence, Achnashie, Rosneath, N. B.

Sir James Campbell was a son of the late Rev. J. M. Campbell, D.D. He was educated at Glasgow, at the Academy and the University; and his attainments as a scholar were, in the course of time, duly recognised by his University, in conferring upon him the degree of D.C.L. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1869, and was posted to the Bombay Presidency. He served, in the ordinary course, as an Assistant Collector and Magistrate, in the Khandesh and Kolaba districts and at Bombay, from 1870 to 1873. For some months in 1877, he was on famine duty in the Bijapur district,—the Kaladgi district, as it was then called. In 1880, he acted for a time as Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, and as Under-Secretary to Government in the Political, Judicial, and Educational Departments. In 1881, he attained the rank of Collector and District Magistrate, in which capacity, for the most part, he served until 1897, excepting during three periods of absence from India on furlough, at Bombay itself, and in the Panch-Mahals with the additional duties of Political Agent for the Rewa-Kantha State. In 1895 and 1897, he officiated as Commissioner of Customs, Salt, Opium, and Abkari. And finally, in July, 1897, in succession to Major-General Sir William Gatacre, K.C.B., he became Chairman of the Bombay Plague Committee. He left India on furlough in April, 1898. He received his promotion to be substantive Second Grade Commissioner in February, 1900, while he was still on furlough. And, without returning to India, he retired from the Service very shortly afterwards. He was appointed a Companion of the Indian Empire in January, 1885, and a Knight Commander of the same Order in June, 1897.

Such, in brief outline, were the chief features of his ordinary official career. The great work of his life, however, was done in connection with the official Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency. He was appointed Compiler of the Gazetteer in June, 1873. And he held that office until August, 1884, discharging during part of that period the duties of some additional offices also, as indicated above. His formal appointment as Compiler of the Gazetteer then came to an end. But he still retained the general superintendence of the compilation. And, with the exception of Vol. VII., Baroda, and Vol. VIII., Kathiawar, all the volumes of the series were written and issued, between 1877 and 1901, and for the most part before the end of 1886, under his direction and auspices, as shewn by his signature below the introductory note to each of them. It is difficult to know which to admire most; the monumental character of the work, which consists of twenty-six large volumes, comprising altogether thirty-four parts, of which each is a separate book by itself, containing an enormous amount of information of the most varied and useful kind ; or the unremitting energy, and the great tact, with which Sir James Campbell played his part in connection with it. Great tact was necessary; because much of the matter included in these volumes had necessarily to be prepared, subject

[1] Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1903, pp. 651-654.

to direction and revision by the Compiler, by, for the most part, district officials, already sufficiently tasked by their ordinary duties, whose hearty co-operation in this additional labour was largely ensured by the knowledge that they were working for a personal friend who would fully appreciate their results and would not exercise any unnecessary editorial interference with them. And unremitting energy was necessary; because, in addition to checking and, when necessary, recasting the many contributions obtained in the manner indicated above, Sir James Campbell had to write in person a great deal of the matter included in most of the volumes, particularly in the ethnological divisions. It was the happy combination of the two qualities that enabled Sir James Campbell to carry his task to so successful an end, and to leave behind him a work which reflects honour both upon him and upon all the others, whether official or non-official, who took part in it; for a full list of those others, and for Sir James Campbell's cordial recognition of the value of the work done by them and by the members of his own official establishment, with an account of the whole scheme from its inception to its realisation, reference may be made to the introduction to Vol. I., Part I.; the completion of that volume, which contains the special historical contributions, was wisely deferred as long as possible, and the two parts of which it consists were issued in 1896.

It is in connection with the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency that the literary achievements of Sir James Macnabb Campbell will be best remembered. It may be added, however, that he found leisure to write an interesting account of the history, from A.D. 1400, of Mandu or Mandogarh, a large deserted town on a hill of the Vindhya range, in the Dhar State, Central India, which was formerly the capital of the Muhammadan kingdom of Malwa; that article was published in Vol. XIX. (1895 — 1897), pp 154 to 201, of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. And it is further to be remarked that, in 1892 or 1893, his attention became greatly attracted to the subject of Indian demonology; with the result that the volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* from 1894 to 1901 contain a succession of interesting contributions by him, entitled "Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom." It would appear that some of the notes of this series are still on hand, unpublished. And it is to be hoped that they have been received in a sufficiently far advanced state for the issue of them to be completed satisfactorily.

It is a pleasure to look back to long and friendly intercourse with Sir James Macnabb Campbell; and to recall the kindly hospitality that used to be dispensed by the three brothers, John, James, and Robert, at their residence at Breach Candy, Bombay. It is sad to have to realise that excessive work, acting upon a constitution which was never very strong, has ended in the death, at the comparatively early age of fifty-six, of one whose personal qualities had endeared him to so many people, and whose scholarship would, if he had been spared for a longer time and with health and strength, have undoubtedly given us still more matter worthy of perpetuation.

J. F. FLEET.

July, 1903.

NOTE ON THE USE OF THE "VASE-ORNAMENT" IN A RUINED TEMPLE AT KHERALU IN MALANI, RAJPUTANA.

THIS temple is situated in the desert near the village of **Kherālu**, about 30 miles from Barmer, the chief town of Malāni, in **Rājputāna.**

From the photograph it will be seen that the temple must, in its best days, have been remarkable for its beauty. The only point, however, to which I wish to draw attention is the extraordinary beauty of the "vase-ornament."

Fergusson[1] notes the use of this ornament in converting circular shafts so as to enable them to carry square architrave-bearing capitals—a device common enough in Jain temples in Central India.

The position and use of the vase in this case is somewhat different. In all the examples of this device with which I am familiar in Central India, the foliage lies close to the vase, whereas here it stands out freely and boldly, by itself. Fergusson does indeed give one instance[2] in which the foliage stands out separately, but it cannot compare with this example in beauty.

There is an inscription in the temple, of which I have only seen a copy, and not a rubbing, and I am doubtful as to the accuracy of the transcription. It states that the temple was built by **Mahārāja Dhiraj Parmāra Parmat** (Parmal?) **Dhyarak on Kārtik Sudi 12th: Samvat 1235.**

Possibly some of your readers may know of other instances of this use of the vase device.

I regret that I have not personally visited this temple, the photograph and information having been kindly supplied by R. Todd, Esq., of the Jodhpur-Bikanir Railway.[3]

C. E. LUARD, Captain,
Supdt. of Gazetteer in Central India.

[1] *Eastern and Indian Architecture*, p. 315 *et seq.*

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 317, fig. 80.

[[3] Unfortunately in the plate attached the original photograph is attributed by an error to Capt. Luard.—ED.]



Temple at Kherâlu in Malânî, Rajputana.

(*use of the "Vase Ornament."*)

CAPT. C E. LUARD, PHOTO W GRIGGS.

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